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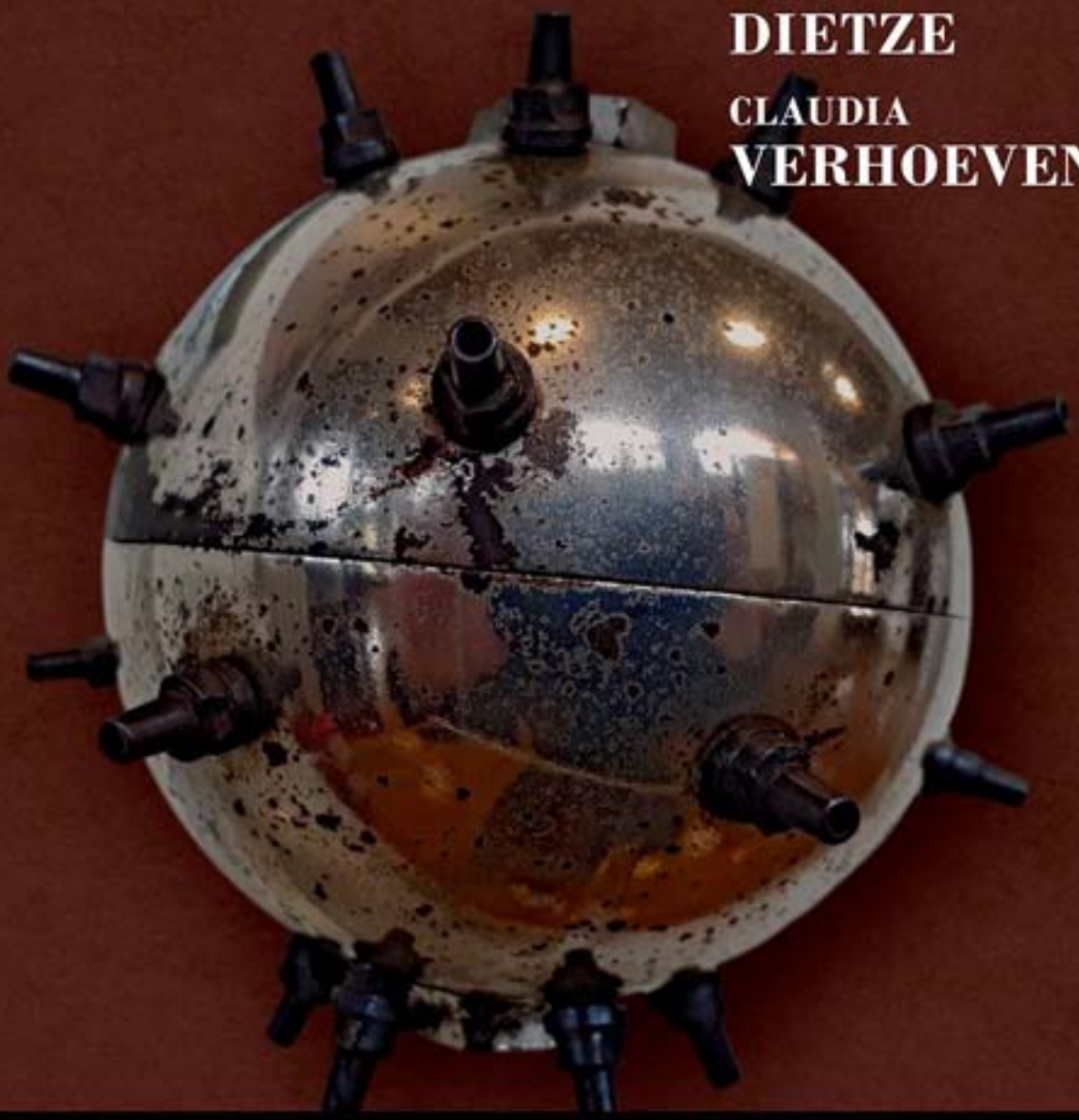

The Oxford Handbook *of*
THE HISTORY OF TERRORISM

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

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Edited by

CAROLA DIETZE

and

CLAUDIA VERHOEVEN

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Carola Dietze completed most of her work regarding the handbook while she was an assistant professor (*Akademische Rätin*) in modern history at the Historical Institute, Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen in 2010–15, fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study Konstanz (part of the Excellence Cluster "Cultural Foundations of Integration" at the University of Konstanz, supported by the German Research Foundation) in 2011–12, fellow at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies in Wassenaar in 2012–13, and Heisenberg Fellow of the German Research Foundation in 2015–17. She would like to express her gratitude to the German Research Foundation for its support of her work; to the management, advisory boards, and staff of both Institutes for Advanced Study; to the University of Giessen and the Department of Historical and Cultural Studies, which enabled her to take up the fellowships; to Christopher Möllmann, who initiated the invitation to Konstanz; and to Beatrice de Graaf, who put her in contact with NIAS. She would also like to thank her former colleagues at Giessen University for their support and many fruitful conversations and discussions on the handbook and generally throughout her work on this project: in addition to Friedrich Lenger, especially those, who were part of the Colloquium on Modern and Contemporary History as well as the late Helmut Berding, Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg, Horst Carl, Annette C. Cremer, Thomas Kailer, Rolf Reichardt, Jürgen Reulecke, Florian Schnürer, Stefan Tebruck, and Lukas Keller, her research assistant. She is also sincerely grateful to Martin H. Geyer, Richard Bach Jensen, Andrea Meyer-Fraatz, and Franziska Schedewie for feedback and constructive criticism on her introduction and her chapter at different stages of their development. She also thanks her research assistant Lukas Lücking, who supported the finalization of the texts and the volume, as well as her family, especially Jürgen, Eva-Maria, and Oliver Dietze; Tamara Dietze-Jupiter; Elisabeth Jupiter; the late Traude A. Stiefenhofer; Christine S. and Maik Marklewitz; CB; and Marc T. Stiefenhofer.

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Ithaca and Jena, July 2021

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INTRODUCTION

Writing the History of Terrorism

CAROLA DIETZE

Terrorism and its history have been the topic of considerable public, political, literary, artistic, and academic attention, since this specific tactic of violence was invented concurrently with the advent of modernity.[1] It therefore can come as no surprise that the first academic treatises on terrorism as a subject of inquiry began to appear in the nineteenth century.[2] They were a reaction to the series of assassination attempts in Russia and to the "'golden age' of anarchist terrorism, 1880–1914,"[3] when an astounding number of monarchs, prime ministers, presidents, governors, and other members of governments and the wider population were attacked especially in Europe, Russia, and the United States, but also in other countries, such as Argentina and China.[4]

It was not until the 1970s, however, that in the Western world systematic research on the phenomenon of terrorist violence and its origins began. In the post–World War II era, terrorism had mainly been employed in the struggles over decolonization in Africa and Asia and drew the attention of few researchers in Western academia.[5] In the 1970s terrorist tactics began to be adopted in Western Europe, the United States, and Japan by groups such as the Red Army Faction (Rote Armee Fraktion; RAF), the Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse; BR), the Provisional Irish Republican Army, the Weather Underground, and the Japanese Red Army (Nippon Sekigun [JRA]).[6] Reactions to these manifestations of terrorist violence in highly industrialized nations were manifold: intense police work was accompanied by prominent and often severely contested legal and executive measures.[7] Moreover, there were also academic endeavors to analyze and thereby help contain terrorist violence.

Researchers from different disciplines in Western academia turned to the systematic inquiry of the phenomenon and different types of political violence in general and to the study of terrorist attacks specifically. Most of these researchers were social scientists, mainly political scientists and scholars in the field of international relations. They strove to better understand and explain the causes, types, effects, and functioning of terrorism

and in this way find possibilities to prevent terrorist violence.[8] As for the history of terrorism, many of these social scientists perceived it as an indispensable part of their work to give an overview of important examples of terrorist violence in the past. The historical perspective, with its developmental narrative and its comparative approach to terrorism in different cultural, historical, and religious settings, enabled them to situate, characterize, analyze, and even theorize the then current phenomena of terrorist violence.[9] For reasons such as these, the history of terrorism often occupies a crucial place in publications and entire oeuvres of the social scientist pioneers in the field of terrorism studies.

The expertise acquired by the pioneer researchers of terrorism in the social sciences was in high demand right away. A considerable number of these researchers would therefore receive positions in think tanks and serve as consultants to governments on counterterrorist policy strategies. They would also often comment on the recurring attacks in the national news media. Moreover, they developed university courses and study programs, or founded journals and research institutions, focused on terrorism and counterterrorism. For example, in 1969 David C. Rapoport taught what was probably the first course on terrorism in the United States, at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).[10] The two most important journals in the field, *Terrorism*—now *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*—and *Terrorism and Political Violence* were launched in 1977 and 1989, respectively.[11] In 1985 Paul Wilkinson set up the Terrorism Research Unit in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Aberdeen, and in 1994 he and Bruce Hoffman went on to establish the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV) at the University of St. Andrews School of International Relations—the first research center for the study of terrorism in Europe.[12] Last but not least, the social-science pioneers and their students published books and anthologies that have become standard reference works for anybody interested in studying terrorism, regardless of disciplinary affiliation.[13] In this way, these pioneers and their students successfully established terrorism studies as a specific academic field, and they gained the privilege and power of interpreting terrorist violence for influential policy makers as well as for broad national and international audiences.

Historians and the History of Terrorism Up to the Year 2000

In the newly defined field of terrorism studies, professional historians were few and far between. This observation is in need of explanation, especially since the writing of history from its very beginnings in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*—as far as the Western tradition is concerned—typically focuses intently on individual and collective political violence. Recounting, analyzing, and explaining manifestations of

political violence—assassinations, coups d'état, rebellions, revolutions, terror, civil wars, and wars between empires and states—have belonged and still belong to the noblest (and often also best-selling) task of the historian. Many historians are therefore indeed experts on political violence of the past, and if political violence follows certain patterns they can, moreover, contribute important insights to the analysis of violent phenomena in the present.

Yet, professional historians have typically shunned the topic of terrorism.[14] The reasons for their reticence are not evident and, with few exceptions, can only be conjectured. One of the few historians to have indicated why he is hesitant to tackle the topic is the highly distinguished military historian and strategic studies expert Sir Michael Eliot Howard. He once wrote in a book review: "[Terrorism is a] huge and ill-defined subject [that] has probably been responsible for more incompetent and unnecessary books than any other outside the field of sociology. It attracts phonies and amateurs as a candle attracts moths."[15] Howard perceives terrorism as an unpleasant, even obnoxious research topic that is messy in more than one way. To take this observation one step further, historians' reluctance to deal with the topic of terrorism perhaps was (and to some extent still is) attributable to the fact that they fear researching the history of terrorism might entangle them in contemporary politics and leave them without the distance they require to examine the subject objectively.

Other, more structural reasons for historians' reservations about terrorism research may be found in the history of historiography. Since its beginnings in the nineteenth century, academic historiography has tended to focus primarily on large structures and processes of national interest, such as the state, domestic or foreign policy, nation building, the church, industrialization, and social movements. When historians did choose to do biographical research on individuals, they usually focused on prominent and important individuals in government and politics, in the economy and society, or in literature and the arts. Terrorists usually do not belong to these categories or fields of investigation and may therefore have seemed tangential or irrelevant to the research questions generated by an emphasis on structures, processes, and personalities.[16] As a result, even though political violence in general is a rich field of study in academic historiography, there has been very little research on terrorism.[17]

The observation that professional historical research has been scarce until recently holds true even though professional historians had already begun to study terrorist perpetrators, incidents, and movements in the nineteenth century.[18] And it holds true even though there is one important exception to this rule: the historiography on prerevolutionary Russia, where terrorism obviously influenced the course of history. In 1866 a student named Dmitrii Vladimirovich Karakozov tried to shoot Tsar Alexander II. The tsar was not hurt, but in the wake of the attempt he abandoned the liberal reform policies he had promoted since the beginning of his reign. In response, a group calling itself Narodnaia Volia (People's Will) was founded in 1879. Its members carried out a number of spectacular assassination attempts on the tsar, finally killing him on March 13 [March 1], 1881 using terrorist tactics. In the face of events such as these, experts in nineteenth-century Russian history have found it necessary to treat the history of terrorism.

In Russia, methodical inquiry into terrorism and its history began soon after the Revolution of 1905.[19] The revolution liberated Narodnaia Volia's members from prison, and many of them used their unexpected freedom to describe their experiences in their memoirs.[20] Moreover, the Revolution of 1905 achieved some liberalization of the tsarist autocracy and its censorship. Historians could now begin to describe and analyze in independent, source-based studies the assassination attempts on Tsar Alexander II and other representatives of the state.[21] In 1917 the February Revolution and the October Revolution led to the opening of the state archives. As a result, research into the history of terrorism intensified, reaching its first peak in 1929 in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of Narodnaia Volia.[22]

Soviet scholarship was not allowed to continue uninterrupted, however: it came to a halt in the mid-1930s, because by that time the prevailing opinion in Soviet academia was that Narodnaia Volia and the Socialist Revolutionary Party (Partiia sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov; PSR) were bourgeois associations striving for a liberal society. Therefore, these terrorist movements were regarded not as predecessors of the revolutionary transformation of Russia, but as enemies of Marxism. For about three decades research on terrorism and its history was nearly impossible.[23] It was not until the 1960s that professional historians in the Soviet Union returned to researching the history of terrorism. After Stalin's death, the First Secretary of the Communist Party, Nikita Khrushchev, pursued a policy of de-Stalinization and in this context announced a new cultural policy in 1956. It paved the way for a number of new studies on non-Bolshevik revolutionary movements in tsarist Russia that had used terrorist tactics.[24] In sum, by the end of the 1960s a considerable body of Russian-language source editions and studies on nineteenth-century terrorism in tsarist Russia had been published.

By the end of the 1960s, a number of prominent historians in Western countries had also taken up the topic. Initially, most were specialists in the study of Eastern Europe and Russia. They built on the Russian-language research, contributed to it, and wrote their own interpretations of events for their Western reading public.[25] Moreover, in the 1970s, following the lead of social scientists, a few historians open to social-scientific methods in the study of history also turned to the history of terrorism. These Western historians presented broad, comparative studies on a number of cases of political violence, protest, and resistance in the past,[26] as well as in-depth research on significant movements, parties, and groups in prerevolutionary Russia that had used terrorism, placing them in their respective historical contexts and analyzing the causes and effects of their violence.[27] The role of women in the revolutionary movement became a topic of special inquiry.[28] The insights and implications of some of these historians' work reach far beyond the cases investigated. For instance, in his study *The Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party before the First World War*, the Eastern European historian Manfred Hildermeier ultimately reflects on the emergence and role of political violence in agrarian societies that undergo processes of modernization, a topic of current and continuing relevance in societies around the world.

In 1991, after the fall of the Soviet Union, Russian and Ukrainian interest in reassessing the non-Bolshevik revolutionary movements without the necessity of taking Soviet

ideology into account led to another surge in history writing on this topic.[29] Concurrently, a new generation of Eastern European historians in the West also turned to the history of Russian terrorist movements.[30] Toward the end of the millennium, few professional historians had decided to devote themselves to the study of terrorism, and those historians in both the East and the West who did, focused primarily on the terrorist movements in prerevolutionary Russia. Thus it was that a corpus of systematic research on questions related to the history of terrorism existed mainly for prerevolutionary Russia, and not for other states.

By contrast, in the twentieth century the history of terrorism in the United States did not play much of a role in the country's national historiography. This was due not least to the fact that terrorism was not seen as homegrown in the United States, but as foreign.[31] There are several reasons for this perception. For one, the terrorist attacks that occurred in the United States were rarely labeled as such. Instead, they were called "acts of resistance" against the politics of Reconstruction following the Civil War, or "labor unrest," or "mass shootings" perpetrated by "lone gunmen."[32] In the historiography on left-wing radicalism, scholars often carefully avoided using the term "terrorism" in order to prevent stereotyping. Moreover, if the term was applied to people and groups, from the actions of outlaw Jesse James and of Confederate guerrillas during the Civil War to the bombings of Chicago's Haymarket Square and the buildings of the *Los Angeles Times* and Wall Street, in the majority of these studies the terrorist aspect remained peripheral. Thus, although numerous studies on class conflict in the United States, on American anarchism, and on the Ku Klux Klan have been produced by historians since the beginning of the twentieth century and particularly since the 1970s,[33] the primary focus in these studies has not been on the violence involved. The American historian Beverly Gage concluded that although, at the end of the twentieth century, Americans had "*histories* of terrorism," what "did not exist was a coherent historiography of terrorism, a definable way to think about the role such violence has (or has not) played in the American past."[34] And similarly, for Western Europe there were a number of studies dedicated to certain people, groups, or prominent attacks,[35] but no systematic, in-depth research on the phenomenon of political violence comparable to that found in the historiography of Russia.

Reviewing the entire body of literature taken into account here, we see that the time frame covered by historians in both the East and the West was fairly broad. Collectively and in some cases individually as well, these scholars scrutinized the early-modern and modern eras. Owing to the specific methods and requirements of their discipline, however, they rarely addressed developments and events that took place after the end of World War II. The explanation for this hesitancy to choose more recent topics is straightforward: professional historians rely on archival sources and other written documents or documented oral material. Not surprisingly, in the 1970s such material was rarely available for the then active clandestine terrorist groups, as well as for the then ongoing counterterrorist policies and security measures.[36] Historians therefore had (and in many cases still have) to wait for such documents to become accessible. Their opportunity to research the topic would come with their access to the material.

For these reasons, in the 1970s contributions to the study of terrorism by professional historians could not be useful and readily applicable in the same way as the contributions of the social-scientist pioneers of terrorism studies. This explains why historians working on the topic of terrorist violence had to settle for a relatively marginal position in the attention of policy makers and broad audiences as well as in the emerging field of terrorism studies. None of the professional historians active in terrorism research gained the privilege and power of interpretation comparable to that of the early social scienctists.[37] This became even more obvious after 9/11.

Writing the History of Terrorism in the New Millennium

Since the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, on September 11, 2001, terrorism, terrorism studies, and the history of terrorism have attracted more and more attention. This is why, in the wake of 9/11 and subsequent terrorist attacks across the world, innumerable new works on these topics have appeared in academia.[38] Some of the authors of this literature are the pioneers of terrorism studies;[39] others represent a new generation of experts;[40] some authors were political scientists who were now turning to the topic;[41] and some were journalists or literary writers dealing with the subject for the first time.[42] Whatever their background, all these authors usually intended to introduce students and the wider public to the phenomenon of terrorism, giving interpretations of terrorist violence and its place in the twenty-first century and striving to explain its global surge. Certainly, books belonging to this genre of literature vary considerably in substance, focus, and perspective, but whatever their exact content, and just like the classic introductions to the field written by the pioneers of terrorism studies since the 1970s, in their writings the authors of most of these new interpretations of terrorism addressed historical questions—either explicitly by including a chapter dedicated to the history of terrorism or by pointing to what they regarded as incidences of terrorism in world history, or implicitly by interpreting the past through the present.

As was the social-scientific terrorism literature of the 1970s, the interpretations of the history of terrorism written right at the beginning of the twenty-first century were overwhelmingly rereadings of familiar historical events based on the available literature, rather than investigations into new archival and other primary sources. They also tended to place past events of terrorism and their periodization into the framework of the standard narrative of terrorism studies and influential metanarratives in the social sciences (such as the sequence of the premodern, modern, and postmodern eras), rather than into the frame of specific national and international historical contexts and developments. This is hardly surprising: with few exceptions, most of the authors were, again, academics who had been trained as social scientists. Philosophers, journalists,

and pundits also presented prominent and thought-provoking interpretations of 9/11 and subsequent terrorist attacks that were in many respects different and even contradictory, but all of them interesting and influential.[43] And again, taken together, these introductory chapters, narratives, and interpretations explicitly or implicitly suggested ways of reading the history of terrorism.

Certainly, there were also historians who reacted to the attacks on September 11, 2001. But because historical research typically is laborious and time-consuming, their contributions began to appear only toward the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. Their initial contributions roughly fall into four categories: first, there are monographs and anthologies giving large overviews of terrorism and its history since antiquity;[44] secondly, there are books and special issues of journals covering terrorism since the beginning of the modern era up until today;[45] thirdly, there are publications on the history of specific types of terrorism, such as car bombings or hijackings;[46] and fourthly, there are contributions dealing with prominent cases, such as the book on Karakozov's attempt to assassinate Tsar Alexander II in 1866 by the historian of modern Russia Claudia Verhoeven, the study on Vera Zasulich's murder of General Fedor Trepov in St. Petersburg in 1878 by the Russian and Eastern European historian Ana Siljak, the monograph on Émile Henry's attacks in *fin de siecle* Paris by the French and European historian John Merriman, and the analysis of the Wall Street bombing in 1920 by the American historian Beverly Gage.[47] The authors of these books, anthologies, and special issues mostly based their studies on published and in some cases also on archival sources including works of art and fiction, as well as on scholarly historical research and writing.

At the same time, toward the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, historical research appeared on the terrorism and counterterrorism carried out during the 1970s. Around the year 2000—thirty years after their formation as prescribed by the respective public records acts in many Western countries—state archives began to declassify certain files associated with national efforts to fight terrorist groups, making these files available for research. Moreover, some victims' family members as well as a few former members of terrorist organizations began to speak and write about their experiences and memories. Contemporary historians were now able to start researching terrorist groups, such as the Red Army Faction in West Germany and the Weathermen in the United States.[48] Among the most frequently treated research topics were the terrorists' political ideas, communication policies, media reception, and public debates on attacks, as well as the states' reactions more generally.[49] Ulrich Herbert used a generational approach to analyze the perspectives of the "generation of 68" toward state, society, and violence;[50] and Jeremy Veron and Petra Terhoeven, as well as the authors of the volume *An International History of Terrorism*, applied comparative and transnational approaches to investigate the connections and interrelations of terrorist groups and their audiences in Western Europe, the United States, and beyond.[51] Still, historical research on terrorism and counterterrorism in the 1970s has only just begun, and many important questions remain to be investigated.

The social-scientist perspective on the history of terrorism can also be seen in these texts. Either most of the contributions by historians published toward the end of the first

decade of the twenty-first century use the framework of the history of terrorism established by the social-scientific pioneers of terrorism studies, or they still fit into this frame even if they do not refer to it explicitly. Usually, the authors of these historical publications did not aim at questioning or challenging these narratives. The approach to the frame of reference changed with a number of publications that started appearing at the beginning of the second decade of the twenty-first century. They still have to be considered academic reactions to 9/11 and to the universal increase of terrorist violence thereafter.

What characterizes the publications by professional historians released since 2010 is that quite a number of these studies present fresh interpretations of the overall history of terrorism. Their authors arrive at these reinterpretations by using different sets of source material and methods of history writing, and they present different narratives. For example, the cultural historian Mikkel Thorup—one of the first to offer such a reevaluation of the standard narrative—uses more or less well-known political tracts and the classic approach of history of ideas as it is applied to the intellectual history of political theory. With the help of this approach, he intends to show that "the state form determines its challengers," and that it does so not in a conscious or intentional way, but because the state "is the privileged descriptor and all-important center of attention. Changes in how the state organizes, describes and legitimates itself will have profound consequences for how it conceptualizes challenges and how it can be fought, both legitimatorily [*sic*] and violently."[52] Somewhat similarly, the historian of modern Russia Martin A. Miller integrated into his narrative of the history of terrorism "the violence of governments and insurgencies into a single narrative format as a way of understanding terrorism in its broadest historical representation."[53] In an article published earlier, Richard Bach Jensen also argued for an essential interconnection between government action and terrorist violence (as well as other factors) in explaining the origins of anarchist violence.[54] Other studies began to reconstruct and analyze little-known cases in addition to the prominent ones and investigated larger time frames in the history of terrorism and counterterrorism based on published and archival sources, as well as on the scholarly social scientific and historical literature.[55] Whatever the precise narrative and its basis, however, a common denominator of all these publications is that—in different ways and with varying emphases—they pay increased attention to the dynamics and interactions between terrorism, on the one hand, and the state, public, and media actions and reactions, on the other, in order to analyze and explain the emergence and development of terrorism during larger time frames. These dynamics and interactions thus become an integral part of the narrative, "bringing the state back in" (Theda Skocpol) to the history of terrorism.

In all these and other studies mentioned previously, research by professional historians has begun to yield results. And as more material becomes available over time, it can be expected that more historical studies will be produced. But how did these results and historical research more generally change the ways in which the history of terrorism is

conceived? The answer to this question first requires a review of those interpretations and narratives, which are still dominant in the field of terrorism studies.

Major Narratives of the History of Terrorism

The standard narrative of the global history of terrorism since the 1970s was presented by the polymath Walter Laqueur and the American political scientist David C. Rapoport. Laqueur published his book *Terrorism* in 1977.[56] This pioneering empirical study covers all aspects of terrorism as a phenomenon of political violence, including its history. Laqueur takes into account a remarkably broad range of terrorist phenomena. As early forms of terrorism, Laqueur mentions the Jewish Sicarii in their fight against the Roman Empire, the Assassins in medieval Persia, and the Indian Thugs. According to Laqueur, the turning point toward modern terrorism is the French Revolution, when the word "terror" (*terreur*) became laden with political and secular meaning. In Laqueur's opinion, the origins of modern terrorism lie in the Enlightenment and the rise of the revolutionary principles of democracy and nationalism, and especially in the idea of nationhood. As the first high point of terrorist violence he describes the nihilist and anarchist "propaganda of the deed" of the 1880s and 1890s.[57] Furthermore, Laqueur examines nationalist terrorism as exemplified by the Irish, Armenian, and Macedonian separatist movements, and he also addresses right-wing groups such as the Romanian Iron Guard, the German Free Corps, and the Zionist Irgun and Lehi (whose name derives from the acronym LEHI, for Lohamel Herut Israel ["Fighters for the Freedom of Israel"]), as well as the Muslim Brotherhood.[58]

Rapoport, who also began to publish on terrorism and its history in the 1970s, developed an influential theoretical approach to the history of terrorism. The theory explains the evolution of terrorism on the basis of historical patterns, making it possible, at least to a certain extent, to predict future developments of the phenomenon. In essays such as "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions" and in his "four wave theory,"[59] Rapoport argues the existence of a religiously inspired premodern terrorism, like Laqueur citing the Sicarii, Assassins, and Thugs as examples. For Rapoport, modern terrorism began in 1879 in Russia and comprises four ideological waves: anarchist (1878–1919), anticolonial (1920s–early 1960s), New Left (mid-1960s–1990s), and religious (1979–?). He defines a wave as a "cycle of activity in a given time period" and exhibiting an international character, in which "similar activities occur in many countries driven by a common predominant energy shaping participating groups and their mutual relationships." As the names of these waves suggest, each is driven by a different energy. Rapoport maintains that a wave lasts for approximately a generation. This

prognostic capability of theory of waves is one reason his theory is much valued by researchers studying terrorism.[60] Rapoport explains the emergence of the first wave as having been made possible by advances in transportation and communication technology (the invention of the telegraph, the expansion of railways, and the founding of daily newspapers) and having been fueled by the dissemination of democratic ideas and the discovery of a strategy of terror by Russian revolutionaries. Each new wave is then characterized by a new ideology as well as new technologies of communication and weaponry.[61]

This narrative of the forerunners of terrorism found in ancient times in religious violence and tyrannicide, the origins of revolutionary terrorism in the terror of the French Revolution, and its evolution by way of Narodnaia Volia in tsarist Russia and anarchist individuals in Western Europe and the United States is today considered valid by the overwhelming majority of the current literature on terrorism and its history. This literature also includes a basic consensus on classifying terrorism according to the categories of social-revolutionary, ethnic-nationalistic, and radically right-wing, even though these three types are not equally integrated into the history of terrorism. In the 1990s, religious terrorism was added as a fourth category.[62]

Since the late 1990s and even more prominently since 2001, two contrary counternarratives have begun to challenge the standard narration of the history of terrorism. According to the first counternarrative, modern terrorism begins with the 1972 attack against the Israeli Olympic team in Munich.[63] This interpretation results from an emphasis on the role of technology in this violent attack. The taking of hostages in Munich was the first act of terrorism to be broadcast on television in real time to a worldwide audience. This fact is indeed noteworthy. But while technical innovations may indeed justify the marking of a turning point within the history of terrorism, they do not indicate the beginning of (modern) terrorism, because the tactic of exploiting the media technology then available had already been developed and tested frequently.

The second counternarrative posits that terrorism is a universal phenomenon spanning all of human history. Terrorist violence, argue the authors advocating this approach, has always existed and has been experienced all over the world.[64] The distinction between this interpretation and the standard narrative can be explained by the differences in their understanding of terrorism. Those who view terrorism as an anthropological phenomenon have a broad conception of this form of political violence. For Caleb Carr, terrorism is "warfare deliberately waged against civilians with the purpose of destroying their will to support either leaders or policies that the agents of such violence find objectionable";[65] and for Martin A. Miller, it is a form of violence encompassing both insurgent terrorism and state terror.[66] Such definitions broaden the history of terrorism into a history of murder, terror, and psychological warfare, which covers a multitude of different violent phenomena ranging from Greek tactics for intimidating opponents, to the Spanish Inquisition, to National Socialist and Stalinist state terror, to the bombing of cities by German and Allied Forces in World War II and the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These are important subjects in a history of violence, but they should not be lumped in with the history of ter-

rorism, lest it lose analytical incisiveness regarding its actual topic and invite revanchist interpretations.[67] Neither of these counternarratives represents a persuasive alternative for a history of terrorism.

The Significance of Place and Time in the History of Terrorism

Within the standard narrative of the history of terrorism, the main focus lies on Russia. Even if Laqueur and Rapoport both mention different beginnings and forms of terrorism, they concurrently argue that *the* decisive and potent manifestation of modern terrorism originated in Russia, and that the most important organization in the history of terrorism was the Russian group Narodnaia Volia, founded in 1879. After all, it was the members of Narodnaia Volia who self-confidently professed to be terrorists, and it was they who assassinated Tsar Alexander II in 1881. So—at least at first glance—there are indeed good and historically precise arguments to be made for highlighting the part that Russia played in the history of terrorism, not least because terrorism played such a decisive role in Russian history.

Furthermore, the times and circumstances under which the standard narrative of the history of terrorism was developed may have encouraged a focus on Russia. Laqueur and Rapoport developed the standard narrative of the history of terrorism in the 1970s—during the middle of the Cold War. In the eyes of many historians who were researching and writing during the Cold War, the importance to world history of the series of assassination attempts that Russian terrorists staged in 1866 and again after 1879 can scarcely be overstated. The "hunt" that the members of Narodnaia Volia carried out against their "crowned game" destabilized the tsarist empire and halted the political, economic, and social reforms that Tsar Alexander II had launched and promoted since early in his reign. The destabilization and the end of the reform processes, in turn, were important preconditions and causes for the revolutions in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century: the Revolution of 1905, and the February Revolution and October Revolution of 1917.[68] The Bolshevik October Revolution, from which emerged the Soviet Union and ultimately the armed confrontation with the West, was one of the pivotal events for the Cold War world. This was also true of events that had paved the way for the revolution, such as the terrorist attacks carried out by Narodnaia Volia and the Socialist Revolutionary Party, even if both groups were opposed to and rivals of the Bolsheviks. These groups had contributed to the destabilization of the tsarist state by means of repeated terrorist attacks and thus were important in leading to the Russian Revolution.

Another factor has to be taken into account as well. Based on the then-current experience with terrorist attacks in highly industrialized countries in the 1970s, social-science experts in terrorism studies and historians of terrorism alike tended to pay attention

mainly to social-revolutionary terrorism (as compared to its ethnic-nationalist, far-right, or religious manifestations). The Russian terrorist movements fit the bill precisely.

Moreover, the history of historiography and its authors played a role in developing this strong focus on Russia. Facilitating it was the fact that a number of reliable source editions and a fairly extensive corpus of scholarly historical research and writing on the history of terrorism in Russia were readily available in the 1970s, just when the standard narrative of the history of terrorism was being developed. The reasons are easy to understand. The existing literature in Russian and other European languages that had been published on the topic since the late nineteenth century assured historians of terrorism that they were on solid ground here, and the source editions and detailed accounts by Soviet researchers based on archival sources published before the 1930s and since the 1960s lent themselves to synthetic, comprehensive narratives for Western audiences, who, because of language barriers, had very limited access to the original studies.[69] The availability of such editions and research publications was especially valuable during the Cold War, when Soviet archives were not easily accessible by researchers from abroad. In short, the history of historiography of terrorism shaped its very content.

Last, but not least, the writing of history is always pursued by historians who have their own personal histories. Thus, any historiography has to take into account the biographies and backgrounds of the authors who wrote the histories in question. Emigrants from Russia as well as Eastern and Central Europe seem to have become especially prolific and prominent in the study of terrorism. They had fled the violence of the Russian Revolutions and the ensuing civil war, or the persecution before and after the Nazi takeover in Germany and Austria, *Reichspogromnacht* (also known as *Kristallnacht*), World War II, and the Holocaust. They had emigrated to Palestine/Israel or to Western European countries, and to the United States, and in their new home countries they had taken up the study and writing of history, often speaking all the relevant European languages fluently.[70] Perhaps not least because of such personal experiences, some of them—Adam B. Ulam and Walter Laqueur, for instance—turned an attentive eye to the role that violence had played generally in history and politics and especially in Russian as well as Eastern and Central European history, in order to better understand the origins of the events that had uprooted them and their families.[71] An additional reason might be that they, as recent immigrants, recognized the opportunity that lay in turning to the history of terrorism, a field that was perhaps regarded as messy and lacking in prestige, but that was understudied in the West.

On the basis of their personal experiences and in the context of the Cold War, some of these emigrants from Russia and from Eastern and Central Europe tended to stress the importance of Narodnaia Volia, the Socialist Revolutionary Party, and the Russian Revolution or drew even more long-range connections between earlier Russian history and the global history of terrorism. One such example is Albert Parry. Born and raised in Russia, he escaped a White Army firing squad, and then fled the country and its civil war for the United States, where he wrote a book on the history of terror and terrorism (Parry does not differentiate between these terms) that is insightful in many respects.[72]

In it he points to the many different phenomena of violence that he considers to lie at the root of terror and terrorism in East and West. Time and again, however, he returns to the special role that Russia played in the history of political violence in general and in the history of terror and terrorism specifically: "From the heritage of the Mongol-Tatar enslavers and torturers," Parry writes, "carried on and improved upon by such native insurgents as Razin and Pugachev, derives much of the terror of that giant bloody upheaval, the Russian Revolution. And from that Revolution stems much of the political terror in the world today."[73] Thus, according to Parry, important roots of the history of terror and terrorism lay in the thirteenth-century struggles of European Russians with the peoples of Central Asia. Through the Russian Revolution and the political measures effected by the Soviet Union, these forms of terrorism and terror became important phenomena of world history. Parry's sweeping historical narrative, influenced by his personal history, is incorrect; the claims and connections it suggests cannot stand up to the scrutiny of historical research. But at the time of the Cold War it was well received, perhaps not least because it accorded so well with the prevailing mindset of the era.

With the end of the Cold War, the global significance of the Russian Revolution waned. Moreover, a number of terrorist groups that had been active in Europe for many years and connected to social-revolutionary ideologies one by one began to enter peace negotiations and renounce violence. The era of political-secular terrorism—according to the standard narrative of the history of terrorism—seemed to be ending.

Yet, despite the supposed end of this era, the tactic of terrorism lived on, as signified at the latest by the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001. In the political arena, these attacks were immediately interpreted in historical terms, but the interpretations were contradictory. On the one hand, commentators and politicians alike emphasized the new and unprecedented aspects of this violence. The American secretary of defense, Donald H. Rumsfeld, spoke of "a new kind of war," and President George W. Bush of "a new kind of evil."[74] Such views went hand in hand with the instant conviction of the transformative power of these attacks and their historical significance worldwide: "America, in the spasms of a few hours, became a changed country," Lance Morrow remarked in *Time* magazine.[75] Other commentators spoke of a "turning point" in history, a fundamental "break in the development of humanity," and the beginning of a new "age of terrorism."[76] Interpretations such as these were decidedly future oriented, because they seemed to suggest that 9/11 was an event without precedent, without history.[77]

On the other hand, different interpretations of the 9/11 terrorist attacks turned the attention of politicians, academics, and the general public to what—according to the standard narrative of the history of terrorism—could be called "holy terror," or pre- and postmodern, religious terrorism.[78] As a consequence of this new focus of attention, another line of tradition, already present in the standard narrative, now came to the fore: that linking the current terrorist attacks perpetrated by Muslims to the medieval Islamic sect of the so-called Assassins, the Ismaili.[79] This narrative seemed to gain more plausibility as the tactic of suicide terrorism became more prominent.[80] Important examples in addition to the 9/11 attacks include the repeated suicide attacks by Lebanese

and Palestinian groups, such as Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade against American, French, and Israeli targets since the early 1980s, and the attacks on London's public transport system on July 7, 2005, to name but a few.[81] The fact these suicide attacks were perpetrated by Muslims strengthened this narrative, even though, starting in 1987, it was members of the non-religiously based Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka who had been responsible for the majority of suicide attacks.

As they had during the Cold War, when terrorism experts looked to Russian history for the origins of terrorism, after 9/11 many authors and commentators maintained that the Assassins and the Islamic history of martyrdom had exerted an influence on, and found a receptive audience in, modern suicide terrorists. Some authors tried to locate the origins of terrorism and specifically of an Islamic history of violence in medieval Persia, Iraq, and Syria.[82]

These attempts to trace the origins of terrorism to medieval Persian or Russian history or to declare the phenomenon entirely unprecedented are unconvincing in the face of historical analysis. Clearly there have been too many examples of terrorist attacks since the nineteenth century for the 9/11 attack to be thought of as new. The use of passenger planes as weapons in a suicide attack was of course unprecedented, and the attacks created a great deal of havoc. Moreover, they were especially deadly in that an exceptionally high number of people from all over the world, who worked in the Twin Towers and the Pentagon, were killed. The terrorist tactic itself was not new, however. Furthermore, attempts to trace the origins of terrorism to medieval Persian or to Russian history take current phenomena as a starting point and suggest (more or less) sweeping genealogies that are based largely on prima facie analogies. In the construction of some of these genealogies, striking forms of war and violence along with vague political or religious connections serve as reference points in drawing lines of tradition across seven or eight centuries, ignoring all differences in detail and all the changes in almost every sphere of life that have since occurred and that distinguish these societies. It would not be difficult to point to a large number of cruel wars and horrifying forms of violence in Western societies, however, including religiously based tyrannicide and the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) in Europe, or the wars between conquerors or settlers and indigenous Americans in the New World, or the lynching of African Americans and others in America, to give just a few examples. Why should phenomena of violence such as these figure any less prominently in tracing the origins of terrorism? Furthermore, one cannot escape noticing that attempts to trace the beginnings of terrorism to medieval Persian or Russian history ascribe the emergence of this phenomenon of political violence to the culture and history of the West's then-current geopolitical opponent. Together with the idea that the 9/11 attacks were unprecedented, all three narratives suggest that it is unnecessary to look for the origins and causes of terrorism in the history of those who present these narratives: the history of the West.

In conclusion, from a historical perspective none of the major narratives of the history of terrorism that have been and still are dominant in the field of terrorism studies is entirely convincing. Moreover, studies by professional historians since 2010 and the fresh interpretations of the history of terrorism they offer challenge these major

narratives by stressing the dynamics and interactions between terrorism, the state, the public, and the media in order to understand and explain the history of terrorism since its emergence. Both these results call for a new historical approach to the global history of terrorism.

A New Global History of Terrorism

This *Handbook* presents a reevaluation of the major narratives in the history of terrorism, by exploring the emergence and the use of terrorism in world history from antiquity up to the twenty-first century on the basis of new historical research. Because it is impossible for any one historian to possess in-depth knowledge of all the relevant sources and to keep up with the specialized literature that has to be considered in so large a field of study, such an exploration necessarily is a collective endeavor. Therefore, this volume brings together a number of professional historians whose expertise lies in different places and eras. The contributors have also pursued a variety of approaches in their earlier research. To be sure, all had studied the phenomenon of violence in history before, violence that in its various forms (such as assassination, guerrilla war, revolution, or terror) was important for their respective time and place. But not all of the contributors carried out research on terrorism before contributing to this *Handbook*, and only a few of them would describe themselves as having a special focus on the history of terrorism. Furthermore, in their chapters they consult a wide-ranging set of sources, which they analyze using different methodologies. For these reasons, the chapters of this *Handbook* offer a wide variety of innovative and original perspectives on the history of terrorism.

In light of the breadth and diversity of the research covered by this *Handbook*, two guidelines ensure its cohesion. The first is a common definition of terrorism. The German sociologist Peter Waldmann defines it as "violence against a political order from below which is planned and prepared [*planmäßig vorbereitet*] and meant to be shocking. Such acts of violence are supposed to spread feelings of insecurity and intense fear, but they are also meant to generate sympathy and support."[83] The term "political order" in the original German terminology can include the social and economic order of a society, so Waldmann's definition also includes right-wing terrorists (such as the National Socialist Underground [NSU] in Germany or Anders Behring Breivik in Norway) and social-revolutionary terrorists (such as the nineteenth-century anarchists). Waldmann underlines the political dimension expressed in the political intentions and objectives of the violence committed by the terrorists.[84] Terrorism is thus a politically motivated strategy of resorting to spectacular violence with the goal of producing a powerful psychological effect in a society—fear on the one hand, sympathy on the other—in order to compel political change. This view limits the concept of terrorism to underground acts of violence against an inherently more powerful opponent (bottom-up), whereas acts of violence by the state against the population (top-down) are called

"terror." And even if one can find a wealth of definitions of terrorism in the general literature on this topic, more recent research literature reflects broad international agreement on the elements identified in this definition.[85] Therefore, the contributors to the *Handbook* have used this definition, as far as was feasible for them with regard to their respective fields.

The major narratives in the history of terrorism, taken together, constitute the second guiding principle. Because the *Handbook* intends to reevaluate these narratives on the basis of new empirical research, basic statements constituting these narratives indicate crucial fields of study. This holds true for the standard narrative of terrorism presented by Laqueur and Rapoport as well as for the two narratives challenging this standard narration: the one maintaining that modern terrorism begins with the 1972 attack against the Israeli Olympic team in Munich, and the other stating that terrorism is a universal phenomenon spanning the entirety of time.[86] The historical reevaluation in this *Handbook* takes all of these narratives into account either implicitly or explicitly.

Of these three narratives of the history of terrorism, the standard narrative certainly poses the greatest challenge for historical reevaluation. For instance, it is imperative to study the question of whether there existed a premodern terrorism that mainly had religious goals, a modern terrorism fighting for secular-political aims, and a postmodern terrorism that is primarily motivated by religion. Then, for each of these time frames, the question arises of whether terrorism was actually perpetrated by the groups that the authors of the standard narrative have suggested. Regarding premodern religious terrorism, for example, the question arises of whether the Sicarii, the Assassins, and the Thugs actually used terrorist tactics, and if so, with what objective. Thus, the statements set forth in the standard narrative of the history of terrorism served as a selection criterion in deciding, for this *Handbook*, what required study regarding the emergence and use of terrorism in world history, from antiquity up to the twenty-first century. Of course, there are always other topics that warrant inclusion as well.

At the core of the standard narrative is the problem of the relationship between terrorism and modernity. The term "modernity" has at least two different basic meanings, one temporal and one substantive: "modern" can be used to denote an epoch in world history—the modern era—but it can also be used to characterize distinct phenomena and processes, such as industrialization or urbanization. However, there is no general agreement on how to flesh out these two meanings. When does the modern era start? When does it end? Suggestions for the beginning of the modern era range from the emergence of nominalism in the European High Middle Ages via Gutenberg's invention of the printing press and the Reformation around 1500 to the political and industrial revolutions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Furthermore, the substantive meaning of the term is as contested as the temporal one. In this respect, technological processes are as important as "big developments" such as urbanization, migration, mobility, and internationalization. Moreover, there are cultural aspects of modernity, its "promissory notes" (Björn Wittrock), that were able to create new affiliations and identities even in places and at times where the substantive changes were marginal.[87]

All these aspects of modernity have to be taken into account when examining possible links between modernity and the emergence of terrorism.

However, this coming together of technological innovations, enormous socioeconomic developments, and modern culture is precisely the point where the expertise of historians is called for. It is where their work has to begin. Rapoport and Laqueur both argued that the concept of modern terrorism originated in the French Revolution with the birth of modern democracy, and they repeatedly emphasized the importance of technological, societal, and intellectual developments for the emergence of terrorism in the nineteenth century as well as the changes it underwent in the twentieth. But how exactly did these factors—technological innovations, immense socioeconomic developments, and modern culture—come together to bring forth the new form of political violence that we today call terrorism? Exactly how and where did this transformation of political violence take place? How did it work? Who contributed what? And concerning the time frame we have to ask: What was the starting point? What traditions and practices in the use of political violence already existed that were subject to the transformations unfolding in modern society? What kinds of events were its precursors? Did the phenomenon of terrorism as Waldmann defined it exist prior to the invention of the term in the French Revolution—for example, in the European religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? If so, what does that mean for our assumptions about the relationship between terrorism and modernity?

And finally, there is the question of transfer and reception. According to the standard narrative of terrorism studies, modern rebel terrorism originated in Europe and quickly spread to other parts of the world, such as the Balkans, Asia, and South America. If terrorism and modernity are linked, the question arises of whether there are causal links between their spread: did somebody using terroristic methods in China or the Philippines have to embrace certain techniques and ideas that might be characterized as modern? In other words: Did terrorism spread with modernity? Where and at what time was it taken up, and in what ways? What were the preconditions in different societies that made the concept and the method of terrorism appear to certain groups to be an interesting and relevant tool? How was it linked to the general global movement of goods, people, and ideas?

The contributions assembled in this *Handbook* provide specific answers to questions such as these and thus shape a new history of terrorism. And it might well be that questions such as the ones above and the answers provided are of current relevance if we want to understand the upsurge of terrorism worldwide and find long-lasting political responses.

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Geschichte: Was wir aus den tatsächlichen Ursprüngen des Terrorismus lernen können," broadcast on April 23, 2017 by Deutschlandfunk in the series "Essay & Diskurs." My thanks go to Wolfgang Schiller for inviting me to contribute to the series and for his encouragement and support when formulating these ideas. Moreover, I am indebted to Richard Bach Jensen, Andrea Meyer-Fraatz, and Franziska Schedewie, whose corrections and critiques were extremely valuable. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.

Notes

1. For a critique of the concept of modernity, see my "Toward a History on Equal Terms: A Discussion of *Provincializing Europe*," *History and Theory* 47, no. 1 (2008): 69–84. In this text and this volume, however, the term is employed according to common usage.
2. See, e.g., Alphons Thun, *Geschichte der revolutionären Bewegungen in Russland* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1883); Cesare Lombroso and Rodolfo Laschi, *Il delitto politico e le rivoluzioni in rapporto al diritto* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1890). Thun was a professor of national economies, and Lombroso was an Italian medical scientist, psychiatrist, and anthropologist. Lombroso's study was very influential in its time. It appeared in German translation in 1891 and in French translation in 1892.
3. Richard Bach Jensen, "The United States, International Policing, and the War against Anarchist Terrorism, 1900–1914," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 15–46, at 16; reprinted in *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, vol. 1, *The First or Anarchist Wave*, ed. David C. Rapoport (London: Routledge, 2006), 369–400, at 371.
4. See Richard Bach Jensen, "Daggers, Rifles and Dynamite: Anarchist Terrorism in Nineteenth Century Europe," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16, no. 1 (2004): 116–153, at 116.
5. One of these few is Martha Crenshaw. See her *Revolutionary Terrorism: The FLN in Algeria, 1954–1962* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1978), and *Terrorism in Africa* (New York: G. K. Hall; Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada, 1994).
6. For more on these terrorist groups and their attacks, see p. 7, nn. 49–51.
7. For an analysis and assessment of these security policies by one of the pioneers in the field of terrorism studies, see David Carlton, *The West's Road to 9/11: Resisting, Appeasing, and Encouraging Terrorism since 1970* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
8. Seminal works in English from this pioneering research period are David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf, eds., *International Terrorism and World Security* (London: Croom Helm, 1975); Yonah Alexander, ed., *International Terrorism: National, Regional, and Global Perspectives* (New York: Praeger, 1976); Yonah Alexander and Seymour Maxwell Finger, eds., *Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, with a foreword by Hans J. Morgenthau (New York: John Jay Press, 1977); Yonah Alexander, David Carlton, and Paul Wilkinson, eds., *Terrorism: Theory and Practice* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979); Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," *Comparative Politics* 13, no. 4 (July 1981): 379–399; Martha Crenshaw and Irving Louis Horowitz, eds., *Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power: The Consequences of Political Violence; Essays* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983); Alex P. Schmid and Janny de Graaf, *Violence as Communication: Insurgent Terrorism and the Western News Media* (London: Sage, 1982); Alex P. Schmid, *Political Terrorism: A Research Guide to Concepts, Theories, Data Bases and Literature*, with a bibliography by the author and a world directory of "terrorist" organizations by Albert J. Jongman (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1984).

9. See esp. the publications of Walter Laqueur: *Terrorism* (Boston: Little, 1977), reprinted as *A History of Terrorism: With a New Introduction by the Author*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), and *The Terrorism Reader: A Historical Anthology* (New York: New American Library, 1978), published in a new and supplemented edition as *Voices of Terror: Manifestos, Writings, and Manuals of Al Qaeda, Hamas, and Other Terrorists from Around the World and Throughout the Ages* (New York: Reed Press, 2004); and of David C. Rapoport, *Assassination and Terrorism* (Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1971), "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions," *American Political Science Review* 78, no. 3 (1984): 658–677, "Why Does Messianism Produce Terror?" in *Contemporary Research on Terrorism*, ed. Paul Wilkinson and A. M. Stewart (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 72–88, and "Four Wave Theory," first presented as a paper to the American Political Science Association in 1985. For the respective titles see n. 59.
10. See his web page at UCLA, College: Social Sciences, Political Science, Distinguished Professor Emeritus David Rapoport, Biography, accessed February 19, 2021, https://polisci.ucla.edu/person/david-rapoport/. See also Jeffrey Kaplan, "Waves of Political Terrorism," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia: Politics, Oxford University Press* 2016, accessed February 19, 2021, https://oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-24.
11. Cf. the web page of the publisher Taylor & Francis for the two journals: https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=uter20 and https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ftpv20.
12. See the information given on the Centre's web page, "About CSTPV," https://cstpv.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/#.
13. Standard works in English, many of which have become standard works for students of terrorism across the world, are Grant Wardlaw, *Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics, and Counter-Measures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); James M. Poland, *Understanding Terrorism: Groups, Strategies, and Responses* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1988); Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism in Context* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995); Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Clifford E. Simonsen and Jeremy R. Spindlove, *Terrorism Today: The Past, the Players, the Future* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000); David C. Rapoport, ed., *Inside Terrorist Organizations* (London: Frank Cass, 2001); Charles Townshend, *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat* (New York: Random House, 2006); Gus Martin, *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*, 3rd ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2010). Most of these books have seen several editions.
14. Carlton observes a similar tendency for the higher echelons of the fields of security studies and international relations as represented for example by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations, the United Kingdom's Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), and "most of the leading Western journals in the international relations field." See Carlton, *The West's Road to 9/11*, 3–4, at 4.
15. Michael Howard, as cited in Bruce Hoffman, "Current Research on Terrorism and Low-Intensity Conflict," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 15, no. 1 (1992): 25–37, at 25. Carlton, *The West's Road to 9/11*, 4 also gives this quotation.

16. There are exceptions to the rule, however, such as Menachem Begin, who fought against the British mandatory government in the 1940s and later became prime minister of Israel; and Gerry Adams, who is said to have been a high-ranking member of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) in the 1970s before he was elected president of Sinn Féin and member of the British House of Commons.
17. Isabelle Duyvesteyn, a global historian and international studies scholar, the historian of international relations Beatrice de Graaf, the modern historians Robert Gerwarth, Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, and Sylvia Schraut have come to similar conclusions. See, e.g., Isabelle Duyvesteyn, "The Role of History and Continuity in Terrorism Research," in *Mapping Terrorism Research: State of the Art, Gaps and Future Direction*, ed. Magnus Ranstorp (New York: Routledge, 2006), 51–75; Isabelle Duyvesteyn and Beatrice de Graaf, "Terroristen en hun bestrijders, vroeger en nu," in *Terroristen en hun bestrijders, vroeger en nu*, ed. Isabelle Duyvesteyn and Beatrice de Graaf (Amsterdam: Boom, 2007), 7–12; Robert Gerwarth and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, "Internationalising Historical Research on Terrorist Movements in Twentieth-Century Europe," *European Review of History* 14, no. 3 (2007): 275–281, at 275; Sylvia Schraut, "Zentrale Begriffe und Konzepte," in *Terrorismus und politische Gewalt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 15–63.
18. They contributed in two distinct roles: as historical researchers and as contemporary pundits. For an early French study on a perpetrator of what is now discussed as one of the earliest cases of terrorist violence, see Louis-François du Bois, *Charlotte de Corday, essai historique, offrant enfin des détails authentiques sur la personne et l'attentat de cette héroïne; avec pièces justificatives, portrait et fac-simile* (Paris: Librairie historique de la Révolution, 1838). For a prominent German example of a historian-pundit, see Heinrich von Treitschke, "Der Socialismus und der Meuchelmord," *Preußische Jahrbücher* 41, no. 6 (1878): 637–647. For examples of nineteenth-century terrorism research in disciplines other than history, see n. 2.
19. For an informative overview and in-depth discussion of the Russian historiography on terrorism as well as its political contexts, see the historiographical introductions in Mikhail Gerasimovich Sedov, *Geroicheskii period revoliutsionnogo narodnichestva (Iz istorii politicheskoi bor'by)* (Moscow: Mysl, 1966), 3–54, esp. 24–28 (focusing on Narodnaia Volia); Mikhail Ivanovich Leonov, *Partiia sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov v 1905–1907 gg.* (Moscow: ROSSPĖN, 1997), 3–25; Roman Aleksandrovich Gorodnitskii, *Boevaia organizatsiia partii sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov v 1901–1911 gg.* (Moscow: ROSSPĖN, 1998), 3–26, esp. 5f. (both focusing on the Socialist Revolutionary Party and its fighting organization). For an English-language overview, see Anke Hilbrenner and Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, "Introduction: Modern Times? Terrorism in Late Tsarist Russia," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 2 (2010): 161–171.
20. The most famous example is the 1921 autobiography by Vera Figner, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, trans. Camilla Chapin Daniels and G. A. Davidson (New York: International, 1927). On the Russian-language historiography on terrorism in this period, see esp. O. V. Shemiakina, "Istoriografiia narodnicheskogo dvizheniia glazami ego uchastnikov," *Vestnik RGGU: Seriia literaturovedenie, iazykoznanie, kul'turologiia* 1 (2017): 132–139.
21. See esp. the studies by Mikhail Konstantinovich Lemke, *Ocherki osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia "shestidesiatykh godov" po neizdannym dokumentam s portretami* (1908; The Hague: Mouton, in cooperation with Europe Printing, Vaduz, 1968); and Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Kornilov, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenīe pri Aleksandre II, 1855–1881: Istoricheskīe ocherki* (Moscow: Tovarishchestvo tipografii A. I. Mamontova, 1909).

22. A case in point is Dmitrii Vladimirovich Karakozov, who perpetrated the first assassination attempt on Tsar Alexander II in 1866. See, e.g., the Russian sources and research published on him, his background, and his attempt on the tsar's life: Aleksei A. Shilov, "Iz istorii revoliutsionnago dvizheniia 1860-ch gg.," *Golos minuvshago* 10–12 (1918): 159–168; V. P. Alekseev and B. P. Koz'min, *Politicheskie Protsessy 60-kh g.g. materialy po istorii revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1923); Aleksei A. Shilov, "Pokushenie Karakozova 4 Aprelia 1866 g.," *Krasnyi arkhiv* 17, no. 7 (1926): 91–137; M. M. Klevenskii and K. G. Kotel'nikov, eds., *Pokushenie Karakozova: Stenograficheskii otchet po delu D. Karakozova, I. Khudiakova, N. Ishutina i. dr.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo tsentrarchiva R.S.F.S.R., 1928); Boris Jakovlevich Bukhshtab, "Posle vystrela Karakozova," *Katorga i ssylka: Istoriko-revoliutsionnyi vestnik* 5 (1931): 50–88, at 78; B. I. Gorev and B. P. Koz'min, *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie 1860-kh godov* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vsesoiuznogo obshchestva politkatorzhan i ssyl'no-poselentsev, 1932).
23. See Sedov, *Geroicheskii period*, 45f.; Leonov, *Partiia sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov*, 10f.; Gorodnitskii, *Boevaia organizatsiia*, 5, 10; Hilbrenner and Schenk, "Introduction," 162.
24. See esp. the source edition of S. N. Valk, S. S. Volk, B. S. Itenberg, and Sh. M. Levin, eds., *Revoliutsionnoe narodnichestvo 70-kh godov XIX veka: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov*, 2 vols. (Moscow: Nauka, 1964); and the studies of R. V. Filippov, *Revoliutsionnaia narodnicheskaia organizatsiia N. A. Ishutina—I. A. Khudiakova (1863–1866)* (Petrozavodsk: Karel'skoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1964); Ė. S. Vilenskaia, *Revoliutsionnoe podpol'e v Rossii (60-e gody XIX v.)* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 1965); Sedov, *Geroicheskii period*; Stepan Stepanovich Volk, *Narodnaia Volia, 1879–1882* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966); Nikolai Alekseevich Troitskii, *"Narodnaia Volia" pered tsarskim sudom 1880—1894 gg.*, 2nd expanded and revised ed., (Saratov: Izdat. Saratovskogo universiteta, 1983); Evgeniia Levovna Rudnitskaia, *Russkaia revoliutsionnaia mysl: Demokraticheskaia pechat 1864–1873 g.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1984).
25. For such studies in English, see, e.g., Edward Hallett Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (London: Macmillan, 1937); Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia* [Italian Orig. 1952], trans. Francis Haskell, revised ed. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1960); Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution: A Century of Russian Radicalism* (London: Cassell & Company, 1957); Oliver H. Radkey, *The Agrarian Foes of Bolshevism: Promise and Default of the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries February to October 1917* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).
26. See esp. the anthologies by Eric John Hobsbawm, *Revolutionaries: Contemporary Essays* (London: Weidenfeld, 1973), including essays from the years 1961–1972; and Wolfgang J. Mommsen, and Gerhard Hirschfeld, eds., *Social Protest, Violence, and Terror in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe* (London: Macmillan, in association with Berg Publishers for the German Historical Institute, 1982).
27. Notable studies by historians of Russia and Eastern Europe teaching in Western Europe, Israel, and the United States from this period are for example Paul Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists* (1967; repr., Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2005), chap. 2; Philip Pomper, *The Russian Revolutionary Intelligentsia*, 2nd ed. (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1993); Maureen Perrie, *The Agrarian Policy of the Russian Socialist-Revolutionary Party from Its Origins through the Revolution of 1905–1907* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Adam Bruno Ulam, *In the Name of the People: Prophets and Conspirators in Prerevolutionary Russia* (New York: Viking Press, 1977); Manfred Hildermeier, *The Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party before the First World War* [German Orig. 1978] (New York: St. Martin's Press,

2000); Astrid von Borcke, *Gewalt und Terror im revolutionären narodničestvo: Die Partei Narodnaja Volja (1879–1883); Zur Entstehung und Typologie des politischen Terrors im Russland des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Bundesinstitut für Ostwissenschaftliche und Internationale Studien, 1979); Jacques Baynac, *Les socialistes-révolutionnaires de mars 1881 à mars 1917* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1979); Norman M. Naimark, *Terrorists and Social Democrats: The Russian Revolutionary Movement under Alexander III* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983); Deborah Hardy, *Land and Freedom: The Origins of Russian Terrorism, 1876–1879* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987); Nurit Schleifman, *Undercover Agents in the Russian Revolutionary Movement: The SR Party, 1902–14* (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988); Hannu Immonen, *The Agrarian Program of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party, 1900–1914* (Helsinki: SHS, 1988). On this see esp. Leonov, *Partiia sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov*, 14–17.

28. See esp. Barbara Alpern Engel and Clifford N. Rosenthal, eds., *Five Sisters: Women against the Tsar*, with a foreword by Alix Kates Shulman (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976); Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860–1930* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), chap. 5; Jay Bergman, *Vera Zasulich: A Biography* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983); Barbara Alpern Engel, *Mothers and Daughters: Women of the Intelligentsia in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Barbara Alpern Engel, *Women, Gender and Political Choice in the Revolutionary Movement of the 1870's*, Research Paper 66 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Marjorie Mayrock Center for Soviet and East European Research, March 1988). See also the book by the Menshevik writer Vera Broido, *Apostles into Terrorists: Women and the Revolutionary Movement in the Russia of Alexander II* (London: Maurice Temple Smith, 1978).
29. See the source editions of Viktor Efimovich Kel'ner, ed., *1 marta 1881 goda: Kazn imperatora Aleksandra II; Dokumenty i vospominaniia* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1991); Oleg Vital'evich Budnitskii, ed., *Istoriia terrorizma v Rossii v dokumentakh, biografiiakh, issledovaniiakh*, 2. expanded and revised ed. (Rostov-on-Don: Feniks, 1996); Oleg Vital'evich Budnitskii, ed., *Zhenshchiny-terroristki v Rossii* (2. Rostov-on-Don: Feniks, 1996); Evgeniia Levovna Rudnitskaia, ed., *Revoliutsionnyi radikalizm v Rossii: Vek deviatnadtsatyi; Dokumental'naia publikatsiia* (Moscow: Arkheograficheskii tsentr, 1997); N. I. Delkov, A. A. I. Ushakov, A. A. Chernobaev, and E. I. Shcherbakova, eds., *Politicheskaia politsiia i politicheskii terrorizm v Rossii (vtoraia polovina XIX–nachalo XX vv.): Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow: AIRO-XX, 2001); as well as the studies by V. M. Chernov, *V partii sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov: Vospominaniia o vos'mi liderakh*. Publication, introduction, edition and commentaries by A. P. Novikov and K. Khuzer. (Saint Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2007); K. N. Morozov, ed., *Individual'nyi politicheskii terror v Rossii, XIX–nachalo XX v. Materialy konferentsii* (Moscow: "Memorial," 1996); Leonov, *Partiia sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov*; Gorodnitskii, *Boevaia organizatsiia*; Oleg Vital'evich Budnitskii, *Terrorizm v Rossiiskom osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii: Ideologiia, ėtika, psichologiia (vtoraia polovina XIX–nachalo XX v.)* (Moscow: ROSSPĖN, 2000); Valerīi M. Volkovins'kii and Īvanna V. Hīkonova, *Revoliutsīinii terorizm v Rociīs'kīI imperiī i Ukraina (druga polovina XIX—pochatok XX ct.)* (Kiev: Starii cbīt, 2006). Ekaterina Igorevna Shcherbakova, *"Otshchepentsy": Put k terrorizmu (60-e–80-e gody XIX veka)* (Moscow: Novyi khronograf, 2008) contains a number of crucial sources.
30. See esp. Anna Geifman, *Thou Shalt Kill: Revolutionary Terrorism in Russia, 1894–1917* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); Anna Geifman, *Russia under the Last Tsar: Opposition and Subversion, 1894–1917* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999); Anna Geifman,

Entangled in Terror: The Azef Affair and the Russian Revolution (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000); Leonid Grigor'evich Praisman, *Terroristy i revoliutsionery, okhranniki i provokatory* (Moscow: ROSSPÉN, 2001).

31. Michael Kronenwetter, *Terrorism: A Guide to Events and Documents* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), vii; Michael Fellman, *In the Name of God and Country: Reconsidering Terrorism in American History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 1.
32. Kronenwetter, *Terrorism*, vii–viii.
33. On violence in the United States in connection with class conflict, see Robert Hunter, *Violence and the Labour Movement* (London: Routledge & Sons, 1916); Louis Adamic, *Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in America* (New York: Viking Press, 1931); Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984); Paul Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); Kevin Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); and esp. Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969). On the Ku Klux Klan, see David Mark Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865–1965* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1965); Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1971).
34. Beverly Gage, "Terrorism and the American Experience: A State of the Field," *Journal of American History* 98, no. 1 (2011): 73–94, at 81.
35. For Austria, Germany, and Switzerland see, e.g., Julius Hans Schoeps, *Bismarck und sein Attentäter: Der Revolveranschlag Unter den Linden am 7. Mai 1866* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1984); Harald Seyrl, *Der Tod der Kaiserin: Die Ermordung der Kaiserin und Königin Elisabeth von Österreich-Ungarn am 10. September 1898 im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Darstellung* (Vienna: Edition Seyrl, 1998). For France see, e.g., Jean Maitron, *Ravachol et les anarchistes* (Paris: Julliard, 1964); Association Française pour l'histoire de la justice, ed., *L'assassinat du Président Sadi Carnot et le procès de Santo Ironimo Caserio* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1995).
36. There are a few exceptions, however. See, e.g., Jonathan Stevenson, *"We Wrecked the Place": Contemplating an End to the Northern Irish Troubles* (New York: Free Press, 1996).
37. Thus also Schraut, "Zentrale Begriffe und Konzepte," 25.
38. Thus also, e.g., Frank Trommler, "Foreword," in *War and Terror in Historical and Contemporary Perspective*, ed. Michael Geyer (Washington, DC: American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, 2003), v. The holdings of the Library of Congress may be taken as an indicator of this wealth of literature. Even before the first decade of the twenty-first century had passed, a search for the term "terrorism" in the LC Catalog Quick Search would result in the note "Your search retrieved more records than can be displayed. Only the first 10,000 will be shown."
39. For notable studies by pioneers of terrorism studies, who—under the impression of new events and their contexts—expanded earlier interpretations in interesting ways, see esp. Carlton, *The West's Road to 9/11*; Walter Laqueur, *No End to War: Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Continuum, 2003); James M. Poland, *Understanding Terrorism: Groups, Strategies, and Responses*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005). For a contribution from French terrorism studies pioneers and experts in English, see Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, eds., *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007).

40. See, e.g., Thomas R. Mockaitis, *The "New" Terrorism: Myths and Reality* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2007); Peter R. Neumann, *Old and New Terrorism: Late Modernity, Globalization and the Transformation of Political Violence* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009).
41. See, e.g., Brenda J. Lutz and James M. Lutz, *Global Terrorism* (London: Routledge 2004); James M. Lutz and Brenda J. Lutz, *Terrorism: Origins and Evolution* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Brenda J. Lutz and James M. Lutz, eds., *Global Terrorism*, 4 vols. (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2008).
42. For interesting and in some respects especially original and thought-provoking interpretations by journalists and publicists, see, e.g., Caleb Carr, *The Lessons of Terror: A History of Warfare against Civilians; Why It Has Always Failed, and Why It Will Fail Again* (London: Little, Brown, 2002); Andrew Sinclair, *An Anatomy of Terror* (London: Macmillan, 2003); Kronenwetter, *Terrorism*; Matthew Carr, *The Infernal Machine: A History of Terrorism from the Assassination of Tsar Alexander II to Al-Qaeda* (New York: New Press, 2006).
43. See, e.g., Noam Chomsky, *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World*, new ed. (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2002); Paul Virilio, *Ground Zero* (London: Verso, 2002); Slavoj Žižek, *Welcome to the Desert of the Real! Five Essays on 11 September and Related Dates* (London: Verso, 2002); Jean Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism and Other Essays* (London: Verso, 2003); Paul Berman, *Terror and Liberalism* (New York: Norton, 2003); John Gray, *Al Quaeda and What It Means to Be Modern* (London: Faber & Faber, 2003); Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004); Terry Eagleton, *Holy Terror* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London and New York: Verso, 2006).
44. For publications in English covering this large time frame, see esp. Brett Bowden and Michael T. Davis, eds., *Terror: From Tyrannicide to Terrorism* (Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2008); Randall D. Law, *Terrorism: A History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009); Randall D. Law, *The Routledge History of Terrorism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).
45. For publications at least partly in English, see esp. *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire* 14, no. 3 (September 2007), ed. Robert Gerwarth and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt; *Modern Times? Terrorism in Late Imperial Russia*, ed. Anke Hilbrenner and Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, special issue, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N.F. 58, no. 2 (2010); Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism* (London: Harper Press, 2008).
46. See, e.g., Mike Davis, *Buda's Wagon: A Brief History of the Car Bomb* (London: Verso, 2007); Annette Vowinckel, *Flugzeugentführungen: Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2011).
47. See Ana Siljak, *Angel of Vengeance: The "Girl Assassin," the Governor of St. Petersburg, and Russia's Revolutionary World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2008); Claudia Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakosov: Imperial Russia, Modernity and the Birth of Terrorism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), John M. Merriman, *The Dynamite Club: How a Bombing in Fin-de-Siècle Paris Ignited the Age of Modern Terror* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009); Beverly Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded: A Story of America in Its First Age of Terror* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
48. Thus also Schraut, *Terrorismus und politische Gewalt*, 152f.

49. For Germany, see esp. Klaus Weinhauer, Jörg Requate, and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, eds., *Terrorismus in der Bundesrepublik: Medien, Staat und Subkulturen in den 1970er Jahren*, (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2006); Andreas Elter, *Propaganda der Tat: Die RAF und die Medien* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008); Hanno Balz, *Von Terroristen, Sympathisanten und dem starken Staat: Die öffentliche Debatte über die RAF in den 70er Jahren* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2008); Beatrice A. de Graaf, Nicole Colin, Jacco Pekelder, and Joachim Umlauf, eds., *Der "Deutsche Herbst" und die RAF in Politik, Medien und Kunst: Nationale und internationale Perspektiven* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008). For the United States, see esp. Bernardine Dohrn, William Ayers, and Jeff Jones, *Sing a Battle Song: The Revolutionary Poetry, Statements, and Communiqués of the Weather Underground, 1970–1974* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006); Mark Rudd, *Underground: My Life with SDS and the Weathermen* (New York: William Morrow, 2009); Arthur M. Eckstein, *Bad Moon Rising: How the Weather Underground Beat the FBI and Lost the Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016).
50. See Ulrich Herbert, "Drei politische Generationen im 20. Jahrhundert," in *Generationalität und Lebensgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jürgen Reulecke (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2003), 95–114.
51. For a comparative study on Germany and the United States, see esp. Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004); for a study on transnational connections and influences with a special focus on Germany and Italy, see Petra Terhoeven, *Deutscher Herbst in Europa: Der Linksterrorismus der siebziger Jahre als transnationales Phänomen* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2014); for different case studies with a transnational component, see Jussi M. Hanhimäki and Bernhard Blumenau, eds., *An International History of Terrorism: Western and Non-Western Experiences* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).
52. Mikkel Thorup, *An Intellectual History of Terror: War, Violence and the State* (London: Routledge, 2010), ix–x.
53. Martin A. Miller, *The Foundations of Modern Terrorism: State, Society and the Dynamics of Political Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 2.
54. See Jensen, "Daggers, Rifles and Dynamite," 116, 143. See also Isabelle Duyvesteyn and Beatrice de Graaf, "Terroristen en contraterrorisme: continuïteit en discontinuïteit," in *Terroristen en hun bestrijders, vroeger en nu*, ed. Isabelle Duyvesteyn and Beatrice de Graaf (Amsterdam: Boom, 2007), 139–147.
55. See esp. Richard Bach Jensen, *The Battle against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878–1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Elun T. Gabriel, *Assassins and Conspirators: Anarchism, Socialism, and Political Culture in Imperial Germany* (DeKalb, IL: NIU Press, 2014); Marcus Mühlnikel, *"Fürst, sind Sie unverletzt?" Attentate im Kaiserreich, 1871–1914* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2014); Iuliia Safronova, *Russkoe obshchestvo v zerkale revoliutsionnogo terrora, 1879–1881 gody* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2014); Carola Dietze, *The Invention of Terrorism in Europe, Russia an the United States*, trans. David Antal, James Bell and Zachary Murphy King, revised and expanded from the German edition (London and New York: Verso 2021; a Russian translation is published in Moscow by Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2022); "Explosive Melange: Terrorismus und imperiale Gewalt in Osteuropa," ed. Anke Hilbrenner and Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal, special issue,

Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, N.F. 66, no. 4 (2016); Tim-Lorenz Wurr, *Terrorismus und Autokratie: Staatliche Reaktionen auf den Russischen Terrorismus 1870–1890* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, [2017]); Schraut, *Terrorismus und politische Gewalt*; Carola Dietze, "Legitimacy and Security from a Historical Perspective: A Case Study in the History of Terrorism," in *Conceptualizing Power in Dynamics of Securitization: Beyond State and International System*, ed. Regina Kreide and Andreas Langenohl (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2019), 135–173.

56. Laqueur, *Terrorism*, reprinted as *A History of Terrorism*.
57. Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism*, 7–12.
58. Ibid., 12–14, 16–18.
59. See esp. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling"; Rapoport, "Why Does Messianism Produce Terror?"; David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, ed. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 46–73; David C. Rapoport, "Terrorism," in *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*, vol. 2, ed. Mary E. Hawkesworth and Maurice Kogan (London: Routledge, 2004), 1049–1077; David C. Rapoport, *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, 4 vols. (London: Routledge, 2006); David C. Rapoport, "Generations and Waves: The Keys to Understanding Rebel Terror Movements," February, 20, 2021, https://international.ucla.edu/institute/article/5118. For his earlier work, see n. 9.
60. Rapoport, "Generations and Waves." See also Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism"; Rapoport, "Terrorism"; Kaplan, "Waves of Political Terrorism." On the reaction to his theory, see, e.g., Berto Jongman, "Research Desiderata in the Field of Terrorism," in *Mapping Terrorism Research: State of the Art, Gaps and Future Direction*, ed. Magnus Ranstorp (New York: Routledge, 2006), 255–291; Kaplan, "Waves of Political Terrorism," 10–14.
61. See, e.g., Rapoport, "Terrorism," 1051f., 1067.
62. See, e.g., Grant Wardlaw, *Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics, and Counter-Measures*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), chaps. 1–3, or Peter Waldmann, *Terrorismus: Provokation der Macht* (Munich: Gerling Akademie, 1998), reprinted as *Terrorismus: Provokation der Macht; Das Standardwerk*, 2nd, completely revised ed. (Hamburg: Murmann, 2005), chap. 3.
63. An example of this view is John Deutch, "Terrorism," *Foreign Policy* 108 (1997): 10–22.
64. See Bowden, and Davis, *Terror*; Carr, *The Lessons of Terror*; Kronenwetter, *Terrorism*; Lutz and Lutz, *Global Terrorism*; Lutz and Lutz, *Terrorism*; Law, *The Routledge History of Terrorism*; the relevant chapters in a series of general survey books, e.g., in Martin, *Understanding Terrorism*.
65. Carr, *The Lessons of Terror*, 6.
66. Miller, *The Foundations of Modern Terrorism*, 2.
67. The importance of analytically precise distinctions is emphasized by, e.g., Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency," in *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, ed. Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 12–51; Sylvia Schraut, "Terrorismus und Geschichtswissenschaft," in *Terrorismusforschung in Deutschland*, ed. Alexander Spencer, Alexander Kocks, and Kai Harbrich (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft, 2011), 99–122, at 106. For a case from Germany available in English, see Peter Sloterdijk, *Terror from the Air*, trans. Amy Patton and Steve Corcoran (Los Angeles: Semiotext[e], 2009).

68. For a succinct, contemporary explication of this connection, see Astrid von Borcke, "Violence and Terror in Russian Revolutionary Populism: The 'Narodnaya Volya,' 1879–83," in *Social Protest, Violence, and Terror in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe*, ed. Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Gerhard Hirschfeld (London: Macmillan Press in association with Berg Publishers for the German Historical Institute, London, 1982), 48–62, at 48f. For later presentations of similar arguments, see, e.g., Anna Geifman, *Death Orders: The Vanguard of Modern Terrorism in Revolutionary Russia* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security International, 2010), e.g., 3f.
69. For this literature, see esp. nn. 19–24.
70. For a partly autobiographical portrait of the group fleeing Germany as youth, see Walter Laqueur, *Generation Exodus: The Fate of Young Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2001).
71. This might hold true, even though Adam B. Ulam explicitly refers to his "enduring addiction to the detective story" when he traces the reasons for studying prerevolutionary terrorism in Russia. See his *Understanding the Cold War: A Historian's Personal Reflections* [2000], 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2008), chap. 21, quotation at 241. See also Walter Laqueur, *Thursday's Child Has Far to Go: A Memoir of the Journeying Years* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1992), where he traces the topics of his intellectual engagement until 1951 (see esp. 335–345).
72. Albert Parry, *Terrorism: From Robespierre to Arafat* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1976).
73. Ibid., 7.
74. Donald H. Rumsfeld, interview with Tony Snow, *Fox News Sunday*, September 16, 2001, 9:05 A.M. EDT, accessed January 16, 2016, http://archive.defense.gov/Transcripts/Transcript.aspx?TranscriptID=1887; and George W. Bush, remarks by the president upon arrival: the South Lawn, September 16, 2001, 3:23 P.M. EDT, accessed January 16, 2016, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html.
75. Lance Morrow, "The Case for Rage and Retribution," *Time*, Wednesday, September 12, 2001, accessed December 4, 2016, http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,175435,00.html.
76. E.g., Reed Johnson, "Will War on Terrorism Define a Generation? Historians Ponder to What Extent the Attacks Will Be a True Turning Point for Society," *Los Angeles Times*, September 23, 2001, E1; Ralf Beste et al., "Wir sind eine Welt," *Spiegel Online*, September 15, 2001, accessed January 7, 2016, http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-20128594.html; Martin Klingst and Gunter Hofmann, "Ich will nicht nur Sicherheit: Bundesinnenminister Otto Schily über die Schwierigkeiten, eine Strategie gegen den neuen Terror zu finden," *Die Zeit*, September 17, 2001, 4.
77. Thus also Isabelle Duyvesteyn and Leena Malkki, "The Fallacy of the New Terrorism Thesis," in *Contemporary Debates on Terrorism*, ed. Richard Jackson and Samuel J. Sinclair (London: Routledge, 2012), 35–42.
78. On the concept of "holy terror" or religious terrorism, see esp. Rapoport, "Why Does Messianism Produce Terror?"; Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000). Both authors point out that this type of violence can arise from all major religions, such as Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.
79. For the Assassins' place in the standard narrative of terrorism, see esp. Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism*, 8–9; Rapoport, "Why Does Messianism Produce Terror?," 72f.; Rapoport,

"Fear and Trembling," 659f. and 664–668. On the medieval sect of the Ismailis (i.e., the Assassins, in the Western tradition) and the interpretations surrounding them, in English see the classic work of Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Secret Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizârî Ismâʿîlîs against the Islamic World* (1955; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Farhad Daftary, *The Ismāʾīlīs: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990); Farhad Daftary, *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Ismaʿilis* (London: Tauris, 1994); Farhad Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis: Traditions of a Muslim Community* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998); Meriem Pagès, *From Martyr to Murderer: Representations of the Assassins in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Europe* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014).

80. On suicide terrorism as a specific kind of terrorism and its rise and spread since the 1990s, see Laqueur, *No End to War*, chap. 4; Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, chap. 5; and esp. Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (2003): 343–361, reprinted in Lutz and Lutz, *Global Terrorism*, 311–346. See also Christoph Reuter, *My Life Is a Weapon: A Modern History of Suicide Bombing*, trans. Helena Ragg-Kirkby (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004); Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Robert Anthony Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005); Ami Pedahzur, *Suicide Terrorism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005); Nasra Hassan, "Suicide Terrorism," in *The Roots of Terrorism*, ed. Louise Richardson (New York: Routledge, 2006), 29–42; Assaf Moghadam, *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).
81. On the suicidal character of the attacks on September 11, 2001, see esp. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report*, authorized ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, [2004]); on suicide attacks by the Tamil Tigers and by Lebanese and Palestinian groups, see, e.g., Laqueur, *No End to War*, chap. 4; Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, chap. 5; Pape, *Dying to Win*, esp. chap. 8; Pedahzur, *Suicide Terrorism*, chaps. 3 and 4. On the July 7 attacks in London, see Moghadam, *The Globalization of Martyrdom*, chap. 6.
82. See, e.g., Reuter, *My Life Is a Weapon*, 20–28; Bloom, *Dying to Kill*, 4–11; Pedahzur, *Suicide Terrorism*, 9; James M. Poland, *Understanding Terrorism: Groups, Strategies, and Responses,* 3rd ed. (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2011), 23f.; Jeremy Spindlove and Clifford Simonsen, *Terrorism Today: The Past, the Players, the Future* (Boston: Pearson, 2013), 32. For a different perspective, see, e.g., the introduction in Moghadam, *The Globalization of Martyrdom*. See also Pape, *Dying to Win*, who draws these long historical lines (11–14, 33–35) while emphasizing that "the presumed connection between suicide terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism is misleading" (3).
83. Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 12, with minor changes, as translated in Carola Dietze and Claudia Verhoeven, "Introduction," paper presented at the Conference on Terrorism and Modernity: Global Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Political Violence, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA, October 23–26, 2008, 6.
84. Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, chaps. 1–2, at 12.
85. For Germany see also Friedhelm Neidhardt, "Zur Soziologie des Terrorismus," *Berliner Journal für Soziologie* 1, no. 2 (2004): 263–272; from the perspective of security policy, Kai Hirschmann, *Terrorismus* (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 2003), 7–9; from the criminological viewpoint, Anne Wildfang, *Terrorismus: Definition, Struktur, Dynamik*

(Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2010). For the Netherlands, see Erwin Roelof Muller, Ramón F. J. Spaaij, and A. G. W. Ruitenberg, *Trends in terrorisme* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Kluwer, 2003), 2–3. For the United Kingdom and Ireland, see Charles Townshend, *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), chap. 1; Richardson, *What Terrorists Want*, chap. 1. For the United States, see Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism*, 79; Martha Crenshaw, "Thoughts on Relating Terrorism to Historical Contexts," in *Terrorism in Context*, ed. Martha Crenshaw (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 3–24; Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, chap. 1, 40–41. For Israel, see Boaz Ganor, *Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?* (Herzliya: International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism, the Interdisciplinary Center, 1998); Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency." For Russia, see Murat Islamovich Dzliev, El'zad Seifullaevich Izzatdust, and Mikhail Pavlovich Kireev, *Sovremennyi terrorizm: Sotsial'no-politicheskii oblik protivnika* (Moscow: Akademiia, 2007), chap. 1.1, 28–35. For Australia, see Grant Wardlaw, *Political Terrorism*, chap. 1.1. The Italian sociologist Donatella Della Porta, *Clandestine Political Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 9–10, likewise singles out these elements to define her term "clandestine political violence."

86. For an overview over these narratives and the most important statements they contain, see above, pages 9–11.
87. Björn Wittrock, "Modernity: One, None, or Many? European Origins and Modernity as a Global Condition," *Daedalus* 129, no. 1 (2000): 31–60. The skeptical stance toward the concept of "modernity" set forth in my "Toward a History on Equal Terms" certainly is compatible with the recognition of the fact of "big developments" and the "promissory notes" of the term "modernity" and therefore does not preclude such an approach, as Dietze, *The Invention of Terrorism* and my chapter in this *Handbook* show.

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PART I

THE PREHISTORY OF TERRORISM

CHAPTER 1

TYRANNICIDE IN ANCIENT GREEK POLITICAL CULTURE

DAVID A. TEEGARDEN

The history of the ancient Greek people finally comes into view during the so-called Age of Tyrants (circa 650–510 BCE). It was a time when elite aristocrats, with their circle of supporters (*hetairoi*), fought among themselves for political dominance in the various independent city-states (poleis). The non-Greek word "*tyrannos*" referred to the individual man that defeated his rivals and subsequently forced everybody else to obey his orders. The word did not necessarily have a pejorative connotation at this time; it just referred to the undisputed winner.[1]

Archaic tyrants did not dominate their poleis for very long. Unique circumstances led to the fall of each regime. But two factors contributed to a common dynamic. First, the sons or grandsons of the original tyrant, once they inherited the tyranny, could not necessarily count on the support of their father's coalition (*hetaireia*): the original tyrant earned that support as a result of his leadership in previous political conflicts; his son or grandson did not earn his privileged position and thus lacked credibility. Second, as the Age of Tyrants progressed, it became increasingly common for members of the various poleis to believe that political power should be shared by a large number of men—not monopolized by a single man. As a result, the sons or grandsons of tyrants faced ever-growing opposition to their rule and were eventually overthrown in violent revolutions.

Much longer lasting than the Age of Tyrants was the subsequent idealization and promotion of tyrant killing. Beginning in the late sixth century and continuing until the mid-second century BCE, it became increasingly common for Greeks to situate the tyrant and the tyrant killer on the extreme opposite ends of the spectrum of political morality. The tyrant was no longer simply the winner of a political struggle; he was the perpetrator of the greatest imaginable crime of enslaving the entire populace for his

personal benefit. The tyrant killer, on the other hand, performed the greatest possible public benefaction: he selflessly risked his own life to assassinate the tyrant in order to liberate his fellow citizens.[2] That dichotomy is simple. But, as this chapter will demonstrate, it became a defining characteristic of Greek political culture in general and democratic culture in particular.

Creation of the Ideal

The most popular and important act of tyrannicide in ancient Greek history occurred in Athens at the Panathenaic festival of 514. Harmodius and Aristogeiton and their small number of co-conspirators intended to kill Hippias, the tyrant of Athens. Just moments before the two men were about to strike, however, they saw one of their fellow conspirators talking in a friendly manner with the tyrant. Thinking that they had been betrayed and would soon be arrested, they assassinated Hippias' brother, Hipparchus, against whom they had a personal grievance. Hippias' mercenaries subsequently killed Harmodius on the spot. And they soon captured, tortured, and killed Aristogeiton.[3]

That assassination marked the beginning of the end of the tyranny in archaic Athens. Hippias responded quickly. He first killed or exiled his potential enemies and began to rule much more harshly. He also—as a back-up plan—married his daughter to the tyrant of Lampsacus, a man with connections with the powerful Persian king. Those efforts, however, were futile. Athenian exiles, led by the formidable Alcmaeonidae family, continually harassed the regime from their base in northwest Attica. And finally, in 510, they succeeded in securing Spartan military assistance. The tyranny soon fell and an oligarchy was established.[4]

The supporters of the new oligarchy both idealized and encouraged their supporters to act like Harmodius and Aristogeiton, if necessary, in order to defend the regime. According to Pliny the Elder, they erected statues of the two tyrannicides in 509 BCE, almost immediately after the oligarchy's foundation. We do not know what those statues looked like. But we do know that they were the first statues erected in Athens of particular mortal men. They would thus have been startling conspicuous to everybody who saw them: some people, perhaps many, personally knew the two men. But the message that they advertised to all Athenians was more important: tyrant killing—that is acting like Harmodius and Aristogeiton—is equivalent to the celebrated acts of the divine heroes.[5]

In addition to the revolutionary act of erecting their statues, supporters of the new regime sang songs whereby they explicitly promised to act "just like Harmodius and Aristogeiton." Four so-called tyrannicide *skolia* are preserved in the text of a late second-century CE Greek author. Here is one song.

> I will carry my sword [*xiphos*] in a myrtle branch
> just like Harmodius and Aristogeiton
> when they killed the tyrant
> and made Athens a place of equality under law [*isonomia*].[6]

Although we cannot be certain, it is most likely that Athenian men originally sang this and the other tyrannicide *skolia* in symposia (drinking parties), perhaps initially while they were in exile and then later after they gained control of Athens and established their oligarchy. Particularly important here, however, is the fact that the singer of the *skolion* pledges to his "audience" that he will act "just like Harmodius and Aristogeiton." And it is quite likely that he somehow acted like the tyrannicides when he sang: thus "I will carry my sword." We should thus consider these songs to be commitment mechanisms—a means for men to demonstrate to their fellow comrades that they, too, will risk their life for the cause of liberty (*isonomia*). We catch a glimpse in these songs of the anti-tyranny, revolutionary fervor in Athens at that time.

The tyrannicide ideal retained its importance in Athenian political culture after the demos seized control of the polis and founded its democracy (508/7 BCE.). Most significantly, supporters of the new regime erected in the agora new bronze statues (made, this time, by Critius and Nesiotes) of Harmodius and Aristogeiton in 477/6, shortly after the Athenians' victory in the Persian War.[7] Unlike the earlier statues made by Antenor, we know—from later Roman versions made out of stone—what they looked like.[8] Both men are heroically nude and depicted in the act of advancing on and killing Hipparchus. Aristogeiton thrusts his sword-bearing left hand forward, his arm parallel to the ground. Harmodius holds his sword in his raised right hand, about to strike a downward blow. The depiction of Harmodius became particularly popular in Athenian public iconography. B. B. Shefton (and others since him) has called it the "Harmodius blow."[9]

As several scholars have also concluded, a central function of these statues was to encourage citizens of the new democratic regime to emulate the actions of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, if necessary. The agora was Athens's civic center, a place where the Athenians conducted important political work. The powerful council (boule), for example, met in the agora and votes for ostracism were held there. These statues demonstrated—and thus sought to instill—the correct attitude of all of those present during such activities: citizens of the new regime must be vigilant, willing to strike down a fellow citizen who seriously threatens the democracy. Josiah Ober put it well, writing that the statues depict "democratically correct" behavior.[10]

A few decades after the Persian War, perhaps in the 440s, the Athenian demos decreed that the oldest living descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton should be honored in perpetuity with public meals in the prytaneion.[11] We do not know what particular event, if any, inspired this act of public generosity. Indeed, we do not know a lot about Athens's domestic politics at this time. We do know, however, that somebody (perhaps Pericles) thought it politically expedient to make the proposal and that the matter was subsequently discussed and debated in the citizen assembly. I suspect, but cannot prove, that at least one rationale was to ensure that the tyrannicide ideal would be embraced and thus kept viable by citizens born decades after the democratic revolution of 508/7. It was an attempt, that is, to prevent the members of the current generation from taking the survival of their democracy for granted.

The promotion of tyrannicide intensified greatly during the last two decades of the fifth century. Many Athenians at that time questioned the viability of the democracy: the democracy brought the city to war with the Spartans, during which everybody was

forced to live within the city's walls. Pro-democrats became increasingly concerned that their political opponents—who by this time they called tyrants—were conspiring to overthrow the democracy; thus the heavy emphasis on tyrannicide at this time.

Cleon, the infamous demagogue, stoked fears of a tyrannical threat in order to intimidate critics of the democracy and thus increase his influence with the masses. Aristophanes mocked that dynamic in his *Wasps*, a comedy performed in 422. In lines 488–495, a man named Hatecleon (obviously an opponent of Cleon) laments to the chorus of ardent pro-democrats and Cleon supporters:

> How you see tyranny and conspirators everywhere, as soon as anyone voices a criticism large or small! I hadn't even heard of the word being used for at least fifty years, but nowadays it's cheaper than sardines. Look how it's bandied about in the marketplace [*agora*]. If someone buys perch but doesn't want sprats, the sprat seller next door pipes right up and says, "This guy buys fish like a would-be tyrant."[12]

It is important to recall that the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton stood conspicuously in the agora, right where this outburst was to have taken place. The audience, I believe, is thus invited to suppose that those statues inspired the sprat seller—a Cleon supporter—to combat all apparent tyrannical threats and defend the democracy.

The disastrous invasion of Sicily (415/13 BCE) accelerated the dynamic considerably. Even before the ships set sail, the Athenians awoke to discover that stone statues called Herms had been systematically destroyed throughout the city. Thucydides wrote that the Athenians thought that it was the work of a "tyrannical and oligarchic conspiracy" and immediately conducted a hysterical witch-hunt, believing all accusations, however incredible.[13] And we learn from another contemporary (Andocides) that, after preliminary inquiries, the council actually ordered a military mobilization to defend the ruling regime.[14] The destruction of the Herms was not the work of an anti-democratic conspiracy. But two large-scale and successful tyrannical conspiracies were just around the corner. The first occurred in 411, in the wake of the Sicilian disaster, and brought to power the Four Hundred.[15] The second occurred in 404, after the Athenians surrendered to the Spartans; it brought to power the infamous "Thirty Tyrants."

I now highlight three important moments that demonstrate the significance of tyrannicide ideology in Athenian political culture during the turbulent final few years of the fifth century. They collectively suggest that there was a public dialogue on the efficacy of acting like Harmodius and Aristogeiton to defend the democracy.

First, in his *Lysistrata*—a comedy staged less than six months before the coup of the Four Hundred—Aristophanes ridiculed the ideal of acting "just like Harmodius and Aristogeiton" as a way to resist tyranny and defend democracy. The comedy's famous plot centers on a sex strike organized by women from various poleis in order to force their husbands to end the Peloponnesian War. The following lines (630–635) depict the moment that the comedy's male chorus leader believes that he has discovered the women's actual intention.

> Actually, this plot they weave against us, gentlemen, aims at tyranny! Well, they'll never tyrannize over *me*: from now on I'll be on my guard, I'll "carry my sword [*xiphos*] in a myrtle branch" and go to the market [*agora*] fully armed right up beside Aristogeiton. I'll stand beside him like this: that way I'll be ready to smack this godforsaken old hag right in the jaw![16]

The humor of this passage lies in the fact that the male chorus leader intends to literally act like Harmodius. He first quotes the tyrannicide *skolion* discussed above: "I'll carry my sword in a myrtle branch." He then poses like the statue of Harmodius. This is indicated, first, by his statement that he will "go to the agora" "right up beside Aristogeiton": the statue of Harmodius was in the agora and right by the statue of Aristogeiton. Also, his intention to stand "like this" indicates that he is posing like the statue of Harmodius while delivering his lines: as we noted above, the so-called Harmodius blow was very popular in Athenian public iconography. Aristophanes is clearly mocking the pro-democrats' knee-jerk appeal to tyrannicide.

Second, after the downfall of the regime of the Four Hundred and the restoration of the democracy (June 410), all Athenians swore a public oath to act like Harmodius and Aristogeiton in order to defend their democracy against any subsequent attempts at a coup. This is the so-called oath of Demophantus, the text of which is apparently quoted verbatim in sections 96–98 of Andocides' speech titled *On the Mysteries*.[17] In part of it they pledged the following:

> If it be in my power, I will slay by word and by deed, by my vote and by my hand, whosoever shall suppress the democracy at Athens, whosoever shall hold any public office after its suppression, and whosoever shall attempt to become tyrant or shall help to install a tyrant.…And if anyone shall lose his life in slaying such an one or in attempting to slay him, I will show to him and to his children the kindness which was shown to Harmodius and Aristogeiton and to their children.

This oath should be interpreted as a rejection of Aristophanes' dismissal of the efficacy of tyrannicide in the modern (i.e., late fifth century) democracy. Athenian pro-democrats believed that their regime would, in fact, be preserved if citizens were willing to act "just like Harmodius and Aristogeiton": they put it in law.

Third, after Athenian pro-democrats overthrew the Thirty Tyrants (403), the demos appears to have publicly declared that the hated regime fell because citizens had acted like Harmodius and Aristogeiton. The most explicit evidence is quite late: Philostratus, in chapter 4 of book 7 of his *Life of Apollonius*, states that songs were sung at Athens's Panathenaea celebrating the leaders of the resistance to the Thirty along with Harmodius and Aristogeiton; and Plutarch, in chapter 16 of his *Life of Aratus*, calls the effort to overthrow the Thirty an act of tyrant killing (*tyrannoktonia*).[18] Only slightly less explicit—and, importantly, contemporary to the overthrow of the Thirty—are the vase paintings on the Panathenaic amphoras from 402. The basic picture is similar to all such amphoras: the goddess Athena, with a shield in one hand and a spear in the other, is advancing

upon an unseen enemy. For the Panathenaic amphoras of 402, the demos decreed that the image of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton be painted on Athena's shield.[19] The interpretation of the vase painting is straightforward: Athens (here = democracy) defends itself because its citizens act like Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

By the end of the fifth century, the idealization of acting like Harmodius and Aristogeiton was a central component of Athenian democratic political culture. It is, indeed, quite remarkable to consider the wide array of public media within which the two were praised. Anti-democrats sought to discredit that effusive praise both by pointing out that the two men did not kill a tyrant and by suggesting that, in any case, they were motivated by selfish personal reasons.[20] But their arguments did not matter: pro-democrats believed that Harmodius and Aristogeiton founded the democracy by an act of tyrannicide and that the subsequent defense of that regime required citizens to be willing to act just like them.

Diffusion of the Ideal

Although there is some evidence for the promotion of tyrannicide outside of Athens during the fifth century, its diffusion became prominent starting in the fourth century.[21] I will now focus on three distinct historical periods—each of which was important in the history of ancient Greek democracy—when Athenian-style tyrannicide ideology was heavily promoted outside Athens. The analysis is selective, but it contains the most significant examples and identifies the major dynamics involved.

Athenian-Led Resistance to Philip II of Macedon

The rise of Macedon under the leadership of Philip II was the most consequential dynamic in Greek history during the late classical period. Since the foundation of the Argead dynasty in the late ninth century, Macedon had been a relatively weak power: it was often pushed around by states such as Persia, Athens, and Thebes, and the neighboring Illyrian tribes frequently invaded it. But that changed soon after Philip assumed the throne of Macedon in 359. He quickly defeated his enemies in the north of the Aegean peninsula. And he then turned his attention to the Greek poleis in the south.

Demosthenes, Athens's great orator and influential leader at the time, advocated a vigorous, pro-active policy to defeat the growing tyrannical threat before it was too late. He first urged his fellow citizens to be aware of and then counter the tyrannical/pro-Macedonian threat in their own city. Second, he traveled to several Greek poleis in order to forge an Athenian-led anti-Macedonian coalition. We happen to know what he told the Messenians, Argives, and Arcadians in 344: pro-Macedonian would-be tyrants are a serious threat to their freedom; tyrants are by nature enemies of freedom and the rule law; the only real bulwark against tyranny is mistrust; the tyranny threat grows stronger

every day that it is unopposed. We cannot say for certain, but he quite likely delivered that same basic message in his other diplomatic trips throughout the Greek peninsula.[22]

The Athenians' invasion of the island of Euboia (late spring/early summer 341) was the result of what might be called the "Demosthenes doctrine." Several months earlier, pro-Macedonians staged anti-democratic coups in the cities of Oreus and Eretria. In speeches delivered subsequently in the Athenian assembly, Demosthenes repeatedly referred to the coup leaders in both cities as tyrants. And he asserted that Philip supported those coups in order to acquire bases from which he may attack Athens. The Athenians were convinced. Pursuant to a decree moved by Demosthenes himself, an Athenian-led coalition launched pre-emptive strikes against the regimes of both cities. They killed both cities' tyrants and then established democracies.[23]

After the Athenian-led invasion, the citizens of Eretria promulgated a tyrant-killing law, the earliest known such law to have been promulgated outside of Athens. Here is a translation of the badly preserved and thus heavily restored lines 4–8.

> The tyrant, his offspring, and whoever makes an attempt at tyranny shall be without rights. And whoever kills the tyrant's partisan or the tyrant, if he is a citizen… shall be given to him… and stand near the alter his… bronze statue. And he shall have a front seat at the festivals that the polis sponsors and public maintenance [*sitesis*] in the town hall as long as he lives.[24]

This law was part of a broader Athenian-led effort to secure Eretria's recently reinstated democracy against future attacks by pro-Macedonians. As one part of that effort, the Athenians ratified a treaty whereby they pledged to defend Eretria's new democracy from attacks by its domestic enemies.[25] Henceforth, Eretrian pro-Macedonians had to factor into their decision calculus whether they could overcome both the Eretrian pro-democrats and any forces that the Athenians might provide. The Athenians, however, were heavily involved elsewhere in the Greek world in order to oppose Philip and thus might not be able assist Eretria's pro-democrats. Anti-democrats, therefore, might deem it worth the risk to stage another coup. In order to counter such an attempt, Eretrian pro-democrats promulgated their tyrant-killing law, no doubt after receiving advice from the Athenians.

In the spring of 336, some eighteen months after Philip defeated the Athenian-led coalition at the battle of Chaeronea, the Athenians promulgated for themselves another tyrant-killing law, called the law of Eucrates. It predictably echoes the decree of Demophantus. Here is a translation of lines 7–11.

> If anyone rises up against the demos for a tyranny or helps establish the tyranny or overthrows the demos of Athens or the democracy at Athens, whoever kills a man who has done any of these things shall be undefiled.[26]

The promulgation of Eucrates' law testifies to the desperate situation in Athens after the battle of Chaeronea. Demosthenes, as we have seen, had asserted for years that a small

number of Athenian citizens were plotting to overthrow their democracy and subject the city to Macedonian rule. The loss at Chaeronea provided those men a greater opportunity and the added encouragement to strike. The Athenians responded to the threat by promulgating a tyrant-killing law. They thus did for themselves what they advised other lesser powers. After Chaeronea, all cities were in the same boat.

The evidence discussed above suggests that the promotion of tyrannicide played an important role in the Athenian-led effort to combat Macedonian imperialism. The Athenians, as we have seen, defined the threat as "tyranny" and thus sought to gather an anti-tyranny coalition to fight it. And they naturally saw tyrant killing as the means to defeat the threat in particular poleis. The Greek peninsula at the end of the classical period was thus bristling with anti-tyranny and tyrannicide rhetoric. We might say that acting like Harmodius and Aristogeiton was considered to be crucial to the survival of the old order.

Early Hellenistic Western Asia Minor

Alexander the Great's conquest of western Asia Minor was one of the most important events in the history of ancient Greek democracy. Before the invasion, the cities in that region were under Persian control and governed directly by some form of oligarchy or tyranny. As part of his imperial strategy, however, Alexander consistently supported pro-democrats in the various cities—men who were committed anti-Persians—and thus promoted democracy. And, quite remarkably, democracy subsequently became a normal regime type for the Greek cities in Asia Minor for generations.[27]

Alexander heavily promoted anti-tyranny and tyrant-killing ideology during his conquests. We know, for example, that he publicly referred to pro-Persian partisans in the various Greek cities as tyrants. We also know that he issued an anti-tyranny proclamation in 331, after the battle of Gaugamela. According to Plutarch, he "wrote to the states saying that all tyrannies are now abolished and that henceforth they might live under their own laws." And finally, he either conspicuously returned, or publicly promised to return to Athens the original statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton that had been stolen by Xerxes' troops during the Persian War.[28]

As would be expected, the epigraphic record of several cities in Asia Minor bears witness to Alexander's promotion of (Athenian-style) tyrannicide and anti-tyranny ideology. I will now highlight two interesting inscribed texts, from two very different cities in two very different regions.

The first text is a tyrant-killing law from Ilion—the site of legendary Troy—that dates to circa 280. It is exceptionally complex and thorough—150 lines survive more or less intact. For our purposes, it is important to note that it echoes the defining language found in the decree of Demophantus (and, subsequently, in the law from Eretria and the law of Eucrates): "whoever kills a tyrant, a leader of an oligarchy, or someone overthrowing the democracy" (lines 19–21). The law then lists the rewards that would be given to a tyrannicide (lines 21–53) according to his status:

- Citizen: he shall receive a talent of silver, free meals in the prytaneion, public heralding to a front row seat in civic events, two drachmas everyday for the rest of his life, and a bronze statue in his likeness will be erected.
- Free foreigner: he shall receive the same rewards given to a citizen tyrannicide and will be given citizenship, enrolled in whatever tribe he wants.
- Slave: he will be freed, permitted to participate in the regime, and will receive both a lump sum payment of thirty minai (half a talent) and a daily stipend of one drachma.
- Fellow soldier of the tyrant: provided that he subsequently helps establish a democracy, he will be pardoned for his crimes and receive a talent of silver.[29]

The Ilian law extends the logic of honoring tyrannicides to its extreme. Tyrant killing is dangerous: Harmodius and Aristogeiton famously died. Democratic regimes thus promised great rewards to a tyrannicide in order to alter an individual's decision calculus such that he might consider it to be worthwhile to strike down an autocrat. It makes sense, then, to directly incentivize as many people as possible—to make the pool of potential tyrannicides as large as possible. The people of Ilion incentivized everybody except the tyrant himself. As a result, wherever the tyrant or leader of an oligarchy went, he would be around people incentivized to kill him. And that increased the likelihood that he will be killed.

The second text is a decree of the demos from Erythrae. It likely was promulgated in the early Hellenistic period, perhaps around 280 BCE, although scholars have dated it to the late 330s or shortly after 301. I quote the most important part of this text (lines 1–16).

> It was resolved by the council and the demos. Zoilos the son of Chiades proposed: since the members of the oligarchy took away the sword [*xiphos*] from the statue, which was a portrait of Philites the tyrant killer, thinking that the erection of the statue was a protest against themselves…it was resolved by the council and the demos that…it shall be completed [i.e., repaired] as it was previously…and the statue will be free of patina and will be crowned always at the festivals of the first of the month and at the other festivals.[30]

We learn from this inscription that both sides in an extended civil war considered the manipulation of the statue of Philites—a statue that clearly echoed the Athenians' statue of Harmodius[31]—to play an important role in the defense of its regime. The oligarchs used the statue to advertise to all Erythraeans that pro-democracy resistance is futile. The tyrannicide with his sword conspicuously removed (and gathering patina) is a monument to futility and humiliation. And recent events backed up the oligarchs' message: oligarchs controlled the city, having overthrown the democracy. If people suspected that their fellow citizens believed that message, it would be quite difficult to form a credible pro-democracy resistance movement: individuals would not join because they would doubt that a sufficient numbers of other individuals would join. The democrats, on the other hand, used the statue of Philites to advertise that pro-democracy resistance is, in

fact, effective. The statue once again depicts an effective revolutionary leader—a fact that would have been repeatedly emphasized in the annual crowning rituals. And, as was the case when the oligarchs controlled the statue, recent events supported the pro-democrats' version of history: democrats did successfully overthrow the oligarchy, no doubt viewing the coup as a collective act of tyrannicide. If that view were widely perceived to be credible, individual pro-democrats would be more likely to join an anti-tyranny movement in the future. And the democracy would thus be more secure.

The evidence presented above suggests that the encouragement of tyrant killing played a significant role in the defense of the newly established democracies of Hellenistic Asia Minor. Alexander advertised it widely throughout the region. And we see effects of that promotion in the epigraphic record of the cities of the region. This is quite ironic, of course. As we saw above, acts of tyrannicide were encouraged throughout the Aegean peninsula to defend democracies against Macedonian imperialism. Not long thereafter, however, Alexander promoted it in Asia Minor to support democracy and thus secure his imperial ambitions. And the ideology stuck.

Mid-Third to Mid-Second-Century Peloponnesus

The Achaean League, a federal state centered in the northwest Peloponnesus, was a power of some significance from the mid-third century until the Romans sacked Carthage in 146 BCE. It was formed—reformed, actually—in 280, in order to oppose the Macedonian-supported tyrants that controlled many of the towns in the region: the citizens of several towns concluded that they were powerless to counter the tyranny threat unless they drew upon their collective strength and formed a single state. The small towns of Patrae, Dyme, Tritaea, and Pharae made the first move to forge the union. Other towns subsequently joined, beginning with Aegium in 275/4.[32]

League members considered their federal state to be democracy. There is epigraphic evidence for that fact, and the Greek historian Polybius, himself born into a prominent league family, proudly asserts it, praising the league's embrace of the democratic ideals of *isegoria* and *parrhesia* (equality and freedom of speech, respectively).[33] Their democracy, however, was not like that of Athens or of the other polis democracies: the league required that men be at least thirty years old to participate; citizens received pay neither for attending assemblies nor holding offices. Nevertheless, all citizens of the league could vote for federal offices. And each member state of the league sent a number of men proportionate to its own population size to the powerful council.

In what might be considered to be its grand strategy, the Achaean League sought to acquire, by persuasion or by force if necessary, control of the entire Peloponnesus. Polybius predictably put a good spin on it, asserting that the league sought to extend liberty throughout the region. Whether their motives were idealistic, self-serving, or both, the league vigorously pursued that goal. They overthrew or killed several tyrants that opposed them.[34] And several other tyrants, seeing the fate that awaited them, abdicated

their power, sometimes even becoming generals in the league.[35] The league finally achieved its goal in 191 (consolidated in 183): albeit after allying with larger powers, it controlled the whole Peloponnesus. It was, wrote Polybius, "the most glorious deed."[36]

The three most prominent leaders of the Achaean League—all of them generals (*strategoi*)—were renowned tyrant killers. The first is Margus of Caryneia. We know very little about him. But we know that he killed the tyrant of Bura in 275/4 and subsequently joined that city to the recently refounded Achaean League. Importantly, that is the first known act of tyrannicide in the league's history. And we also know that two decades later, in 255/4, Margus became the first member of the league to be elected sole general (*strategos*)—before that date, the league annually elected two *stragetoi*. We should thus conclude that members of the league considered Margus to be a role model, a man who set the standard for others to follow. He was, first of all, a revolutionary pioneer of the league, a man who actually killed a tyrant in order to advance freedom. But also he was a statesman who could be entrusted with power without abusing it.[37]

The second great leader was Aratus of Sicyon, the most famous and historically significant member of the Achaean League. He deposed Nicocles, the tyrant of Sicyon, in 251/0 at the age of twenty and then joined the city to the then fledgling Achaean League. The citizens of Sicyon subsequently erected a statue of him in gratitude; it is likely, but not certain, that he was depicted as a tyrant killer. Later in life he was elected *strategos* every other year (consecutive terms being unconstitutional), famous for his fierce opposition to tyrants while he increased the strength and influence of the league. When he died, the people of Sicyon initiated a hero cult in his honor.[38]

The last great leader of the Achaean League was Philopoemen of Megalopolis. He spent his formative years under the careful guidance of two well-known liberators and tyrant killers, Ecdemus and Demophanes, men famous for (inter alia) having killed Aristodemus, the tyrant of Megalopolis, and having joined Aratus in the famous liberation of Sicyon. It was thus to be expected that Philopoemen would seek to become a glorious tyrannicide/liberator too. And he had his chance in the famous confrontation with Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, at the battle of Mantinea (207 BCE). Polybius tells us that Philopoemen stalked the tyrant during the battle, seeking an opportunity to strike him down. When he found the opportunity, he killed him heroically with his own hand. The Achaeans subsequently erected a statue in Delphi of him in the act of killing the tyrant Machanidas. And when he died, he received—like the tyrannicide Aratus—a hero cult.[39]

The tyrant killer obviously enjoyed an exalted status in the Achaean League. That is not terribly surprising, since the league was, in part, an anti-tyranny enterprise. Indeed, opposition to tyranny was one of its unifying elements. What is surprising, however, is that so many men of the league were celebrated as tyrant killers: Margus, Aratus, Philopoemen, Ecdemus, and Demophanes. And there no doubt were others.[40] Having killed a tyrant in fact appears to have been a sure way—perhaps the surest way—to achieve prominence in the league. And that observation alone provides significant insight into the violent and ideologically charged political culture of the Peloponnesus during the third century.

Explanation for the Ideal's Popularity

I have demonstrated in the previous section that the promotion and practice of tyrant killing became a dominant component of democratic thought and action throughout much of the ancient Greek world. How can we account for that popularity? As a partial explanation, I suggest two complementary factors: tyrannicide was both effective and non-problematic.

Tyrannicide as Effective

A crucial determinant for the survival of an ancient Greek democracy was the capability of its supporters to mobilize in response to a coup d'état. Greek poleis did not have institutions staffed by full-time professionals charged with protecting their regime: they did not have, for example, an FBI or a DHS. Instead, the viability of their regimes came down to whether or not a sufficient number of citizens—mostly farmers and artisans—would act in concert to defend them against a coup. If a sufficient number of people acted in defense, the demos would have the power (*kratos*) to control the polis and thus to maintain its democracy. If a sufficient number did not do so, anti-democrats would assume control of the city and impose an oligarchy or tyranny.

The logic is simple, but effecting a sufficiently large pro-democracy mobilization in a revolutionary situation is very difficult. Anti-democrats—like today—knew how to use intimidation and misinformation to terrorize the majority into silence. They knew, that is, how to convince individual pro-democrats that, if they act to defend their regime, other pro-democrats will not follow them (and that they will thus be punished for their revolutionary act). Thus, in the event of a coup, individual pro-democrats would not act, although they want to: each person is afraid that he would be killed without accomplishing anything and therefore waits for people to act before he does. Pro-democrats would thus have had what we might call a "revolutionary coordination problem."

I suggest that pro-democrats promoted tyrannicide because it would help them overcome a revolutionary coordination problem and thus defend their democracy against a coup d'état. The tyrant killer performs the all-important act of "going first." His public act then convinces brave individuals to follow him. And the actions of those individuals, in turn, convince yet other individuals to join—they believe that others will follow them too. The chain reaction continues. Eventually, pro-democrats would know that they have sufficient support to defend their regime and would thus draw upon their collective strength and oppose the coup.

The bandwagon dynamic of tyrannicide was harnessed in tyrant-killing law—an institution invented, as we have seen, in Athens with the decree of Demophantus and then promulgated elsewhere. Such legislation directly incentivized individuals to kill

tyrants, of course. But the promulgation of the law also generated common knowledge of widespread credible commitment to act in defense of the regime. As a result of the law's promulgation, that is, everybody knew that everybody knew that everybody knew (and so on) that a majority of the population likely would act to oppose an anti-democratic coup. Pro-democrats, therefore, would take the risk to act in defense of their regime earlier than they otherwise would have: they believe that others will follow them because those others believe that yet others will follow them. Thus, after a tyrant killer strikes down the tyrant, people would join in the resistance in ever-greater numbers, more joining as they see that people have already joined. And if that dynamic were expected, anti-democrats would be deterred from staging a coup in the first place.

The effectiveness of tyrannicide in ancient Greece is not theoretical. There are several examples of such acts (pursuant to the promulgation of a tyrant-killing law or not) leading to a mobilized response in defense of a democracy. The resistance to the Thirty Tyrants in Athens was particularly famous (section I of this chapter). But the tyrant-killing revolutions at Thebes in 379 and Rhodes in 395 were also celebrated, as were several revolutions associated both with Timoleon's campaigns in Sicily in the late 340s and, as we saw in section II, with the Achaean League. The widespread proliferation of tyrant-killing law and ideology itself suggests that tyrannicide was considered to be effective: ideas and institutions tend to proliferate if they are effective. In fact, it is not too much of a stretch to conclude that the widespread promotion of tyrant killing contributed to the persistence of democracy in parts of the ancient Greek world.[41]

Tyrannicide as Non-Problematic

In addition to being effective, tyrannicide was not considered to be problematic. First—and as noted in the beginning of this chapter—most Greeks of the classical period and subsequent eras considered the tyrant to be a criminal.[42] The theoretical justification for that position is that the tyrant had stolen control of the polis and thus enslaved its rightfully free citizens. Greeks do not appear to have embraced the view that some autocrats, let alone illegitimate or "tyrannical" ones, ruled by divine right. But there were also practical justifications for the idea that the tyrant was a criminal, since he and his supporters almost certainly committed atrocities in order to obtain and maintain power. An inscription from late fourth-century Eresos, for example, lists the crimes that their tyrant had committed: he confiscated money from the citizens (no doubt to pay his mercenaries); he killed and exiled citizens; he defiled holy places; he outraged women. Such crimes were typically associated with tyrants and tyranny.[43]

Second, it was common practice in the Greek world for supporters of the ruling regime to declare that anybody might lawfully kill one of its own citizens, if he had engaged in anti-regime, revolutionary activity (i.e., a crime against the state). Such declarations typically included the guilty man's extended family (*genos*). And the regime sometimes promised a monetary reward to whoever killed the accused individual.[44] The objective of these pronouncements was both to deter men from engaging in anti-regime

activity and to raise the risk involved (and thus difficulty) for those already declared to be outlaws to attack the regime once again. The practice is significant for this chapter, however, because it indicates that the Greeks were generally comfortable with the state (the polis) outsourcing acts of violence to anonymous and unofficial agents.

The two factors just mentioned facilitated a rather straightforward, non-problematic view of tyrannicide. Tyrants are bad criminals and killing them is good—that is essentially what most Greeks thought. Complicating factors were largely, if not totally, absent.[45] To vividly underscore that fact, I here quote Plutarch's account of the execution of Hippo, the tyrant of Messana (in Sicily). The quote is from chapter 34 of his *Life of Timoleon*.

> The Messanians took him into the theater, brought their children thither from their schools to behold, as a glorious spectacle, the tyrant's punishment, and they put him to torment and death.

Conclusion

The widespread celebration and promotion of tyrannicide is a testament to the Greeks' love of political freedom. The tyrant killer was not honored simply because he killed an autocrat. He was honored because, by killing the autocrat, he returned political power to the citizens, the rightful owners of that power. Those citizens could then actualize their true nature as "political animals" (to quote Aristotle) and assume control of their polis' political destiny.[46] Such a mentality would have been unthinkable in states with an autocratic tradition, where the idea of citizen rule had no purchase.

It is thus not surprising to discover that the promotion of tyrannicide waned significantly after genuine political freedom was no longer a realistic possibility for the Greeks. Arguments from silence are dangerous, of course. But there is no known tyrant-killing law that postdates Rome's conquest of Greece. And I am unaware of any literary source that reports an episode of genuine tyrant killing that occurred after that momentous event. The primary reason, I suggest, is quite straightforward: after the sack of Corinth, the Romans directly controlled the Greeks' political destiny. Henceforth, the Greeks were part of a massive empire; real power did not lie in the various poleis, but in the city of Rome. Tyrannicide in a Greek polis would thus be futile.

A fictitious speech entitled *The Tyrannicide*, composed by the Greek rhetorician Lucian (circa 120–180 CE), underscores the fall of tyrannicide as a practical act.[47] It purports to be a speech delivered in a law court by a man who intended to kill a tyrant, but killed the tyrant's son instead, leaving the sword in his body. The actual tyrant subsequently discovered his son's body, removed the sword and killed himself because he was so overcome with grief. The son's assassin—the man purportedly delivering the fictitious speech—thus argues that he should be rewarded as a tyrant killer: his act, he maintains,

ultimately caused the tyrant to kill himself. The speech is clever and meant to impress with its twisted logic. But it is a fake speech about an absurd and fake situation. The act of tyrannicide was reduced to a rhetorical topos chock-full of well-worn clichés about freedom, democracy, and tyranny. The days of acting like Harmodius and Aristogeiton in any meaningful way were long over.

Notes

1. The standard, yet now dated, English account of archaic tyranny is A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963). The fullest historical investigation into Greek tyranny is Helmut Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, 2 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhanlung, 1967).
2. See, e.g., Aristotle, *Politics*, 1267a15–16, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1944).
3. The best ancient source for the assassination of Hipparchus is Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, bk. 6, chs. 54–59, trans. C. F. Smith, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928–35). Fundamental analyses of this event include: A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 4:317–337 – this is the fourth volume of a 5 volume work (1945–1981); thus this reference is to pages 317–337 in volume 4. Simon Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3:433–453 – this is the third volume of a three volume work (1991–2008); thus this reference is to pages 433–453 of volume 3.
4. The best ancient sources for the fall of the tyranny are: Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, bk. 5, chs. 62–65, trans. A. D. Godley, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920–25), and ch. 19 of a work, attributed to Aristotle, called *The Athenian Constitution*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952).
5. These statues were the work of the artist Antenor. See Michael W. Taylor, *The Tyrant Slayers: The Heroic Image in Fifth Century BC Athenian Art and Politics* (Salem, NH: Ayers, 1981), 34–37. The date of the erection of the statues is provided by Pliny in bk. 34, sections 16–17 of his work titled *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham et al., 8 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938–63).
6. See Taylor, *Tyrant Slayers*, 51–77, for a general discussion on the tyrannicide *skolia*. The *skolia* are preserved in bk. 15, section 695a of Athenaeus' work titled *The Learned Banqueters*, trans. S. Douglas Olson, 8 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007–12).
7. On the statues, see Sture Brunnsåker, *The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen, 1971).
8. On the Roman copies, see ibid., 45–83.
9. B. B. Shefton, "Some Iconographic Remarks on the Tyrannicides," *American Journal of Archaeology* 64 (1960): 173–179.
10. Josiah Ober, "Tyrant-Killing as Therapeutic Conflict: A Political Debate in Images and Texts," in *Athenian Legacies: Essays on the Politics of Going On Together*, by Josiah Ober (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 212–247.
11. On the so-called Prytaneion Decree, see Martin Ostwald, "The Prytaneion Decree Reconsidered," *American Journal of Philology* 72 (1951): 24–46. The inscription itself: David Lewis, ed., *Inscriptiones Graecae*, vol. 1, *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores*, no. 131, 3d ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981).

12. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, trans. Jeffrey Henderson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).
13. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, bk. 6, chs. 60 and 53.
14. Andocides, *On the Mysteries*, section 45, trans. K. J. Maidment (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941).
15. Note that, in section 75 of his speech titled *On the Mysteries*, Andocides refers to the Four Hundred as "the tyrants."
16. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, trans. Jeffrey Henderson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).
17. On this oath, see David A. Teegarden, "The Oath of Demophantos, Revolutionary Mobilization, and the Preservation of the Athenian Democracy," *Hesperia* 81 (2012): 433–465.
18. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, trans. Christopher P. Jones, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005). Plutarch, *Aratus*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926).
19. The three Panathenaic amphoras: Hildesheim, Pelizäus-Museum 1253, 1254; London, British Museum B 605. J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 89, accepts a date of 402 for all three vases.
20. The fullest case is made by Thucydides in bk. 6, chs. 54–59 of his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. The earliest known author to question the historical significance of Harmodius and Aristogeiton for the fall of the tyranny is Herodotus, in bk. 6, ch. 123 of his *The Persian Wars*.
21. A mid-fifth-century electrum stater from Cyzikos that carries an image of Harmodius and Aristogeiton is the best evidence for diffusion before the fourth century. See Brunnsåker, *Tyrant-Slayers*, 99–100 with plate 23.
22. An instance of Demosthenes warning the Athenians of the domestic threat is found in sections 53–55 of his speech titled *Third Philippic*, trans. J. H. Vince (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954). Demosthenes' report of what he told the Peloponnesian states is found in sections 21–25 of his *Second Philippic*, trans. J. H. Vince (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954). We know, for example, from section 24 of his *De Corona*, trans. C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), that Demosthenes embarked on many diplomatic journeys.
23. Demosthenes refers to the leaders of the two Euboian coups as tyrants, for example, in sections 57–62 of his *Third Philippic*. Section 36 of *On the Chersonese*, trans. J. H. Vince (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), is one example of Demosthenes referring to Philip's objective of securing a base of operations from which to attack Athens. We learn that Demosthenes proposed the Euboian invasion from section 79 of his *De Corona*. For the evidence for the killing of the tyrants in Oreos and Eretria, see Philip Harding, *From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1985), 116–117.
24. The Greek text of this law was published in two articles written by Denis Knoepfler and published in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*: "Loi d'Érétrie contre la tyrannie et l'oligarchie," 125 (2001): 195–238; 126 (2002): 149–204.
25. For the inscriptional evidence for this alliance, see Johannes Kirchner, ed., *Inscriptiones Graecae*, vol. 2, *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, no. 230, 2d ed., 4 vols. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1913–40). For a discussion, see Denis Knoepfler, "Une paix de cent ans et un conflit en permanence: Etude sur les relations diplomatiques d'Athèns avec Érétrie et les autres cites de l'Eubée au IVe siècle av. J.-C," in *Les Relations Internationales: Actes de*

colloque de Strasbourg 15–17 juin 1993, ed. Edmond Frézouls and A. Jacquemin (Strasbourg: Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg, 1995), 346–359 and 362–364.

26. For the text of Eucrates' law, English translation, and introductory comments, see P. J. Rhodes and Robin Osborne, eds., *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 B.C.*, no. 79 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
27. On cities during the Hellenistic period, see Philippe Gauthier, "Les Cites hellénistiques," in *The Ancient Greek City-State*, ed. Mogens Herman Hansen (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1993), 211–231. The most direct ancient evidence for Alexander's promotion of democracy: Arrian, *The Anabasis of Alexander*, bk. 1, ch. 18, trans. P. A. Brunt, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976–83).
28. Plutarch reports Alexander's decree in ch. 34 of his *Life of Alexander*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919). Matters surrounding the return of the statues to Athens are confused. See A. B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander* 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980–1995), 1:317.
29. For the Ilian law, see Peter Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1975), 62–80.
30. For the decree from Erythrae, see A. J. Heisserer, "The Philites Stele," *Hesperia* 48 (1979): 281–293.
31. This is indicated by the fact that he is explicitly called a tyrant killer, he carries a *xiphos* (like Harmodius), and the iconography of that sword bearing hand was obviously quite significant.
32. For the Hellenistic refoundation of the Achaean League, see Polybius, *The Histories*, bk. 2, ch. 41, trans. W. R. Paton, 6 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922–27).
33. The epigraphic evidence: W. Dittenberger, ed., *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, no. 665, 3d ed., 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1915–24; repr. Chicago: Ares, 1999). Polybius' assertion: Polybius, *The Histories*, bk. 2, chs. 38 and 44.
34. Polybius, *The Histories*, bk. 2, ch. 41, records that the tyrant of Aegium was expelled (275/4) and that the tyrant of Bura was killed (perhaps also in 275/4); both cities subsequently joined the league. Polybius' positive assessment of the league's policy: *The Histories*, bk. 2, ch. 42.
35. See, most notably, Polybius, *The Histories*, bk. 2, ch. 44.
36. On the unification of the Peloponnesus under the Achaean League, see Polybius, *The Histories*, bk. 2, ch. 37. Polybius' praise of the accomplishment: *The Histories*, bk. 2, ch. 40.
37. For Margus of Caryneia, see Polybius, *The Histories*, bk. 2, chs. 41–43.
38. The best ancient source for Aratus is Plutarch's *Life of Aratus*.
39. For Philopoemen, see Plutarch's *Life of Philopoemen*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921) and Polybius, *The Histories*, bk. 10, chs. 21–24 and passim. On the battle of Mantinea, see Polybius, *The Histories*, bk. 11, chs. 11–18.
40. In addition to the examples presented above, note, for example, the series of political assassinations in early third-century Sicyon recorded by Plutarch in chapters 2–3 of his *Life of Aratus*. Noteworthy, too, is Cyllon's assassination, circa 272, of Aristotimus, the pro-Macedonian tyrant of Elis. For which, see Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, bk. 5, ch. 5, trans. W. H. S. Jones et al., 5 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918–35).
41. For the Revolution in Thebes, see Xenophon, *Hellenica*, bk. 5, ch. 4, sections 1–9, trans. Carleton L. Brownson, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918–21). For the revolution of Rhodes, see Vittorio Bartoletti, ed., *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, Fragmenta Londinensia, col. xi, lines 12–28. In his *Life of Timoleon*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge,

MA: Harvard University Press, 1918), Plutarch often refers to Timoleon's campaigns as acts of tyrannicide; see, e.g., chs. 24 and 32.

42. Authors include: Herodotus from Halicarnassus, later fifth century (*The Persian Wars*, bk. 5, ch. 92); Aristotle from Stagira, mid-fourth-century (*Politics*, 1267a13); Polybius from Megalopolis, mid-second-century (*The Histories*, bk. 2, ch. 59). The idea was very popular with writers born in democratic Athens. For example: Euripides, *Suppliant Women*, lines 429–434, trans. David Kovacs (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).
43. There are numerous examples. Tyrants killing citizens: Polybius, *The Histories*, bk. 13, ch. 6 (Nabis of Sparta); Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, bk. 5, ch. 92 (Thrasybulus of Miletus); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, bk. 7, ch. 1, section 46 (Euphron of Sicyon). Tyrants outraging women: Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, bk. 5, ch. 92 (Periander of Corinth). For a vivid depiction of tyranny and the "tyrant man," see Plato, *The Republic*, sections 562–576b, trans. Christopher Emlyn-Jones and William Preddy, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013). The inscription from Eresos: Rhodes and Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 83.
44. There are several examples of this practice. See, e.g., Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*, section 834a–b, trans. Harold Fowler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936) (Athens, 410); Russell Meiggs and David Lewis, eds., *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, no. 43 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988) (Miletus, circa 450); Rhodes and Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 49 (Amphipolis, mid-fourth-century).
45. Unfortunately, we do not know what Phanias of Eresos discussed in his work entitled *Overthrowing of Tyrants out of Vengeance*. Athenaeus refers to Phanias' lost work several times in *The Learned Banqueters*, for example, in bk. 3, section 90e.
46. Man as a political animal: Aristotle, *Politics*, 1253a4.
47. Lucian, *The Tyrannicide*, trans. A. M. Harmon (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936).

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CHAPTER 2

TERRORISM AND THEOCRACY

The Radical Resistance Movement against Roman Rule in Judea

KAI TRAMPEDACH

Terrorism is a term that, generally speaking, has little heuristic value with regard to ancient societies, and for this reason it plays hardly any part in scholarly discourse. This is true in particular if the term is used in the sense established in political or historical theory, according to which terrorism is a communicative strategy that seeks to provoke strong psychological effects (insecurity and dread, as well as sympathy) through the politically motivated use of spectacular violence, which is prepared by an underground organization, against a vastly superior opponent and in the long run aims at fundamental social change.[1] Although antiquity naturally saw many rebellions against all kinds of rulers, accompanied in part by considerable readiness to risk danger or to even sacrifice oneself, individual violent attacks against an established authority, which are designed and able to startle the public through their shocking impact, as well as mobilize them, can barely be traced. This is not surprising; before the invention of explosives, the development of specific characteristics that make modern society vulnerable to terrorist attacks, and the advent of modern mass media, terrorism was not a very viable political strategy.

Nevertheless, many handbooks and general surveys that approach the issue of terrorism from a historical perspective start with the depiction of an ancient event: the Jewish revolt against Roman rule in Judea (6–73 CE). The Romano-Judean historian Flavius Josephus (37–after 94 CE) in his historiographical works gives a relatively expansive account of the prehistory of the great Jewish revolt (66–70/73 CE);[2] in his *Bellum Judaicum* he reports, among other things, that

> a different species of bandits was creeping up in Jerusalem, those called *sicarii*: murdering people by day and in the middle of the city, and during the festivals, especially, mingling with the mob and concealing small daggers under their clothes, with these they would stab their foes. Then, when the latter had fallen, those who had committed the murders would take the part of those who were indignant at [the murder], so that they would go completely undiscovered by virtue of [their] credibility. First, then, Ionathes the high priest was butchered by them, but after him many were being done away with every day; and even more difficult than these calamities was the fear of them, with each [person] expecting death every hour, just as in war. They would scrutinize their foes from a distance; there was no trust even among approaching friends, but in the midst of their suspicions and efforts at security they would be done away with. Such was the alacrity of those who were plotting and their skill at concealing themselves.[3]

Can one call this terrorism? Several aspects support such a view, especially in consideration of the technique of unexpected, clandestine murder and the psychological effects of fear and suspicion that these attacks induced. The acts were also undoubtedly spectacular, not only because of the special publicity occasioned by the great festivals for which thousands of pilgrims flocked to Jerusalem, but also because of the calculated breach of taboo against killing men, especially Jewish men and during festivals, and finally because of the status of the victims. In the passage quoted above Josephus names only the first, very prominent, victim and conceals the number and status of further victims behind a thick veil of rhetoric. The Sicarii did not proceed at random but rather chose their victims deliberately, as indeed the logic of individual killings dictates. Josephus also reports elsewhere that they did not shrink from "collateral damage." Their special method of attack, which he repeats in the *Antiquitates Judaicae*, meant that they could easily kill whomever they wanted. He adds: "They would also frequently appear with arms in the villages of their foes and would plunder and set them on fire."[4] Assaults in the countryside, then, were part of the Sicarii's repertoire. The enemies whose possessions the Sicarii plundered and set on fire, regardless of the consequences, belonged to the higher priesthood of Jerusalem. In those circles, rich men who collaborated with the Romans and commanded extensive landholdings in Judea and Galilee were sought out. Josephus, our source, himself belonged to this group that had every reason to be afraid of the Sicarii. A further passage in the *Antiquitates Judaicae* describes a third method of the Sicarii and confirms the findings so far:

> Once more the *sicarii* at the festival, for it was now going on, entered the city by night and kidnapped the secretary of the captain Eleazar—he was the son of Ananias the high priest, and led him off in bonds. They then sent to Ananias saying that they would release the secretary to him if he would induce Albinus [the Roman *praefectus* who resided in Caesarea] to release ten of their number who had been taken prisoner. Ananias under this constraint persuaded Albinus and obtained this request. This was the beginning of greater troubles; for the brigands contrived by one means or another to kidnap some of Ananias' staff and would hold them in continuous confinement and refuse to release them until they had received in

> exchange some of the *sicarii*. When they had once more become not inconsiderable in number, they grew bold again and proceeded to harass every part of the land.[5]

Kidnapping in order to coerce the release of captive partisans is another method of the Sicarii, which, like the assassination of prominent officials, is also practiced by modern terrorists. To summarize thus far: the Sicarii committed murder, looted, and took hostages—in a bottom-up configuration, in full view, and for the benefit of a large public that reacted to the attacks with fear and insecurity but also with sympathy, as the constant flow of new members and their influence on the revolutionary movement show. Before discussing the ideology and the social background of the Judean terrorists, it is necessary to look more closely at the protagonists. What kind of people were they?

The Sicarii

The Sicarii had their origin in a resistance movement that developed firmer outlines when Judea was subsumed into the Roman Empire in 6 CE. Josephus names a certain Judas from Gamla in Galilee as the founding father of the Sicarii. Together with a Pharisee named Saddok, Judas called for resistance against the census, which the Romans conducted among the new provincial inhabitants in accordance with their general custom.[6] Judas was not only a sect-founding ideologue, he was also well versed in practical resistance. After the death of Herod in 45 BCE he collected a sizable cohort of rebels, broke into the royal armory at Sepphoris, and attacked the sons of Herod (Herod Antipas and Philippos), or rather their delegates, when they wanted to take possession of their parts of the kingdom.[7] His father, Ezechias, had already fought against the authorities in a similar manner. The latter was characterized by Josephus as a bandit chieftain with royal ambitions who roamed Galilee and the bordering regions of Syria with his large gang until he was apprehended by the young Herod in c. 45 BCE and killed together with many of his "bandits."[8] The third generation also made a name for itself in the resistance movement: Josephus records that Judas's sons Jacobus and Simon were put on trial and crucified under the prefect Tiberius Alexander (46–48 CE).[9]

Menahem, who at the start of the Jewish War in 66 CE captured the well-equipped fortress of Masada in a surprise attack,[10] was supposedly another son of Judas (though more probably a grandson). He then proceeded to Jerusalem, where, surrounded by a bodyguard, he conducted himself like a veritable king and took the lead in the uprising. But he soon lost this position, for when he was walking up to the Temple in the company of his bodyguard in order to pray, he and his retinue were attacked by the Zealots among the priests, who refused to accept his preeminence. They were supported by the people, who were throwing stones. After an attempt at resistance the Sicarii tried to flee. Menahem and some of his followers were apprehended and killed after undergoing a great number of tortures.[11]

After this defeat the Sicarii retreated to Masada, where another descendant of Judas, called Eleazar, took over the leadership of the group. When, after a long siege and the construction of an elaborate ramp, the Romans finally conquered Masada in 73 CE, the last remaining site of the Jewish rebellion, they are said to have found almost exclusively dead bodies: the Sicarii, including their women and children, had collectively committed suicide in order to escape the slavery that threatened them.[12] But not all of the Sicarii remained in Masada to the end. Some fled to Egypt, others to Cyrenaica, where they continued their revolutionary activities among the Jewish communities, albeit without their leaders from Judas's family. After they had killed some of the most distinguished men in Alexandria, who had opposed them, the Jewish community decided to extradite them—Josephus mentions that there were six hundred of them—and deliver them to the Romans. Others, who had fled into Egypt as far as Thebes, were taken captive there and executed together with those who had been arrested in Alexandria. Josephus records with admiration that even numerous tortures could not force these Sicarii to accept the emperor.[13]

Thus, the Sicarii are the faction of the Jewish resistance movement that can be traced over the longest period, 120 years (45 BCE–75 CE); they were under the leadership of a family dynasty through several generations; and they fought against the foreign rule of the Romans and their Jewish collaborators, and even against other Jewish resistance groups, especially after the start of the great rebellion in 66 CE. They had their beginnings in guerrilla fighting (to use modern terminology) in the countryside, in Galilee and its neighboring regions. After Judea became part of the Roman province of Syria, Judas the Galilean, their leader, developed an ideology of resistance that Josephus termed the fourth "sect" or "philosophy" of Judaism. At the same time the group appears to have moved its center of activity to Jerusalem and gained numerous adherents, especially among young people.[14]

Given that the terrorist activities of the 50s and 60s of the first century CE described above presuppose a conspiratorial mindset and secrecy, there must have been a very small, close-knit center around which formed a broader circle of sympathizers.[15] After the outbreak of the Jewish war, and especially after Menachem's fall at Jerusalem, some of these sympathizers joined the core in Masada, which reverted to the guerrilla tactics of earlier times (but now, of course, in Idumaea), while others turned to other resistance groups with similar programs in Jerusalem; the last survivors attempted unsuccessfully to incite the Jewish communities of Egypt to resist the Romans with the same methods they had tried in Jerusalem.

But this is not the end of their historical impact. Two or three generations later the example of the Sicarii and Zealots inspired two further great revolts against Rome: the great Diaspora rebellion of 115–117, which started in Cyrenaica and spread to Egypt and Cyprus, and the Bar-Kochba rebellion of 132–136, which surprised the Romans in Judea and inflicted immense losses on them. Between them, these two rebellions led to the disappearance of those parts of the Jewish population (in Judea and Egypt) that until then had set the cultural tone in Judaism. They thus opened the way for a completely new orientation of Judaism.[16]

Resistance Ideology

As mentioned above, Josephus connects the formation of a resistance ideology with the start of direct Roman rule in Judea. In 6 CE Augustus deposed the client ruler Archelaus, the son of Herod, and added Judea to the Roman province of Syria. At the same time he sent an equestrian named Coponius to Caesarea as prefect and invested him with the right to judge over life and death in the new part of the province.[17] In the *Bellum Judaicum* Josephus adds to this information:

> In his term a certain Galilean man by the name of Judas incited the locals to rebellion, lambasting them if they were going to put up with paying tribute to Romans and tolerate mortal masters after God. This man was a sophist of his own particular school, which had nothing in common with the others.[18]

In the *Antiquitates* Josephus names a Pharisee named Saddok as Judas's fellow founder of this sect. According to this account, both held the view that the census, which the Romans conducted among the new provincial inhabitants in accordance with their custom, meant nothing but slavery, and the two sect leaders demanded that the people seize their freedom.

Josephus has Judas and Saddok argue for the likelihood of success by means of theological speculation: "that Heaven would be their zealous helper to no lesser end than the furthering of their enterprise until it succeeded—all the more if with high devotion in their hearts they stood firm and did not shrink from bloodshed that might be necessary."[19] At this point Josephus cannot refrain from an authoritative comment: because the people had received this kind of talk with approval, the rebels' movement became very popular, which planted the seed of the unspeakable suffering that struck the Judean people. Among these sufferings, Josephus lists uprisings and civil wars, loss of friends, the bandits' looting campaigns, the assassinations of leading men, and the destruction of the Judean cities and the Temple of Jerusalem, for which he held Judas, Saddok, and their "fourth philosophy" responsible. He puts great weight on the observation that this group, which he included alongside the three traditional sects of the Essenes, Sadducees, and Pharisees, was an innovation within Judaism and that it was precisely the movement's refusal to adhere to Jewish traditions that contributed decisively to the destruction of the covenant with God. At the same time he is forced to admit that the group had a large following, especially among young people.

A few chapters later Josephus mentions the ideology of the "fourth philosophy" led by the Galilean "sophist" Judas. Here he particularly emphasizes their passion for liberty:

> This school agrees in all other respects with the opinions of the Pharisees, except that they have a passion for liberty that is almost unconquerable, since they are convinced that God alone is their leader and master. They think little of submitting to death in unusual forms and permitting vengeance to fall on kinsmen and friends if only they may avoid calling any man master.[20]

Apart from these rather categorical pronouncements Josephus barely provides any information at all about the ideology or theology of the Sicarii.[21] In particular, the historian avoids relaying any theological justifications for individual acts of resistance on the part of the Sicarii. He is generally content to comment on the actions of the "bandits," which he characterizes as reckless as well as disastrous, with expressions of indignation and disgust.

Yet the Sicarii, like all other known Jewish groups, naturally justified their actions on theological and biblical grounds, and it is equally certain that they did not see these justifications as innovations or as a rejection of tradition at all. As an apologist for Judaism, Josephus would have no interest in detailing those arguments of the Sicarii that referred to sacred scripture. Instead, he characterizes their ideology as a pretext for enriching themselves, stating that those men were only pretending to be concerned with the common good when in reality they aimed at private gain through looting and taking hostages.[22] Only their readiness to suffer finds his grudging respect in this context.[23] It does not seem to have crossed his mind that the selfish motives that he ascribes to the adherents of the "fourth philosophy" do not harmonize well with this last aspect.

If we connect Josephus's already quoted statements about the Sicarii with the results of their actions, then the ideological positions of the Sicarii can be defined as follows.

They saw themselves as adherents of a radical interpretation of theocracy. This use of "theocracy" is controversial insofar as Josephus in his *Contra Apionem* characterizes the Jewish constitution as a whole by means of the neologism *theokratía*. Admittedly, Josephus disassociates the term from its utopian and anarchic content by postulating hierocracy—the rule of the priests—as the embodiment of Jewish theocracy as determined by tradition.[24] The Sicarii obviously thought differently: their definition of theocracy was designed to oppose any formal rule of humans over humans. Initially this meant against the foreign rule of the Romans (the source of all relationships of dominance in Judea), but then it also was against the power and property structures of Jewish society (regardless of whether they derived from Roman rule or traditional power relations, given that those two aspects largely overlapped). Their marked passion for freedom, which the Sicarii linked to their idea of the rule of God alone, served the same goal.[25]

The Sicarii argued for an activist interpretation of theocracy. It is a commonplace of Jewish thought that the success of any action is dependent on the support of God, who can also work miracles in order to further his cause. The foundational texts illustrate that God's actions in history are always comprehensible. God has made a covenant with the people of Israel, which commits Israel to observe the laws; in return, God must protect Israel. In this context political setbacks can be understood as God's punishment for sin and apostasy. But this cannot be the last word. In the end, God will always save and exalt his people. Thus, for example, the speeches Josephus puts into the mouth of King Agrippa II shortly before the eruption of the rebellion and into his own mouth at the start of the Roman siege of Jerusalem show that the people of Jerusalem put their trust in God's help (*symmachía toû theoû*) and thus appealed to known "historical" (i.e., biblical and postbiblical) analogies.[26] Caligula's death, which saved the Jerusalem

Temple from desecration, was of course also seen as a result of God's intervention. The events of Exodus, the passage through the Sea of Reeds and the annihilation of Pharaoh and his army, contain the archetype, which was considered to be repeatedly confirmed throughout history.

But how can God's support be gained? While quietist circles generally sought to obtain the salvation of Israel through a pious lifestyle and through prayer, the Sicarii wanted to provoke, as it were, God's intervention through their active combat. This was the "zealotic intensification," to raise the stakes to balance on a knife's edge, to drive the just fight against heathens and apostates to that extreme point at which God would have no choice but to fulfill his covenant obligation to Israel and liberate it from the claws of its oppressors.[27] This idea was fired by the Maccabee uprising, in which Jewish resistance against the Seleucid occupying force triumphed in the end despite initially being inferior in various respects, and which led to an independent Jewish state under the leadership of the Hasmoneans (168–63 BCE).[28]

In order to achieve their goal of liberating Israel from human dominion, the Sicarii relied on the unconditional deployment of violence, regardless of the potential for collateral damage. The obverse of this attitude was their great readiness for self-sacrifice and their contempt for death, which the Sicarii demonstrated repeatedly in their conflicts with Judaic and Roman political authorities, and which culminated in the notorious mass suicide of Masada.[29] These attitudes were presumably founded on conceptions of death similar to those current among the Pharisees: postulating the immortality of the soul and promising those on the "good" side a reward of heavenly existence and reincarnation.[30]

The Sicarii's connection of a social purpose with their notions of theocracy is shown by a particularly impressive episode from the start of the Jewish War (66 CE). At this time the Roman occupying forces had already fled Jerusalem or had been killed. A large mob of Sicarii, Josephus says, succeeded in driving the troops of King Agrippa from the Upper Town. Josephus continues:

> The latter (sc. the *sicarii*) attacked and then set fire to the high priest Ananias' residence and the royal properties of Agrippa and Bernice. After that, they carried the fire to the archives, hurrying to obliterate the contracts of those who had lent out the money and to cut off the collection of the debts, so that they might add to their number the horde of those who had received assistance and raise up with impunity the deprived against the well-heeled. After those at the record-office had fled, they lit the fire.[31]

Josephus here insinuates politically motivated action by claiming that in burning the debt archive the Sicarii were concerned with inciting the poor against the rich and with expanding their own following. But it hardly goes too far to find an additional, ideological motive in this action, especially in connection with the burning of the residences of the Jewish leaders: by destroying the internal political and social hierarchies and through "a new, divinely sanctioned distribution of property,"[32] they aimed

to reinstate the egalitarian order and solidarity demanded by the Torah and thus to assert the rule of God, which is directed against any human dominion.

It is likely that the Sicarii were also motivated by eschatological and apocalyptic ideas that were widely held in contemporary Judean society.[33] During the episode that was to end in his assassination, Menahem, the leader of the Sicarii, walked up to the Temple shortly after he had had the high priest Ananias and his brother Ezechias executed to pray in the full consciousness of his power—"an imposing (or pompous) figure decked out in royal clothing," according to Josephus[34]—and he was followed by a throng of armed Zealots. This may point to a messianic claim on his part, for which there are other indications that will not be discussed here for reasons of space.[35]

The Social Breeding Grounds of Terrorism

In order to assess terrorism as a historical and sociological phenomenon and to understand terrorists in their motivation, it is necessary to look closely at the society that provided such fertile ground for the protagonists and their deeds. What social structures, and what grievances, favored the genesis of terrorism? Four aspects are particularly pertinent in regard to the Judean population of the Roman province of Syria: the generational conflict; the conditions of the rural population; the elites' weak authority; and the elites' duplicity. Finally, an important indicator of the mental and social state of affairs is the sensitivity with which the Judeans reacted to the violation of their national religious symbols or rituals.

A leitmotif of Josephus's depiction of the history and prehistory of the Jewish War are the adolescent firebrands who reacted to real or supposed trespasses and provocations with uncontrolled emotion and thus contributed repeatedly to the rapid escalation of conflicts with the occupying power. During the actual rebellion, this tendency toward violence increased in significance. Josephus tells, for example, of the mood in Jerusalem after the Romans recaptured Galilee:

> These harangues of John's corrupted a great part of the young men, and puffed them up for the war; but as to the more prudent part, and those in years, there was not a man of them but foresaw what was coming, and made lamentation on that account, as if the city was already undone; and in this confusion were the people.[36]

In this conflict, Josephus adds a few sentences later: "Those that were for innovations, and were desirous of war, by their youth and their boldness were too hard for the aged and prudent men."[37] With implicit reference to Thucydides and Polybius, Josephus provides an anthropological explanation for the youths' hotheadedness: it was an age-appropriate expression of insufficient maturity and cultivation and a lack of reserve and sober-mindedness.[38]

But on close inspection this explains nothing, unless it is supplemented by sociological analysis. Since the exposure of children and other forms of birth control were subject to religious taboo in Judea,[39] Judean society consisted of a population that was unusually young and dynamic compared to other societies and that was also subject to markedly traditional and patriarchal authority structures.[40] At the same time, many young men had poor prospects for a sustainable livelihood that would enable them to start a family. These dissatisfied young men constituted a potential for disturbance, which could easily be mobilized against any change in existing circumstances.

The social situation, especially in the countryside, was marked by stark contrasts. This too is largely due to the specific conditions of Judea. In the Roman Empire, the rural populations, which did not partake in polis structures, were as a rule underprivileged.[41] Unlike poor city populations, these inhabitants of the Empire could not easily obtain justice or even a hearing, and moreover they did not benefit from the euergetism of city elites, the distribution of part of their wealth to the community.[42] The Temple's autonomy and the associated privileging of the Jerusalem priesthood largely prevented the formation of genuinely Jewish cities in Palestine and thus an improvement of the legal and social conditions of the rural Jewish population within the structure of the Roman Empire. Significantly, it was in those places that did nonetheless develop the beginnings of an autonomous urban life, such as the Galilean cities of Sepphoris and Tiberias, that Roman rule was better accepted than among the rural population.[43] In addition to Josephus, the parables of Jesus in particular reveal the widespread poverty among smallholders, which contrasted with expansive land holdings, especially in Galilee. Furthermore, the tenancy system, which was employed on most estates, allowed the tenants to exploit dependent laborers to the extreme, especially if the owner was absent. Additionally, the already substantial tax burden increased again as a result of direct Roman administration. In the course of provincialization a sizable poll tax was added to the tax on crop yield, as were a variety of transport tolls and local taxes, a measure that naturally put the poor under disproportionate pressure.[44] Yet it was not only the rural population of Palestine that had grounds for discontent but—as shown, for example, by the studies of Stephen Mitchell and Susan Alcock—also that of Anatolia and Greece.[45]

The fact that the Jewish rural population resisted this oppression much more obstinately, that it offered shelter to brigands and Zealots and that it itself took part in great numbers in the rebellions can only be explained with reference to the alternative reality that God had proclaimed to these people through the Torah and his prophets. The constant violation of the divinely granted social order of Israel drove them onto the barricades. A deviant reality that was felt to be godless and unjust formed the seedbed in which messianic hopes and apocalyptic visions thrived, and it inspired social utopias in which God himself—singlehandedly, so to speak—ensured equitable standards.[46]

Recent archaeological studies provide additional illustrations of the unique attitude of the Jewish rural population in Palestine. An analysis of pottery from many different Palestinian sites shows that in the period from the late second century BCE until 70 CE the Jewish population progressively used more locally produced goods—first oil and

wine, then storage jars and cooking vessels, and finally even oil lamps and utilitarian pottery. "Household Judaism," as Andrea Berlin terms this phenomenon, which she has studied in great depth, enriched daily life with a ritual dimension informed by the endeavor to sanctify everyday life.

Yet at the same time, the continual tightening of purity rituals, which can also be measured by the distribution and increase of ritual baths (*mikwe'ot*) in Palestine, had political implications. According to Berlin, the almost complete rejection of imported pottery in the Jewish settlements of Galilee betrays a hostile attitude toward the Roman presence, an attitude that needed little provocation to turn into open resistance.[47] The cultivation of a unified simple and traditional Jewish lifestyle can thus be read as a political statement: "Where they shop and how they dine, what they buy and what they avoid, the regular visits to the miqveh and local synagogue—all reflect a newly emphatic expression of ethnic identity and distinct lifestyle."[48]

The lifestyle of the rural population was substantially different from that of the Jewish upper class, as seen, for example, in the furniture excavated in the magnificent houses of the Upper City of Jerusalem.[49] These circles, consisting essentially of the higher priesthood, surrounded themselves with the luxury goods of the Roman world just like other provincial elites. But in contrast to them, the Jewish priestly elite did not, as numerous conflicts proved, possess the necessary authority to control affairs in their province in cooperation with the Roman administration which regularly was inclined not to intervene too much. Yet, in the case of an emergency the priestly elite could rein in neither youthful "firebrands" nor agitated crowds.

Martin Goodman has extensively investigated the reasons for this weak authority, arguing that it was "because they could not claim a monopoly of any of the crucial marks of distinction generally accepted as worthy of respect by their fellow Jews."[50] The leading priests even shared their ancestry with thousands of other priests who remained excluded from power. In the eyes of the Romans, the criterion that unquestionably distinguished the ruling class and qualified it for its role was wealth. However, in the context of Jewish culture, this wealth could not be converted into authority but was regarded either as meaningless or even as an obstacle to salvation, especially since this wealth was frequently acquired by exploiting the poor, rural population.[51] In addition, the priesthood was divided within itself along multiple lines. An intensified competition for the office of high priest, especially after the removal of Caiaphas from office in 37 CE and exacerbated from 59 CE onward, led, as Josephus reports, to increased tensions within the priestly elite. In these contests, it seems, Sicarii or people with similar "terroristic" methods were exploited as supporters.[52]

The priesthood of Jerusalem could not and would not accept the offers of integration that the Roman Empire had made available to provincial elites.[53] Furthermore, the laws of purity, by which priests were constrained with particular strictness, prevented social communication and interaction with the prefect and officers of the Roman army stationed in the region. Unsurprisingly, under these circumstances a relationship of mutual trust could not develop between Roman administrative staff and the Jewish provincial elite. Open or concealed resistance thus remained a perpetual temptation.

Accordingly, it was a radical group of the priestly elite that finally gave the signal for the uprising by declaring that gifts or sacrifices by non-Jews should no longer be accepted and by discontinuing sacrifices made to the emperor and the Roman people.[54]

The Judeans were very sensitive regarding assaults against symbols, which they saw as expressions of their identity. During a raid against bandits who had assaulted one of the emperor's freedmen, a soldier found a Torah scroll in a village, tore it up, and threw it into the fire. Josephus describes the reaction of the Jewish population:

> And the Judeans, as if their entire countryside had been incinerated, were devastated: as if being drawn together by some instrument (their reverence for the divine), by one proclamation, they all ran together to Cumanus in Caesarea, begging that he not leave unpunished the one who had thus committed outrage against God and their law. He [Cumanus] deemed it best, since the mob was not resting unless it found satisfaction, to bring forward the soldier. He directed that he be led off to his death through the middle of those who were laying the charges. And the Judeans withdrew.[55]

This incident is reminiscent of events in more recent history, when Islamic groups freely and sometimes violently vented their outrage against the (assumed or real) "desecration" of the Koran at the hands of American soldiers in Guantanamo or Afghanistan or against caricatures of their prophet, which they considered blasphemous. In the case described above, the prefect was able to prevent the eruption of open violence by accommodating the outraged crowds as far as possible, that is, by making the perpetrator run the gauntlet and executing him. In other, similar cases, he did not succeed.[56]

Conclusion: Terrorism Then and Now

The Sicarii in their thoughts and actions came very close to that which is today called "terrorism"—whether in their methods or their aims, in their ideology, or in the social conditions. The surprising modernity of the Judean circumstances becomes particularly conspicuous in comparison to modern phenomena.[57] As the mass protest of the last example shows, the self-consciousness and mindset of the Judeans strongly resembles the current situations in some Muslim countries.[58] A sense of inferiority expressed through sensitivity toward the violation of national religious symbols and rituals is paired with a consciousness of superior religious identity. This contradiction feeds both Judean terrorism of the first century CE and the religious, specifically Islamist, terrorism of our own day.[59] Besides the permanent readiness to agitate against (supposed) disparagements of their sacred scripture (or that of the prophet[s]), the following characteristics of Judaea during the rebellions are also reminiscent of Arab countries and Pakistan: demographic upheavals, with crowds of young men who have few

prospects for their future in a markedly patriarchal society; stark social inequalities that keep a great part of the population in poverty; and finally, unpopular elites, who on the one hand consolidate their internal dominance through collaboration with the foreign superpower, but on the other enter into tactical alliances with resistance groups.

The fight against the system draws its strength from a divine revelation, which is thought to be absolutely binding and which postulates a society governed by justice and solidarity.[60] In these circumstances, zealotic intensification is a real possibility. Resistance fighters and terrorists suppose that divinely ordained living conditions and freedom cannot be achieved through prayer alone; rather, one must commit oneself wholeheartedly to fight for them, and then God will join the fight.[61] Furthermore, authoritative theological speculation promises special rewards in the afterlife to those who sacrifice themselves in the fight on God's behalf. Inspired by this transcendental message, resistance then as now follows the rules of asymmetric warfare, of which terrorism represents an extreme version.

Translated from the German by Jessica Romney.

Notes

1. See the extensive discussion about the definition of terrorism in Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman, *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, & Literature* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 1988), esp. 1–28. According to Martha Crenshaw, "Introduction: Reflections on the Effects of Terrorism," in *Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power: The Consequences of Political Violence*, ed. Martha Crenshaw (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), 2–3, "a basic definition would include the following attributes: the systematic use of unorthodox violence by small conspiratorial groups with the purpose of manipulating political attitudes rather than physically defeating an enemy. The intent of terrorist violence is psychological and symbolic, not material. Terrorism is premeditated and powerful violence, employed in a struggle for political power." The reflections of Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency," in *The History of Terrorism from Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, ed. Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 12–51; Peter Waldmann, *Terrorismus: Provokation der Macht* (Hamburg: Murmann, 2011) 14–24; and the first chapter in Carola Dietze, *Die Erfindung des Terrorismus in Europa, Russland und den USA, 1858–1866* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2016), are also particularly helpful.
2. The *Bellum Judaicum* (BJ) appeared between 77 and 79, whereas the *Antiquitates Judaicae* (AJ) were completed c. 94 CE. These two works, produced in Rome at an interval of about fifteen years, overlap in their depiction of the background of the great Judean rebellion; at the same time, they frequently contain different emphases in matters of detail, and occasionally even contradictions.
3. Josephus, BJ 2.254–257. This translation, and that of other passages from Josephus's *Bellum Judaicum*, book 2, is taken from Steve Mason, *Flavius Josephus Translation and Commentary*, Vol. 1B, *Judean War 2* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008). *Sicarii* literally means "knifers," from the Latin *sica*, which is a type of dagger. According to the plausible conjecture of Martin Hengel, *Die Zeloten: Untersuchungen zur jüdischen Freiheitsbewegung in der Zeit von Herodes I. bis 70 n. Chr.*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 48–53, the

word *sicarii* was originally employed by the Roman authorities and only later became a term of self-definition as a badge of honor (on the analogy of "Protestant" or "Huguenot"). Outside of Josephus the Sicarii also appear in the Talmud and in Acts 21:38.

4. Josephus, AJ 20.187. This translation, and that of other passages from Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae*, books 18–20, is by Louis H. Feldman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965).
5. Josephus, AJ 20.208–210.
6. Josephus, BJ 2.118; AJ 18.4. Although the introduction of a new tax system among semi-barbarian tribes in border regions of the Roman Empire, which was a requirement of their provincialization, occasionally provoked disturbances (Tacitus, *Annals* 6.41; Cassius Dio, 54.34.36, 56.18.13), most provincials subjected themselves to the repeated tax assessments without objection. On the other hand, the resistance to it in Judea, sparked by the census, resorted to biblicistic arguments, as shown in Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 131–145.
7. Josephus, BJ 2.56; AJ 17.271–272.
8. Josephus, BJ 1.204.
9. Josephus, AJ 20.102.
10. Josephus, BJ 2.408, 433–434.
11. Josephus, BJ 2.434–438.
12. Josephus, BJ 7.252–406.
13. Josephus, BJ 7.407–419. On "the madness of the sicarii which further attacked, like a disease, the cities around Cyrene," see Josephus, BJ 7.437–442.
14. Josephus, AJ 18.9–10 emphasizes the group's popularity and their large, mostly adolescent following. In general, see the convincing reconstruction of "a dynasty of leaders" by Uriel Rappaport, "Who Were the Sicarii?," in *The Jewish Revolt against Rome: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Mladen Popović (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 323–342, at 330–334.
15. The relationship between Sicarii and Zealots should be understood in a similar way: zealotry is the common denominator of the individual resistance groups, which were frequently in fierce competition, of which the Sicarii were a particularly radical faction; see Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 378–402.
16. David C. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions," *American Political Science Review* 78 (1984): 669 rightly emphasizes the historical importance of the movement: "Zealot-Sicarii activities inspired two more popular uprisings against Rome in successive generations, which resulted in the extermination of the large Jewish centers in Egypt and Cyprus, the virtual depopulation of Judea, and the final tragedy—the Exile itself, which exercised a traumatic impact on Jewish consciousness and became the central feature of Jewish experience for the next two thousand years, altering virtually every institution in Jewish life. It would be difficult to find terrorist activity in any historical period which influenced the life of a community more decisively."
17. See E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian; A Study in Political Relations* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 107–110; Werner Eck, *Rom und Judaea: Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 23–27.
18. Josephus, BJ 2.118.
19. Josephus, AJ 18.5.
20. Josephus, AJ 18.23.
21. All the same, it emerges also from other passages in Josephus's *Bellum Judaicum* that the idea of exclusive divine rule and desire for freedom were the central motives of the Sicarii: BJ 2.433, 7.323, 7.410, 7.418. For his far-reaching silence about the religious and ideological

thinking of the resistance movement, see Gottfried Mader, *Josephus and the Politics of Historiography: Apologetic and Impression Management in the Bellum Judaicum* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 12–13.

22. Josephus, AJ 18.6–10.
23. Josephus, AJ 18.23–24
24. Josephus, *contra* Apionem, 2.164–165, 185–188, 193–194; see Kai Trampedach, "The High Priests and Rome: Why Cooperation Failed," in *Between Cooperation and Hostility: Multiple Identities in Ancient Judaism and the Interaction with Foreign Powers*, ed. Rainer Albertz and Jakob Wöhrle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2013), 251–265, esp. 251–252.
25. Religious and political motives on the part of the rebels are impossible to distinguish: religious autonomy as theocracy can only be achieved through a national fight for freedom; see Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 93–127; Chaliand and Blin, *The History of Terrorism*, 57.
26. Josephus, BJ 2.390–395, 5.375–419.
27. Rapoport even considers this point to be the true concern of the rebels: "Fear and Trembling," 670.
28. The significance of the Maccabean example for the Zealots/Sicarii has already been brought out in a highly convincing argument by William R. Farmer, *Maccabees, Zealots, and Josephus: An Inquiry into Jewish Nationalism in the Greco-Roman Period* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), esp. 125–158; see also Rappaport, "Sicarii," 339–340; Kai Trampedach, "Between Hellenistic Monarchy and Jewish Theocracy: The Contested Legitimacy of Hasmonean Rule," in *The Splendors and Miseries of Ruling Alone: Encounters with Monarchy from Archaic Greece to the Hellenistic Mediterranean*, ed. Nino Luraghi (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013), 231–262.
29. See Rappaport, "Sicarii," 333f. Even though Josephus's account of the Roman conquest of Masada and the obliteration of the besieged appears implausible in some of its dramatic details, there can be no doubt, if one also considers the archaeological evidence, that there was mass suicide among the Sicarii; see Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Masada: Literary Tradition, Archaeological Remains, and the Credibility of Josephus," in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982): 385–405.
30. Josephus, BJ 2.163–165, AJ 18.14; see BJ 3.375; see also Apionem 2.218. Tacitus already saw a connection between notions of death and readiness for martyrdom among the Judeans: "They hold that the souls of all who perish in battle or by the hands of the executioner are immortal. Hence a passion for propagating their race and a contempt for death" (*Histories* 5.5.3). See Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 268–270 and 90–92, on the dogmatic dependence of the Zealots/Sicarii on the Pharisees (Josephus, AJ 18.23; see above).
31. Josephus, BJ 2.426–427.
32. Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 361.
33. See Neil Faulkner, *Apocalypse: The Great Jewish Revolt against Rome, AD 66–73* (Stroud and Charleston: Tempus, 2002), 80–104; Vasily Rudich, *Religious Dissent in the Roman Empire: Violence in Judea at the Time of Nero* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015), 10–67.
34. Josephus, BJ 2.444.
35. See Rappaport, "Sicarii," 336; Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 230–311; Faulkner, *Apocalypse*, 109.
36. Josephus, BJ 4.128–129.
37. Josephus, BJ 4.133; translation by William Whiston (Cambridge, 1737).
38. Mason, *Flavius Josephus*, 186 n. 1409; Mader, *Josephus and the Politics of Historiography*, 69–72.

39. See Christina Tuor-Kurth, *Kindesaussetzung und Moral in der Antike: Jüdische und christliche Kritik am Nichtaufziehen und Töten neugeborener Kinder* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010).
40. See Alexei M. Sivertsev, *Households, Sects, and the Origins of Rabbinic Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 21–24.
41. See François Jacques and John Scheid, *Rome et l'intégration de l'Empire 44 av. J.-C.–260 ap. J.-C.*, vol. 1, *Les structures de l'empire romain* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1990), 220–221, 247–248.
42. The alms of the rich (*tzedakah*), which in Jerusalem were able to improve the lot of the poor and which made the holy city a center of begging (see Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu: Eine kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ^{3}1962], 132–135), also appear to have made scarcely any impact in the countryside.
43. See Brunt, "Josephus on the Social Conflicts in Roman Judaea," 285.
44. See Emilio Gabba: "The Social, Economic and Political History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 3, *The Early Roman Period*, ed. William Horbury (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 107–110, 136–137, 155–156.
45. Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 195–197, 225–226, 244–245, 253–257; Susan E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 19–24, 71–92; see in general Gil Gambash, *Rome and Provincial Resistance* (New York: Routledge, 2015).
46. See Faulkner, *Apocalypse*, 109–119.
47. Andrea Berlin, "Romanization and Anti-Romanization in Pre-Revolt Galilee," in *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology*, ed. Andrea M. Berlin and J. Andrew Overman (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 57–73; Andrea Berlin, "Jewish Life Before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence," *Journal of the Study of Judaism* 36 (2005): 417–470; Andrea Berlin, "Identity Politics in Early Roman Galilee," in *The Jewish Revolt against Rome: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Mladen Popović (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 69–106; Andrea Berlin, "Manifest Identity: From Ioudaios to Jew; Household Judaism as Anti-Hellenization in the Late Hasmonean Era," in *Between Cooperation and Hostility: Multiple Identities in Ancient Judaism and the Interaction with Foreign Powers*, ed. Rainer Albertz and Jakob Wöhrle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 151–175.
48. Berlin, "Identity Politics," 104.
49. Nahman Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 81–165; see Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, 106–114.
50. Martin Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Revolt against Rome, AD 66–70* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 117.
51. A particularly radical and vivid formulation of the capacity of wealth to prevent salvation is ascribed to Jesus of Nazareth: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for someone who is rich to enter the kingdom of God" (Mark 10:25, Matt. 19:24, Luke 18:25, NIV).
52. Josephus, AJ 20.179–181, 205–207, 213–214, 216–218.
53. See Trampedach, "The High Priests and Rome," 258.
54. Josephus, BJ 2.409.
55. Josephus, BJ 2.230–231. In his parallel account at AJ 20.113–117, Josephus relates a slightly different version of events: that Cumanus, after taking counsel with his friends, beheaded the soldier, thus preventing another uprising.

56. See, e.g., those episodes reported by Josephus that contain alleged assaults against the Torah or the Temple: BJ 2.169–174, 175–177, 224–227 = AJ 18.55–59, 60–62; 20.106–112; Seth Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 BCE to 640 CE* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 59–62.
57. Rapoport convincingly emphasizes the modernity of the Zealots/Sicarii, "who appear almost as our true contemporaries because they seem to have purposes and methods that we can fully understand. By means of provocation they were successful in generating a mass insurrection, an aim of most modern terrorists, but one that has probably never been achieved." "Fear and Trembling," 660.
58. Not only in Muslim countries but also in Israel, albeit only as a marginal phenomenon: see Ami Pedahzur and A. Arie Perlinger, *Jewish Terrorism in Israel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
59. The common denominator of "terrorist" movements of a particular type is understood in the sense of Pedahzur and Perlinger, *Jewish Terrorism*, xiv: "We argue that religious terrorism is not a one-faith phenomenon. In fact, identical patterns of radicalization and the uses of terrorism can be traced to any counterculture that adheres to a totalistic ideology, be it religious or secular."
60. Other historical instances of this constellation are discussed in Kai Trampedach and Andreas Pečar (eds.), *Theokratie und theokratischer Diskurs: Die Rede von der Gottesherrschaft und ihre politisch-sozialen Voraussetzungen im interkulturellen Vergleich* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).
61. Or they assume that it is possible through fighting against godless oppressors to open the way for the advent of the Messiah: Uriel Rappaport, "Jewish-Pagan Relations and the Revolt against Rome in 66–70 CE," in *The Jerusalem Cathedra 1*, ed. Lee I. Levine (Jerusalem and Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981), 81–95, esp. 83: "Nourished by suffering, frustration, and tension (which it augmented), messianism portrayed Rome not as a necessary and bearable evil, which may have been the view of many Jews, but as an evil that was subject not only to elimination but even to replacement by the messianic kingdom, whose advent was inevitable."

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CHAPTER 3

INSTRUMENTAL TERROR IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

WARREN BROWN

Definitions

The Middle Ages in Europe stretched roughly from AD 500 to AD 1500, that is, from the end of the Roman Empire in the West to the Protestant Reformation. If we want to look for "terrorism" in this period, we immediately face a fundamental question: can we use modern concepts, expressed by English words, as analytical frameworks for understanding medieval societies whose members understood the world in terms profoundly different from our own and through the filters of languages other than English?

In some cases, we can. The word "violence" is a good example. In modern English, "violence" covers a range of actions, generally involving physical destruction and injury, which medieval authors described with a variety of different words. In medieval Europe's dominant written language, Latin, *violentia* denoted a particular quality of behavior, namely vehemence, ferocity, or impetuosity. To describe actions that we would call violent, medieval authors tended to use more specific words, such as to kill (*occidere* or *interficere*), to wound (*vulnere*), to fight (*pugnare*), to strike (*percutere*), to destroy (*perdere*), to seize, plunder, or rape (*rapere*), to burn (*incendere*), or to use force (*per vim*). Nevertheless, these actions all share characteristics in common. It does no harm to the medieval worldview, therefore, to subsume them under the rubric "violence" as we understand the term.[1]

In other cases, we cannot. The word "crime," for example, in modern English covers offenses against the state as the representative of society as a whole, as opposed to actions that cause harm to persons or groups qua persons or groups (i.e., civil wrong, or tort). In medieval Europe through the twelfth century, however—and for some elements of

society right through the Middle Ages—wrong was undifferentiated. Wrongs were matters between individuals (among whom counted kings) that needed to be made right and that were usually viewed subjectively. Sometimes they were settled by compensation; often they were settled by violence. The idea of "crime" in the modern sense (apart from popular usage, e.g., in which someone responds to something they consider wrong with a phrase like "that's such a crime") emerged when kings and other rulers became sufficiently powerful to assert an ideology of public order, ordained by God, that the ruler was duty bound to uphold and which was injured by particular kinds of wrong.[2]

It is hard to say in which category terrorism belongs. To summarize a standard definition of terrorism: terrorism is a politically motivated strategy of using spectacular acts of violence to provoke extreme fear, as well as sympathy, in a given society in an effort to force change in a political order. It is wielded from below, against more powerful opponents. Some medieval sources do in fact describe acts involving the use of terror that match this definition. They are few and far between, however. They are rare because medieval assumptions and concerns fundamentally differ from those that underlie it.

To begin with, it is hard for a medievalist to strictly isolate "political" as an analytical category. For most of the Middle Ages, "political" order is intimately tied to "social" and "economic" order. Order was based on personal and economic relationships as much or more than it was on relationships between governing and governed. The ruling class, that is, the aristocracy, was structured by ties of kinship, friendship, fealty, and prayer; aristocrats exercised and experienced power through the norms associated with these ties.[3] Those lower down in the hierarchy of power, that is, peasants and residents of towns and cities, were bound to their lords by ties of personal and economic dependence whose gradations are often frustratingly difficult to pin down. In the twelfth century, towns and cities as collectives began to win written charters from their lords that more precisely specified the relationships between them, but still as much in economic as in what we would call political terms.[4]

Moreover, one cannot disassociate political order from religious order. Both theorists of power and wielders of power in the Middle Ages understood right order to be that which harmonized with the will of the Christian God. God's order could be general, or it could be specific to a particular group or individual, and it might have meant different things to different people in different contexts. In many if not most conflicts over right order, what we might characterize separately as the political and the religious were inextricably intertwined. If we want to look for terror used against an order, therefore, we have to include terror used to achieve what its perpetrators believed to be God's ends.[5]

Seen from a modern perspective, the above definition implies that terrorism is indiscriminate, in other words, that it targets or seeks to influence what we would call civilian populations and/or authority figures as well as military. In this regard it differs from guerrilla warfare, which though bottom up in nature, in theory at least strikes only military targets; guerrilla warfare as a tactic can be intertwined with acts of terrorism, but the two remain conceptually distinct.[6] This distinction depends on a conceptual divide between civilian and military that for much of the Middle Ages did not exist. Among

the aristocracy most males fought; wielding violence was the aristocracy's defining characteristic. Only in the later Middle Ages does one begin to find what we might call civilian as opposed to military aristocrats.[7] Within the aristocracy, violence against women and children drew condemnation by the community and sharp retaliation by their kin, friends, and lords or vassals. When aristocrats targeted members of the lower orders of society, however, such limits rarely applied.[8] Armies and warbands frequently threatened or killed peasants and townspeople, including women and children; negotiations over the fate of townspeople, or of villagers who had sought refuge in a castle or church, formed a crucial part of ending sieges. Some clergymen tried to draw moral lines protecting the defenseless, for example, in the so-called "Peace of God" councils of the tenth and eleventh centuries that sought, inter alia, to protect peasants, merchants, and unarmed clerics.[9] As the last category implies, however, it is often hard to grasp precisely who was defenseless. Peasants and townspeople (who from the eleventh century on were increasingly armed and trained) wielded violence, as did members of the clergy armed either with physical or spiritual weapons—or both. Camp followers accompanying armies killed and plundered; women in besieged towns were known to pick up weapons and fight. Medieval theorists of just warfare, with the exception of canon lawyers who recognized the norms projected by the Peace councils, tended to treat attacks on noncombatants as legitimate as long as the war their attackers were prosecuting was a righteous one.[10]

Calling terrorism a product of violence "from below" highlights further how historically contingent the concept "terrorism" is. As discussed in Chapter 7, the term was coined during the French Revolution after the fall of Robespierre to cast in a negative light the so-called Reign of Terror imposed by the revolutionary government in 1793–94.[11] This was terror from above. As we will see, this kind of terror matches the medieval experience much more closely.

Given how hard it is to fit modern ideas about "terrorism" to medieval realities, the most useful thing to do is to set these ideas aside and look simply at how, and in what circumstances, people in medieval Europe used terror—that is, to look for "instrumental terror." I define instrumental terror as the deliberate use of extreme fear, from the bottom up, the top down, or between rough equals in power, by individuals but more often by groups, to achieve some goal or set of goals indirectly, rather than by the direct application of force. This can include efforts driven by some sort of ideology to overturn, destabilize, but also impose or protect a given pattern of social, religious, political (or all of the above) order, whether large-scale and trans-regional, or small-scale or local. It can also include fear wielded in the pursuit of much more immediate and pragmatic aims. It encompasses actions intended to provoke emotions that medieval sources label with the Latin words *terror* = "terror" and *terreo* = "to terrify," or related words such as *pavor* = terror or fear; *metus* = fear or dread; *metuo* = to fear or be afraid, as well as cognate words in the various medieval vernaculars. It also covers actions that the sources do not surround with such words, but where nevertheless the intent to terrorize, and the effect of terrorizing, are clear.

Models of Instrumental Terror

The idea of instrumental terror was certainly present in medieval Europe. The most widely available source was the Christian Bible, in its characteristic medieval form, the Latin Vulgate. By far the greatest number of examples is to be found in the Old Testament. This first and most extensive part of the Bible contains a great many stories in which the God of the Israelites employs terror and the threat of terror to change people's behavior or to serve as a deterrent. In the book of Genesis, for example, after Jacob and his people had set out for Bethel, "the terror (*terror*) of God fell upon all the cities round about, and they durst not pursue after them as they went away."[12] In Deuteronomy, as Moses preaches to the people of Israel about the dangers of ignoring God's commandments, he declares:

> And thy life shall be as it were hanging before thee. Thou shalt fear [*timebis*] night and day, neither shalt thou trust thy life. In the morning thou shalt say: Who will grant me evening. And at evening: Who will grant me morning? For the fearfulness of thy heart, wherewith thou shalt be terrified [*terreberis*], and for those things which thou shalt see with thy eyes.[13]

Human heroes of the Israelites did likewise. According to the first book of Maccabees (which the Vulgate Bible treated as canonical), during the Jewish revolt against the Seleucid kings Judas Maccabeus "pursued the wicked and sought them out, and them that troubled his people he burnt with fire. And his enemies were driven away for fear [*timore*] of him, and all the workers of iniquity were troubled; and salvation prospered in his hand."[14]

Images of divine terror are not restricted to the Old Testament. The New Testament Epistle of Jude offers one as it interprets the Old Testament tale of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha: "Just as Sodom and Gomorrha, and the neighboring cities which like them committed sins of immorality and practiced unnatural vice, have been made an example, undergoing the punishment of eternal fire."[15]

Beyond the Bible, members of the medieval elite who read history knew about the radical opponents of Roman rule in first century Palestine known as the Zealots.[16] Our main source on the Zealots is the contemporary Jewish author Josephus, whose works were widely copied during the Middle Ages.[17] Josephus tells us that the Zealots killed not only Romans but also Jews, in an effort to terrorize moderate Jews into adopting their particular views of proper religious practice and their violent resistance to the Romans. A subgroup of the Zealots, the so-called *sicarii* or dagger-men, killed by slitting their victims' throats with daggers. They often attacked in broad daylight, in crowded venues such as marketplaces, in order to create a climate of fear and vulnerability. Anyone in medieval Europe who read Josephus, therefore, or heard him read, knew that terror had been used in this way.

From the end of the eleventh through the thirteenth century, Europeans in the Crusader states of Palestine experienced similar instrumental terror firsthand. A group now known as the Assassins killed opponents of their brand of Isma'ili Shi'ite Islam with daggers, in broad daylight, in an effort to spread terror; most of the attackers died in the process.[18] The Assassins also targeted rulers in order to undermine in particular the regime of the Seljuk Turks and eventually to extend their power from their base in northern Persia into Syria. Their targets were mostly Muslim, but they did assassinate Christian Europeans, including most notably Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, in 1192. By this point, the Assassins were reputed to have hired themselves out as hit men. After the incident of 1192, for example, speculation was rife that the English king Richard the Lionheart had hired them to kill Conrad. By the thirteenth century, the Assassins were nakedly trying to extort tribute from Crusaders and Muslims alike.[19] But whatever the Assassins' motives at a given moment, they provided images of instrumental terror for Europeans to take home with them.

At least one Anglo-Saxon poet writing at the end of the tenth century understood that violence is more terrifying when its victims cannot comprehend it. The epic poem *Beowulf*, committed to writing in England at the end of the tenth century, tells how a monster named Grendel repeatedly attacked by night the great hall of the Danish king Hrothgar. The attacks not only killed people but also created a climate of terror and despair. The Danes found Grendel's attacks incomprehensible, because the monster would not declare his grievance and negotiate, nor would he accept or give compensation. Hrothgar's warriors fled; Hrothgar himself and his counselors "debated remedies, sat in secret sessions, talking of terror [*fǣr-gryrum*] and wondering what the bravest of warriors could do."[20]

Instrumental Terror in the Early Middle Ages (ca. AD 500–AD 900)

Our sources from early medieval Europe present instrumental terror in general as very much top down; that is, somebody who has power uses terror to impose their power on, or maintain their power over, someone else. In the *Ten Books of Histories* by Bishop Gregory of Tours (ca. AD 538–594), for example, Gregory describes the career of the Frankish king Clovis (r. 481–511?). Whether Gregory's stories about Clovis are accurate is open to question; he wrote a century after the fact, and he clearly wanted to exalt Clovis as God's instrument in bringing orthodox Christianity to Gaul. However, the way Gregory describes Clovis's ascent tells us that he thought—and presumably his audience did as well—that it was perfectly plausible for a Frankish king to use terror to achieve his goals. At one point, Gregory tells us that Clovis was challenged by one of his men over possession of an ewer that had been plundered from a church. With his army mustered

on the parade ground, and in full view of the assembled, Clovis suddenly and without warning killed the man with an axe. The rest of his men were "filled with a mighty dread" (*magnum timorem*), a dread that was presumably intended to discourage further challenges to Clovis's authority.[21]

Terror also formed part of the image of divine power and Christian sainthood, in a manner that evokes the God of the Old Testament. Lives of early medieval saints describe God using violence, sometimes directly and sometimes through the medium of the saints, to persuade nonbelievers to convert, to punish men and society at large for their sins, and to avenge injury and insult to himself and his followers both divine and human. In the fourth century life of St. Martin of Tours, for example, written by Martin's contemporary Sulpicius Severus, Sulpicius describes how the saint sought to destroy a heathen temple but was blocked by the locals. Martin prayed for divine aid; two angels with spears and shields arrived to protect him while he completed the temple's destruction. "The sight," says Sulpicius, "convinced the rustics that it was by divine decree that they had been stupefied and overcome with dread [*perterritos*], so as to offer no resistance to the bishop; and nearly all of them made profession of faith in the Lord Jesus."[22] In the seventh-century life of the Irish monk St. Columbanus, written by Jonas of Bobbio, the saint left some of his property in a boat on the river Loire at Tours while he went to pray at St. Martin's shrine. The property was stolen. Columbanus berated St. Martin for not protecting his property; St. Martin promptly tormented and tortured the thief. The miracle, says Jonas, struck such terror (*terrorem*) into everyone that no one dared further to touch anything belonging to Columbanus.[23]

Perhaps the classic example of terror as an instrument of power from this period appears in the context of the long and bitter effort by the Frankish king and emperor Charlemagne (r. 768–814) to subjugate the Saxons. According to the court sponsored *Royal Frankish Annals*, in 782 Charlemagne publicly slaughtered 4,500 Saxons in an effort to cow the rest into submission. The annalist does not condemn or criticize Charlemagne's brutality. The tone of his account makes it clear that he thought the king had done what was necessary in the face of the Saxons' repeated rebellion, perfidy, and faithlessness.[24]

In a set of decrees (called a capitulary from the decrees' arrangement into chapters or *capitula*) issued for the Saxons ca. 785, Charlemagne assigned the death penalty to an unprecedented degree for offenses committed in Saxony against the church, against Christianity, or against the Frankish power elite. Pierre Riché refers to this, not unreasonably, as a "terror capitulary."[25] The capitulary may well have been a response to bottom-up terror. If we read between the lines of some of the individual decrees, they appear to be responding to Saxons plundering or burning churches, and assaulting or killing clerics and representatives of Frankish authority.[26]

Charlemagne's immediate descendants apparently used terror in a similar fashion. According to the *Annals of St. Bertin* (a west Frankish continuation of the *Royal Frankish Annals*), in 841 his grandson Louis brought Saxons, Austrasians, Thuringians, and Alemans under his control, partly by terror (*terroribus*) and partly by conciliation. In 842 Louis faced down a rebellion in Saxony; he marched throughout the region, says the

annalist, and by force and terror (*terrore*) he completely crushed all who still resisted him. Having captured the ringleaders of the rebellion, he had 140 of them beheaded, hanged fourteen, and maimed many more.[27]

The High Middle Ages (ca. AD 900–AD 1300)

As the Middle Ages unfold, an obvious place to look for instrumental terror is to a classic feature of medieval warfare: pillaging and wasting an enemy's lands. In wars large and small, warriors pillaged and burned fields and villages, chased villagers from their homes and sometimes killed them. Monasteries, churches, and merchants suffered as well. This tactic was common throughout the Middle Ages, but it is especially easy to see in the tenth and eleventh centuries, in both the successor kingdoms to the Carolingian Empire that were on their way to becoming France and Germany and in England. In France, this was a time of weak central authority. The king had practical influence only in regions surrounding Paris. Outside of these regions princes operated essentially independently. In central and southern France, even the princes had trouble making their authority felt; their power was contested by local lords, in some places down to the level of individual castle commanders. In Germany, the kings were much stronger. Even they, however, had to compete with dukes who were, and very much saw themselves as, essentially their equals. England boasted a relatively strong Anglo-Saxon kingship, but this was interrupted in 1066 and the following decades by the Norman Conquest and by the internal warfare that followed.

As a consequence, violent competition for power and resources among and between both the great and the not so great was endemic. The pillaging and wasting that accompanied it clearly produced terror. People lost their homes and property and/or their lives; they fled to seek sanctuary whenever they could. Nevertheless, it is hard to argue that in every case terror was being used instrumentally; in some cases it seems, rather, to have been a byproduct of the violence. The sources generally cast wasting and pillaging in terms of vengeance or in terms of gathering supplies and plunder, rather than in terms of an intent to achieve some set of goals by deliberately spreading fear. Reading between the lines, we can also infer other motives: doing economic damage to an enemy; reducing his capacity to levy men and supplies, or provoking him into responding to an attack. A prominent example is William the Conqueror's so-called "Harrying of the North" after his conquest of the English crown in 1066. According to the English chronicler Orderic Vitalis (1075–ca. 1142), in 1069–70 William responded to a rebellion in the north of England by ravaging the county of Yorkshire and other regions, sending peasants fleeing to monasteries; he ordered his men to destroy herds, crops, villages, and everything in their path. According to Orderic, "[William] cut down many in his vengeance; destroyed the lairs of others; harried the land, and burned homes to ashes.…In his

anger he commanded that all crops and herds, chattels and food of every kind should be brought together and burned to ashes with consuming fire, so that the whole region north of Humber might be stripped of all means of sustenance."[28]

In many cases, however, combatants do seem to have intended to use the fear spread by wasting and pillaging instrumentally. Laying waste to an opponent's property and spreading terror among his people could serve to pressure an opponent into a settlement, or at least to gain a better position in negotiations—especially since doing so not only hurt him economically but also demonstrated his inability to carry out one of the fundamental tasks of lordship: controlling his holdings and protecting the people who lived on them. Moreover, wasting and pillaging displayed publicly one's willingness to engage in violence, with the latent threat behind the display of a more direct use of force. Devastating an opponent's lands and terrorizing his people, therefore, amounted to a nonverbal but nevertheless important tool of communication and negotiation among parties in conflict. For example, a written complaint by Hugh IV of Lusignan against Duke William V of Aquitaine, composed in the early eleventh century, describes a violent back and forth for land and castles, to which the protagonists laid claim by right of vassalage, kinship, or marriage. The conflict was carried out in part by laying waste to land around castles. At the end, Hugh received a promise from William to give him what he thought he was due.[29] At roughly the same time, Bishop Thietmar of the Saxon diocese of Merseburg tells us that during a dispute between the German King Henry II and Margrave Henry of Schweinfurt, both sides plundered and devastated the lands of their opponents and their allies on their way to a settlement.[30] Similar violent maneuvering shows up in monastic property records, or charters, in which monks accuse their opponents (or their oppressors, as they saw it) of plundering and laying waste to church lands and driving out the inhabitants in the course of conflicts over rights or property. The end result was usually the settlement that was recorded in the charter. We do have to be careful in assuming that what the monks said happened actually did; monks demonstrably and frequently demonized opponents in lurid language that in some cases was wildly exaggerated. In such cases, the monks were creating or amplifying images of terror in order to gain sympathy and support, and to control the memory of events.[31]

This image of instrumental terror emerges from violence carried out between members of the aristocracy. The picture is very different when one looks at violence aimed by aristocrats at members of the lower orders. A powerful and long-lived argument (captured with the phrase "feudal revolution" or "feudal mutation") holds that especially in central and southern France around the turn of the first millennium, lords—or mounted thugs trying to be lords—used terror to cow peasants into accepting their control and to extort from them labor and supplies. Pierre Bonnassie has gone so far as to coin the term "seigneurial terrorism" (*terrorisme seigneuriale*) for this behavior.[32] There is considerable debate about how rapidly this process took place; lords demonstrably ruled over their dependents by force well before and well after the turn of the first millennium. It could well be that this sort of "seigneurial terror" becomes more visible in the tenth and eleventh century because of the relative absence of royal authority from the region,

and/or because the scribes writing records abandoned older formulas and wrote in a way that better reflected local realities. Nevertheless, it did take place.[33]

At the same time, however, commoners could wield terror themselves—or at least be used by their betters as instruments of terror. The *Miracles of St. Benedict*, written by Andrew of Fleury, describes the activities of the so-called "Peace League of Bourges" in 1038. According to Andrew, Archbishop Aimon of Bourges imposed a peace oath on all men above the age of fifteen throughout his diocese. To enforce the oath, Aimon created a military force composed of clerics, some members of the local nobility, but also peasants. The army attacked violators of the peace and destroyed their castles; "with the help of God they so terrified [*exterrebant*] the rebels [i.e., the violators of the peace] that, as the coming of the faithful was proclaimed far and wide by rumor among the populace, the rebels scattered. Leaving the gates of their towns open, they sought safety in flight, harried by divinely inspired terror [*terrore*]." Archbishop Aimon was thus able to dominate the surrounding region until one magnate fought back and easily destroyed the archbishop's army.[34]

Trace evidence suggests that in late eleventh-century England people on whom foreign power had been imposed might, like Charlemagne's Saxons, have used terror to resist. After the Norman Conquest, in the course of which a Norman aristocracy displaced the native Anglo-Saxon ruling elite and imposed its lordship on England's inhabitants, William the Conqueror revived an older penalty for killing called the *murdrum* or "murder" fine. Originally imposed for the treacherous killing of a king's man, the Normans reinterpreted the fine in line with the Frankish understanding of murder that they brought with them, namely a killing carried out in secret. A century later, a legal writer, Richard FitzNigel reveals that the Norman version of the *murdrum* fine may have been a response to targeted assassinations of Normans; he says that it was originally levied for the hidden or secret slaying of a Norman.[35]

At least one divine figure used terror as a tool in what can only be called extortion—extortion that was justified, however, because (according to the author concerned) it served a divinely mandated goal. According to the early eleventh-century *Miracles of St. Foy*, the monks of St. Foy's monastery at Conques decided that the high altar of the saint's church needed a new frontal. To make it, they needed gold. According to the story's author, "this is the reason that few people are left in this whole region who have a precious ring or brooch or armbands or hairpins, or anything of this kind, because Sainte Foy, either with a simple entreaty or with bold threats, wrested away these same things for the work of the frontal." One woman from the area, knowing that the saint was requisitioning gold, decided to hide a gold ring. St. Foy promptly visited the woman with a painful fever for several nights in succession until she gave up the ring.

Descriptions of divine anger could leave instrumental terror implicit, but nevertheless clearly there. Pestilence, for example, was widely seen as divine punishment for society's collective sins. The fear that it inspired prompted efforts at reform. A case in point is offered by a description of one of the Peace of God councils. A monk of Angoulême, Ademar of Chabannes, writing in the first third of the eleventh century,

described a council held at Limoges in 994. The council, says Ademar, was provoked by an outbreak of disease: a pestilence burned throughout the region around Limoges that devoured the bodies of men and women with an invisible fire. In response, the abbot of St. Martial at Limoges and the bishop of Limoges held a council together with Duke William V of Aquitaine and proclaimed a three-day fast. All the bishops of Aquitaine attended, as did the bodies of numerous saints. As a result of the council, great joy filled everyone present, and the sickness ceased. A pact of peace and justice was then concluded by the duke and his lords.[36]

God, of course, also worked through his Church. The main tool of coercion that the medieval Church could use on God's behalf was excommunication, or anathema: the threat of separation from the church and hence from salvation. The fear of excommunication helped churchmen to promote or restore God's order as they saw it. The Peace councils, for example, repeatedly invoked anathema; the council of Charroux in 989, for example, threatened it for everything from attacking churches and unarmed churchmen to plundering the poor.[37]

The later eleventh and twelfth centuries saw the Roman Church rapidly centralize as it fought back against centuries of domination by kings and local elites. In the process, the Roman bishops, or popes, sought and won ever-tighter control over churches and monasteries throughout Europe. By the turn of the thirteenth century, the popes wielded enough influence over secular affairs as well that some historians speak in terms of a "papal monarchy" that spanned all of Europe. As the popes grew more powerful, spiritual terror became an ever more potent tool that they could use to counter opposition. During a struggle in the early thirteenth century between Pope Innocent III and King John of England over who would become archbishop of Canterbury, Innocent hung the fear of damnation over an entire kingdom: he placed England under an interdict—that is, he suspended Christian services and the administration of all sacraments save for baptism, confession, and last rites for the dying; he moreover forbade Christian burial for the dead.[38]

Terror also helped the Church to fight heresy. The tactic is quite visible in the Albigensian Crusade of the early thirteenth century. This crusade was called by Pope Innocent III to destroy the so-called Albigensian or Cathar heretics of southern France. The crusade's military leader, Simon de Montfort, used terror to force towns in Cathar areas to surrender and hand over their heretics. The citizens of Béziers were offered peace if they would surrender the heretics in their ranks, but they refused. The crusaders captured the city; they and their camp followers massacred the inhabitants and set the city on fire. The leaders of the army then declared that in every city that resisted them the entire population would be put to the sword. Narbonne promptly surrendered and offered to give up all of its known heretics; other towns and villages were abandoned as their inhabitants fled.[39]

The ecclesiastical investigation and prosecution of heretics—that is, the inquisitions—that accompanied this crusade likewise spread a climate of fear. Inquisitors openly encouraged people to denounce their fellows in exchange for lenient treatment for themselves. They also employed terror more directly, not only to root out heretics

but as a weapon in local struggles for power. A Bishop of Albi, Bernard de Castanet, who was engaged in a struggle over political control of the city with its citizens, had a number of citizens falsely condemned as heretics. To cover his tracks, he engaged in campaign of terror and assassination against anyone who might have been able to reveal truth about his machinations, including some who had helped him.[40] Not surprisingly, Cathars resorted to terror themselves. They occasionally assaulted or assassinated inquisitors. More often, they used violence to deter people from within their own ranks from defecting or betraying them.[41]

As strong secular monarchies began to emerge in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, rulers used terror, inter alia, to squelch internal competition and to advance their own interests. Paradigmatic is the successful effort by the French king Philip IV "the Fair" (r. 1285–1314) to suppress the Knights of the Temple or Templars, one of the quasi-monastic military orders dedicated to restoring Palestine to Latin Christian rule. Founded at the end of the eleventh century, the Templars had through donations of land and other gifts grown into an extremely powerful and wealthy trans-European organization, from which many rulers borrowed money. Philip IV was himself deeply in debt to the Templars; there are good reasons to suppose that his attack against them was motivated by a desire to get out from under the debt and to seize their vast assets. Philip presented the attack publicly, however, as his response, motivated by his duty as God's representative, to charges that the Templars were living flagrantly immoral lives. Although the charges were largely spurious, Philip widely publicized accusations of sexual deviance, blasphemy, and heresy against the Templars in an effort to whip up a climate of fear among his subjects and thus gain public support for his actions. He had members of the order arrested and tortured into confessing; he bullied Pope Clement V into ordering all of the Templars arrested. Using coerced confessions, the king had dozens of Templars publicly burned at the stake in an effort to discourage those inclined to resist him. The king's tactics were successful; he managed to coerce the pope into disbanding the order in 1312, and all resistance among the Templars themselves collapsed.[42]

The Late Middle Ages (AD 1300–1500)

When royal power broke down, the floodgates opened wide to local terror. During the Hundred Years' War of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for example, repeated English incursions brought France to its knees. After the devastating defeat of a French army at Poitiers in 1356, bands of temporarily unemployed mercenaries came together and applied their trade to making a living until opportunities for legitimate employment reappeared. These so-called "Free Companies" terrorized the lands they were occupying to impose their power and to ensure a steady flow of supplies and money. In the Île de France in 1358, one Martin Henriquez threatened the villages around Melun with plunder, fire, and death if they did not make ransom agreements with his officers. The inhabitants

of two villages tried to resist; after they had their barns emptied and their vines uprooted they submitted.[43]

Particularly frank about the Free Companies' activities was a Gascon squire, the Bascot de Mauléon, who was interviewed by the chronicler Jean Froissart in the fall of 1358. Early on in his career as a freebooter, said the Bascot, he served as captain in a large force of companions that moved into Provence. The fear they inspired helped them to avoid battle and force concessions from the locals. Moving on Avignon, where the pope was in residence, the companions threatened the papal court. The Bascot told Froissart proudly that they made war on the pope and the Cardinals "and really made them squeal." The pope only extricated himself by brokering an agreement that sent several of the leading captains and most of the companions off to fight in Italy. The Bascot, however, remained behind. He told Froissart in a perfectly matter-of-fact tone (as Froissart depicts it) how he and his group seized and plundered towns and castles: "there was not a knight or squire or man of means who dared to venture out unless he had bought one of our safe-conducts."[44]

Both royal power and its collapse occasionally provoked what we would call popular revolts. In the course of these revolts, members of the lower orders of society used terror in an effort to change or even upend the dominant order, or at least some element of it. In some cases, the sources allow us to see traces of an ideology behind the terror, or at least a set of coherent aims. In southern France and Spain in 1320–21, for example, the participants in the so-called Shepherd's Crusade, or Crusade of the Pastoureaux, attacked not only Moors and Jews but also royal officials and castles, as well as the wealthy and the privileged. At its core, this crusade was an act of rebellion against royal authority, and in particular against what the crusaders perceived as fiscal oppression.[45] According to the Dominican inquisitor Bernard Gui, the pastoureaux "struck terror [*terrorem*] and dread [*formidinem*] of their name in the communities of the towns and castles, and in the rectors and leaders of them, and among the princes and prelates and rich persons."[46] The Jews in particular earned the crusaders' ire; the Jews were under royal protection, and they helped funnel money to the royal court through the interest they charged their debtors and on which they then paid taxes.

In contrast, the Jacquerie that broke out in France in 1358 was touched off by the collapse of royal authority in the wake of the Battle of Poitiers.[47] The Jacquerie (from the generic medieval French name for rustics: Jacques) was an uprising against the French nobility among not only by the peasantry of northern France but also by city dwellers and some of the lower aristocracy of the region. The nobility had proven utterly incapable of protecting their subjects from the depredations and military power of the English. Free Companies were ravaging the towns and countryside; to their victims, the leaders of the companies were essentially indistinguishable from the nobility (and were in fact often members of the nobility). In 1358 inhabitants of region around Beauvais rebelled. Disorganized bands attacked noble manors and castles, committing what contemporary accounts portray (apparently accurately) as horrifying atrocities. They lynched the inhabitants, gang-raped women and girls, killed them in front of their husbands and fathers (or vice versa), and plundered and burned buildings.

Jean Froissart surrounds his account of the Jacquerie with a thick fog of terror.[48] His perspective reflects that of his aristocratic patrons and subjects; he tells us that the Jacks deliberately created a reign of terror in the service of wiping out the aristocracy. Despite Froissart's evident biases, it appears that the Jacks did indeed want to at least overturn the established aristocratic order, if not completely wipe out the nobility. The atrocities that are reported by Froissart and others were clearly aimed at the nobility. The Jacks not only attacked the social and political hierarchy but also things that represented financial exactions (i.e., mills, property records, etc.).[49] So it would appear that the terror inspired by the Jacks as a whole was in fact aimed at effecting change in the dominant order.

Once they organized themselves to crush the Jacquerie, the French aristocracy (aided by some English knights) certainly employed terror to put the Jacks back in their place. They engaged in their own excesses as they took horrible vengeance, slaughtering peasants and villagers and destroying their villages and property.[50]

Conclusions

Some of our sources describe, or hint at, acts of terror that might fall within our definition of terrorism. It is not hard to imagine the Saxons who are visible as indirect shadows in Charlemagne's Saxon capitulary carrying out terror strikes against those they viewed as their oppressors; it is not hard to see the terror spread by the participants in the Jacquerie as aimed at destabilizing or overturning a dominant order. Yet our sources do not single these acts out as in any way sui generis. Instead, they appear to be simply part of a larger world of instrumental terror.

Terror formed an important part of the repertoire of power in medieval Europe. Those with power, or those who aspired to power, terrorized in order to frighten people into doing what they wanted or to discourage resistance. Others used terror to impose what were in essence protection or extortion rackets, or to intimidate or silence whistleblowers. Still others terrorized to undermine the foundations of an order, or to resist an order that was being imposed on them. From the variety of sources we have examined it appears that this culture of terror was broadly similar throughout medieval Europe across time and space.

Like so much else in medieval Europe, terror was theater designed to communicate. Demonstrative and public acts of violence served to send messages to individuals or communities up or down the ladder of power, or to equals with whom one was in conflict. Those who employed terror did not, of course, have modern means of communication or access to modern forms of mass media. Terror must, therefore, have spread beyond the realm of direct experience by word of mouth, or through travelers such as monks, merchants, pilgrims—or refugees.

Word of medieval terror reaches us through our written sources. At the time they were written, our texts, whether they were chronicles, histories, saints' lives, or documentary records, broadcast terror to those who could read or hear them. They preserved

memories of terror that could continue to haunt the future and serve as warnings (i.e., to avoid resisting the king, to watch out for rebellious peasants or for unemployed mercenaries, to fear the wrath of God or his saints, etc.). They also, however, often deployed images of terror that reflected the interests or served the purposes of their authors. From this perspective, images of terror could spread fear and horror but also evoke sympathy, as when monks hyped charges of terror against their enemies to gain support for their view of their rights, or when Jean Froissart regaled his aristocratic audience with tales of the terror of the Jacquerie.

The legitimacy of terror, therefore, was very much in the eye of the beholder. Accordingly—and in sharp contrast to attitudes in the modern west—instrumental terror was often viewed, and reported, as something positive. Many of our sources do criticize it and tell us that its victims suffered. Others, however, portray it as legitimate or necessary, or even glorious. Carolingian sources valorize the terror wielded by kings to subdue their opponents. The author of the *Miracles of St. Foy* casts in the glow of the miraculous St. Foy's use of terror to collect gold from the people living around her monastery. Churchmen regarded terror as a legitimate weapon to wield in defense of God's order as they understood it and in the fight against heresy. Jean Froissart described with evident satisfaction the brutal and terrifying retribution meted out to the rebellious Jacks. Froissart's informant the Bascot de Mauléon recounted with equal satisfaction the terror he and the other members of the Free Companies had inspired. Over all was the medieval God, who wielded terror as he did in the Old Testament, either directly or through his saints, to deter immoral behavior, to spur reform, or to protect the interests of Himself and His followers. The terror provoked by evidence of His wrath prompted not revulsion but rather efforts to identify and atone for the sins that had provoked it.

Notes

1. Warren C. Brown, *Violence in Medieval Europe* (London: Longman, 2001), 6–7.
2. Ibid., 20–22, 202, 214.
3. Gerd Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde, und Getreue. Zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im früheren Mittelalter*. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), and *Amicitia und Pacta: Bündnis, Einung, Politik, und Gebetsdenken im beginnenden 10. Jahrhundert* (Hannover: Hahn, 1992); Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).
4. See, for example, the charter negotiated by the citizens of Bruges and Aardenburg in 1127, as described by Galbert of Bruges in his account of the murder of Count Charles the Good of Flanders: *De multro, traditione, et occisione gloriosi Karoli Comitis Flandriarum*, ed. J. Rider (Turholt: Brepols, 1994), 104–105; *The Murder of Charles the Good*, ed. and trans. James B. Ross (New York: Columbia University Press, [1982] 2005), 203–206.
5. See Brown, *Violence*, passim.
6. Cf. Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency," in Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, eds., *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 12–51, esp.17; Peter Waldmann, *Terrorismus. Provokation Der Macht* (Munich: Gerling Akademie Verlag, 1998), c.1, esp. 21.

7. See Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 144–146 and 152–153.
8. See, e.g., Brown, *Violence*, 110, 271.
9. Thomas Head and Richard Landes, *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).
10. Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
11. Cf. Rudolf Walther, "Terror, Terrrorismus," in Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck, *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon Zur Politisch-Sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1990), 323–444, here 348.
12. Genesis, 35:5: Robert Weber, O.S.B., ed., *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983); *New Catholic edition of the Holy Bible, translated from the Latin Vulgate* (New York: Catholic Book Pub. Co., 1948). All further biblical quotations will be to these editions.
13. Deuteronomy 28:66–67. See also Leviticus 26:16, Deuteronomy 32:25.
14. 1 Macabees 3:5–6. See also 1 Maccabees 3:25.
15. Genesis 19:1–29; Jude 1:7.
16. See above, Chapter 2.
17. *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1977–), s.v. "Josephus im MA."
18. See below, Chapter 4.
19. See, e.g., the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi, translated as The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2001), 305–308.
20. *Beowulf*, ed. Michael Alexander (New York: Penguin, 1995), 14–15; trans. Burton Raffel (New York: Penguin, 1999), 28.
21. Gregory of Tours, *Zehn Bücher Geschichten*, ed. R. Buchner, 2 vols. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967–70), 1:110–113.
22. Sulpice Sévére, *Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. and trans. Jacques Fontaine, 3 vols. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1967–1969), 1:284; Sulpicius Severus, "The Life of Saint Martin of Tours," trans. F. R. Hoare, in *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 17.
23. "Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque eius libri duo auctore Iona," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, 4, (Hanover: Hahn, 1902), 96; Jonas of Bobbio, "Life of St. Columbanus," in *Monks, Bishops and Pagans: Christian Culture in Gaul and Italy, 500–700*, ed. E. Peters, trans. W. C. McDermott (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 103.
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26. Capitula 3, 5, 12, 13, 30.
27. "Jahrbücher von St. Bertin," ed. Reinhard Rau, *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, pt. 2 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969), 54–55, 58–59.
28. *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), Bk. IV, 320–333.

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30. Ottonian Germany: *The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, trans. David A. Warner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 214–215, 226–231, 237–238, 246–249.
31. See, e.g., Brown, *Violence*, 107, 124.
32. Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle: Croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 vols. (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires Mirail, 1975–76), 2:599.
33. See, e.g., Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 22–83, and *Tormented Voices: Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia 1140–1200* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *La Mutation féodale: Xe–XIIe siècle*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Nouvelle Clio, 2004); Dominique Barthélemy, *La Mutation de l'an mil, a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et XIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 1997).
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CHAPTER 4

ISMAILI ASSASSINS AS EARLY TERRORISTS?

DAVID COOK

There are few groups in classical Islam that have provoked more theories than have the Ismaili Assassins. Flourishing as part of the attempt by the Sevener Shi`ites (otherwise Ismailis) to promote their missionization efforts during the tenth through the thirteenth centuries, they were almost a mystery faith to the majority of Muslims. Through the centuries the Assassins have conjured up to both the medieval and the contemporary imaginations the ideal of unbridled fanaticism, of unspeakable methods of violence. Already Marco Polo (d. 1331?) contributed significantly to their mystique by regurgitating Muslim legends as to the origin of their name[1]—related to the Arabic *hashshish* (cannabis)—a trend that has continued right into the contemporary writings of Dan Brown.[2] Most of these myths have been rightly debunked by Farhad Daftary in his *Assassin Legends*;[3] however, the fact remains that the Assassins did utilize political violence and most especially targeted assassinations, for political and religious, and possibly even profit-driven, motivations. Therefore, it is appropriate to ask: What is the place of the Assassins in the history of terrorism? And what is the methodology of their attacks?

After the initial appearance of the Ismaili Fatimid state in North Africa (present-day Tunisia) in 909, the movement's missionization wing (*da`wa*) operated extensively throughout the eastern half of the Muslim world, in Syria-Palestine, Iraq, and Iran, and ultimately in the remote regions of Central Asia. Because the basis for Ismaili teachings was an esoteric and allegorical interpretation of the Qur'an that promoted a gradual initiation of the lower level disciples into beliefs that were dramatically different from those of mainstream Sunnis and Shi`ites, there was intense fear concerning their abilities to subvert Muslim society. No doubt to some extent this fear was justified. The Ismailis according to their own writings indoctrinated young disciples and won secret converts at the highest levels of society. Often they were able to suborn fortresses and cities by

such conversions, which increased the paranoia of the mainstream Muslim population around them.

It would not be illegitimate to compare the fear of Ismailis to that of the perceived communist menace during the 1950s and afterwards. The popular perception was that the Ismailis were everywhere, they could be anybody, they were mysterious and messianic, they could kill anybody at any time, and represented an existential evil for both mainstream Sunnis and Shi`ites. Repeatedly in the history books we read of massacres of whole populations on the rumor that some Ismailis were present in a given region. The panic concerning them recorded in the sources is obvious.[4] Even non-Muslim groups like the Crusaders and the Mongols were not immune to this terror. It was almost solely due to the reputation of the Ismailis as subversives and as assassins that the Mongols invaded the Muslim world, and ended up exterminating the entire group, founding the Il-Khan Empire in the process (1246–1334). And the Crusaders, through pilgrims and rumors circulated by historians and travelers, spread the fear of the Assassins—who were their next-door neighbors—back to Europe, where this fear and mystique entered both the literary and popular imagination.

The major source of the mystique of the Ismailis was the assassin, whose name passed into European and other languages (despite the fact that political and religious assassinations are well-known prior to their time) as definitive. Today one frequently finds theories that the Assassins are the ancestors of contemporary suicide attackers, or at least have a place as medieval terrorists. According to Bernard Lewis,

> The killing by the Assassin of his victim was not only an act of piety; it also had a ritual, almost a sacramental quality. It is significant that in all their murders, in both Persia and Syria, the Assassins always used a dagger; never poison, never missiles, though there must have been occasions when these would have been easier and safer. The Assassin is almost always caught, and usually indeed makes no attempt to escape; there is even a suggestion that to survive a mission was shameful.[5]

It is not at all unusual for those writers on contemporary Salafi-jihadi radicalism who wish to create historical depth for terrorism inside the Islamic tradition to highlight the Assassins. Many of these writers cite the political scientist David Rapoport, who in his article on the premodern terrorist groups discusses the differences between those assassinations commissioned by the Prophet Muhammad and the Ismaili Assassins: "A major difference between the earlier assassins and the later *fidayeen* [self-sacrificers, the name taken by the Assassins themselves] is that one group returned to Mohammed for judgment, whereas the other actively sought martyrdom."[6] The idea that these two precedents, most especially that of the Assassins, have inspired contemporary radical Muslim suicide attackers is cited by a great number of people who have written about contemporary suicide attacks, the most influential of whom was Robert Pape in his *Dying to Win*.[7]

Others in more general histories of terrorism, such as James Poland, have stated:

> This program of terror by a small religious sect to maintain its religious autonomy succeeded in terrorizing the Mideast for two centuries. The legends about the Old Man of the Mountains[8] and the Assassins have no doubt deeply inspired subsequent generations and apparently have motivated a campaign of suicidal bombings beginning in the 1980s by Hizbullah, HAMAS, al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, al Qaeda and Islamic Jihad that continues to this day.[9]

Anyone who has read the statements of the above groups realizes that there is not a single case in which any of them contain any awareness of their historical connections to contemporary radical Muslim groups, whether Sunni or Shi`ite. Nor is this fact to be wondered at: even in classical times the Ismailis were viewed as marginal by the mainstream Muslim world.

But the question remains: Where do the Ismaili assassins fit into the history of terrorism? And were their assassins really suicide attackers? According to general theorists of terrorism and suicide attacks, there is some type of causal or inspirational link between the Assassins and contemporary Salafi-jihadis, which can explain the sudden appearance in the contemporary Muslim world of the phenomenon of suicide terrorism. This theory demands a historical inquiry.

The Assassination of Nizam al-Mulk

For the student of Islamic history, no other single assassination that the Assassins carried out attracted more attention than that of the famous and well-connected vizier (prime minister) Nizam al-Mulk in 1092. Not only was Nizam al-Mulk a high-profile target, a very cultured and intellectual man (who was known for his foundation of the Nizamiyya College in Baghdad, afterwards the center for the promotion of Sunni orthodoxy), but his entire family was the mainstay of the Seljuq dynasty for the next century supplying viziers, courtiers, distinguished patrons of scholarship and many others to the capital of Baghdad.[10] Consequently, unlike other assassinations, that of Nizam al-Mulk was well-reported in its time (and is also frequently cited as an example of a suicide attack by contemporary scholars, including Pape).

Nizam al-Mulk had incurred the wrath of the Ismaili followers of Hasan-i Sabbah,[11] who controlled an Ismaili mini-state in what is today northern Iran, by trying to encourage the Seljuq ruler Malikshah to wipe them out, and besieged Hasan in his castle of Alamut. According to the early pro-Seljuq account of al-Husayni (ca. 1180),

> when Nizam al-Mulk had shut up the ways of this fortress [Alamut, the capital of the Assassins] with armies, after the dissention of Ibn al-Sabbah had been verified

> and his evil become widespread, its difficulties were magnified. Two men left the fortress with the shoes of their horses reversed, so that the soldiers surrounding the fortress thought that they had entered the fortress. Nizam al-Mulk departed from the baths, when he was in a litter, and one of those two men approached him in the guise of a petitioner from the ranks (of the army) and struck him with a knife (*sikkin*), and then fled and tripped over the tent-pegs of the camp, so they killed him.[12]

In this early account (only ninety years after the fact), the difficulties with associating Assassins together with suicide attackers are already apparent.[13] Although the account is hostile to the Ismailis, it does not present the assassins as religiously driven at all. Nor, contrary to what is generally written about the Assassins, does the single assassin who killed Nizam al-Mulk actually seem to have sought martyrdom (there does not seem to be any word about the second assassin). If that had been the case, then why was he attempting to flee when he was killed? The Assassins' action is easily explicable within the context of the warfare against the Ismailis that was being carried out by the Seljuqs at the same time.

Indeed, the balance of the early sources concerning the assassination of Nizam al-Mulk actually portray the deed as having been done at the instigation of Malikshah himself, although none deny that it was carried out by an Ismaili. For example, the other early Seljuq account of al-Nishapuri (fl. ca. 1186) explains that Malikshah was behind the whole thing and only sent a *mulahida* (atheist) because it was forbidden for one Muslim to kill another.[14] The militantly Sunni historian Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1200) expands upon the responsibility of the courtiers of Malikshah (who were annoyed because of the control that Nizam al-Mulk exercised over Malikshah) and does not even mention the religious or ethnic identity of the assassin.[15] This is despite the fact that Ibn al-Jawzi frequently gives information about Ismaili Assassins and was a very devoted Sunni who loathed Shi`ites (as his polemical work *Talbis Iblis* demonstrates). His grandson, al-Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1256), in a similar world history tells us in one version that Nizam al-Mulk's assassin actually escaped:

> A Daylami youth approached him [Nizam al-Mulk] in the guise of a Sufi, having in his hand a petition, and he called to him, and asked him [the guard] to allow him to give it to him [Nizam al-Mulk] personally [lit. hand to hand]. He said: Fine. When he [Nizam al-Mulk] stretched out his hand, he struck him with a knife to his heart, and he [Nizam al-Mulk] was taken to his tent and died. The Daylami fled, but then tripped over the tent pegs, and was cut. Abu Ya`la al-Qalanisi said: A Daylami man from the Ismailis attacked him, killed him, and fled immediately. He was searched for, but not found, and there was no news of him, and no clues about him.[16]

Likewise, their counterpart Ibn al-Athir (d. 1232) says specifically that, while the assassination was carried out by a Daylami Ismaili (in the guise of a *mustaghith*, one seeking aid), it was entirely the responsibility of the sultan.[17]

Lewis based himself not upon these earlier accounts, but upon the later historian Rashid al-Din (d. 1318), who, citing Ismaili sources, states:

> Our Master [Hasan-i Sabbah] laid snares and traps so as to catch first of all such fine game as Nizam al-Mulk in the net of death and perdition, and by this act his fame and renown became great. With the jugglery of deceit and the trickery of untruth, with guileful preparations and specious obfuscations, he laid the foundations of the *fida'i*s, and he said "Who of you will rid this state of the evil of Nizam al-Mulk Tusi?" A man called Bu Tahir Arrani laid the hand of acceptance on his breast, and, following the path of error by which he hoped to attain the bliss of the world-to-come, on the night of Friday, the 12th of Ramadan of the year 485 [October 16, 1092], in the district of Nihavand, at the stage of Sahna, he came in the guise of a Sufi to the litter of Nizam al-Mulk, who was being borne from the audience-place to the tent of his women, and struck him with a knife, and by that blow he suffered martyrdom. Nizam al-Mulk was the first man whom the *fida'i*s killed. Our Master… said: "The killing of this devil is the beginning of bliss."[18]

This is the source that Lewis, the scholar who originally defined the Ismailis as suicidal martyrs, prefers when describing the assassination of Nizam al-Mulk. But one first notes that nowhere does the citation say how the assassin actually died, or even if he died at all. The entire encounter is moreover divorced from the earlier accounts where a siege of the Assassins' castle is described, and conflicts with them.

Rashid al-Din lived some 250 years after the time of Nizam al-Mulk, and although Lewis wants us to believe that he is citing original Ismaili materials here, the tone is both anachronistic and difficult to reconcile with other Assassin activities. The martyr lists Rashid al-Din gives of the Assassins are frequently difficult to reconcile with the earlier Arabic material in any case. Also, as a servant of the Mongols, Rashid al-Din had good reason to present the Assassins in a negative light, as the Il-Khan Empire of which he was vizier came into existence as a result of the necessity to conquer and exterminate the Assassins. It has been suggested that Rashid al-Din did not want to perpetuate the idea that viziers should be killed by rulers (which was indeed Rashid al-Din's own fate), and thus played down the role of Malikshah.[19] One suspects that Rashid al-Din and the other Mongol historians wanted to honor Nizam al-Mulk, who by their time had achieved mythical proportions as a result of his political text, the *Siyasatnama*. In contradistinction to the other accounts, Rashid al-Din specifically refers to Nizam al-Mulk as a "martyr" (*shahid*) as a result of his manner of death. There is no compelling reason to believe Rashid al-Din's account over the four earlier ones.

But the most important element is the question of the story's ramification for the history of suicide attacks. All contemporary literature giving historical antecedents on the subject from Robert Pape onward cite this assassination as "evidence" of being a suicide attack, despite the fact that according to the earliest sources the assassin was trying to flee when killed or according to the one narrative actually escaped. In fact, the Assassins should not be associated with "suicide attacks" per se, but with suicidal attacks. These attacks are ones in which the attacker takes suicidal risks and is frequently caught and killed, but does not actually kill himself, nor is there any necessity inherent in the operation that the perpetrator die. According to the vast bulk of the Ismaili assassination accounts examined below, this "suicidal attack" remains the paradigm.

Justifications for Ismaili Assassinations

One has to ask the reasons why precisely suicidal attacks developed among the Ismailis as opposed to other groups in the classical Muslim world. There are a number of different theories in the market, all the way from Marco Polo's lurid accounts of the Ismailis drugging susceptible young men, giving them a taste of a sensual paradise on earth, and then promising them the reality if they were to carry out an assassination,[20] to the general fanaticism of the Ismailis (promoted by the incredulous Crusaders below).

Probably the most plausible theory has been advanced by David Rapoport, who follows Lewis and expands upon him by saying that the Ismailis relied upon the paradigmatic martyrdoms of `Ali (661) and Husayn (680) to inspire them.[21] For Shi`ites, of whom the Ismailis were part, these two leaders are considered to be exemplary. The difficulties with this interpretation, however, are clear. `Ali was assassinated by a Kharijite, who stabbed him to death, while Husayn died in battle fighting against Umayyad soldiers (under circumstances of personal bravery on the part of Husayn), but neither of these cases can be considered to be assassinations nor in either of these paradigmatic martyrdoms did either `Ali or Husayn seek out the circumstances of their deaths. How does one get from a paradigmatic but passive pair of martyrdoms to suicidal attacks? And beyond this problem, why are there no other examples of Shi`ite groups who utilized suicidal attacks if one is relying upon them, as all Shi`ites see them as exemplars?

There are in fact no good examples of a doctrine leading to suicide attacks or suicidal attacks in classical mainstream Shi`ism (Twelver Shi`ism). In order to support suicidal attacks in Sunnism (and Kharijism) one finds the citation of several Qur'anic verses: Q 9:111: "Allah has bought from the believers their lives and their wealth in return for Paradise; they fight in the way of Allah, kill and get killed…who fulfills His promise better than Allah. Rejoice then at the bargain that you have made," and 2:207 "And some people sell themselves for the sake of Allah's favor. Allah is kind to [His] servants."[22] Ironically, this latter verse is known to have been cited by the Kharijite assassin Ibn Muljam as he was killing `Ali in 661[23] and in contemporary times is used to justify martyrdom operations.[24] The ideas germinated by these verses are then completed by the classical legal discussion of "the single fighter who charges a large number," which is exactly the type of suicidal attack that we find exemplified in the assassination of Nizam al-Mulk.[25]

However, all of this type of discussion is lacking in Ismaili materials, and moreover the belief system is one that is founded upon an allegorical interpretation of the Qur'an, and thus it is not likely that doctrines supporting suicidal attacks would be developed in such a linear progression. It is important to realize that classical Ismailism was an emanationist belief system, in which the One (an impersonal God) emanated a series of entities, which in turn emanated entities in a progression down to the present physical world. Evil, such as it was, was the result of much envy between these entities as they

sought the favor of the One, and the goal ultimately of the human was to gain the knowledge that would enable one to return back to the divine realm. Like most gnostic belief systems, Ismailis had contempt for the body. In classical Ismailis there was a polarity between the constancy of the Intellect, and the flightiness of the Soul that is reflected in humanity, of which the intellect is the key and eternal element.[26]

Fighting the soul, as in Qur'an 12:53, which is important in jihad or God-sanctioned warfare, is in accord with the well-known tradition where the Prophet Muhammad is said to have returned from a battle saying that he had returned from the "lesser jihad" (fighting) to fight the "greater jihad" (against his soul).[27] It will be clear that this type of fighting, while seen as irenic in Sufi (mystical) circles, was key to the development of jihad teachings among Ismailis, and may indeed have been the opening for the use of suicidal attacks, because if the soul is perceived as evil, spiting it by placing it in extreme danger would (or could) constitute "fighting" its influence.

Probably the best-known scholar in classical Ismailism was the Fatimid vizier al-Qadi Nu`man (d. 1003), who lived approximately ninety years before the high period of the Assassins, and who left extensive discussions of Ismaili legal issues. Al-Qadi Nu`man cites Qur'an 9:111 (previous page) repeatedly in his discussion of jihad and asks the question of whether this verse is applicable to all believers or just to part.[28] He answers his own question by citations from the Imams, especially Ja`far al-Sadiq (d. 765),[29] who said that this verse is only applicable to the very select of the select, citing other Qur'anic verses such as 9:112 that deny the title of "fighter" to (apparently) most Muslims. Moreover, the jihad should be directed against these other lukewarm Muslims.[30]

The important missionary Ja`far al-Yaman (d. 990) in his discussion of jihad states that there are three types of fighting (jihad): the first and lowest being that against enemies, the second being on behalf of one's family (to prevent wrong teaching from emerging), and the third, which is the highest, is against the soul, in accord with the tradition of the Greater Jihad mentioned above.[31] However, he clarifies that the jihad against the soul is really against "the leaders of error and infidelity" and that it is accomplished by "breaking" their arguments and defeating them. Al-Yaman does not anywhere speak about killing his opponents, but from the violence of his language it would be easy to visualize that later Ismailis (some hundred years later) might make that leap. What is significant in the assassinations detailed below is that they are targeted, and against people who Ismailis would consider to be "leaders of error and infidelity."

It is equally interesting that most of the assassinations were carried out against political leaders or those religious leaders who held formal positions, rather than those people who we could consider to be intellectual opponents of Ismailism. Strictly religious figures like al-Ghazali (d. 1111), who wrote several refutations of Ismailism, were never touched.

What is missing in the al-Qadi al-Nu`man's and in Ja`far al-Yaman's description of jihad is something like the Sunni doctrine of "the single fighter charging a large number of the enemy." But al-Qadi al-Nu`man does cite a third verse, Qur'an 2:249, in the context of discussion of how fighters should deal with overwhelming odds: "How many a small band has defeated a large one by Allah's leave!" (taken from the Qur'anic story of

David and Goliath). This verse is also used by contemporary justifications of martyrdom operations. It is possible that taking these Qur'anic stories together: the idea of selling oneself, of a small group overpowering a much larger one (such as with David and Goliath), together with the elimination of the "leaders of error" (according to Ja`far al-Yaman), that the development of doctrine of Ismaili suicidal attacks becomes explicable. Additionally, this line of exegesis would explain why precisely such a doctrine arose among the Ismailis, but not among the more mainstream Twelver Shi`ites.

Ismaili Assassinations: The High Period

Ismaili assassinations were characterized by their ritual quality, noted by Lewis, by the fact that the assassins demonstrated an extreme level of determination and willingness to do almost anything in order to get at their targets (occasionally by concealing their identities for substantial periods of time in order to gain the confidence of their targets), and by the continual use of knives on the part of the assassins. Assassinations as practiced by the Assassins could be defined as "a sudden attack by an assailant under disguise, designed to penetrate maximum security and to inflict terror" (my definition). One should not say that the assassins needed to die in order for the attack to be carried out. What one should note is that it was *convenient* for the assassins to die, since as we will see the motives behind a great many of the assassinations ascribed to the Assassins are quite murky.

The great years for Ismaili assassinations in Iran and Iraq are between that of Nizam al-Mulk (1092) and approximately 1147. During this period there are approximately forty-four major assassinations of political and religious figures in Iraq and Iran, one in Egypt, and others in Syria-Palestine. According to the historians, the first assassination was carried out against an unnamed muezzin (a caller to prayer) in the Persian city of Sawah while Nizam al-Mulk was still alive. This muezzin had heard the Ismaili propaganda but had rejected it so they killed him. Later, Nizam al-Mulk found his killer, a woodworker by the name of Tahir, and killed him and mutilated his body.[32] However, this muezzin was not a prominent figure, and so his murder went unnoticed among the larger field of assassinations.

Most of the assassinations were of figures who were well aware that they were targets for the Ismailis or someone, and generally wore armor or other protection. For example, Balakabak Sarmuz, one of the most senior commanders, always wore armor, but on the day that he was assassinated, he was going to see the Sultan Muhammad, and so was unprepared, and was killed by two assassins (one of whom got away).[33] Likewise, `Ubaydullah b. `Ali al-Khatibi, who was qadi of Isfahan, and who was known to be very anti-Ismaili, would wear armor at all times. On a Friday after he had preached a Persian man came to him and intervened between him and his companions, and killed him.[34] The Assassins were very good at finding the critical moments when a man might not be

so protected. Qadis and preachers were usually assassinated either in or around mosques and often during prayers. For example, Abu al-Muzaffar al-Khujnadi, chief preacher of Rayy, was killed when he came down from the pulpit. The assassin was killed immediately.[35] Likewise, Abu al-`Ala Sa`id b. Abi Muhammad al-Naysaburi, the qadi of Isfahan, was killed in the mosque of Isfahan.[36]

But the foremost victims of the Assassins were viziers, especially from the family of Nizam al-Mulk, two of whose children were either assassinated or were targets, along with a wide range of nephews and grandchildren. For example, Fakhr al-Mulk son of Nizam al-Mulk, had a prognosticatory dream of being murdered. The next day, at the late afternoon prayer, he went out from his house, going to the women's quarters, when he heard a voice calling, "The Muslims have gone, and there is nobody left to uncover injustice, nor to take the hand of the troubled." So he brought this person to him and had pity on him, asking him "What is wrong with you?" He delivered a petition, and while Fakhr al-Mulk was considering it, the man struck him with a knife (*sikkin*). Interestingly, the Assassin was taken to Sultan Sanjar (whose vizier Fakhr al-Mulk had been), where he confessed his deed. But the Assassin took the opportunity to kill others indirectly by accusing falsely a number of Sanjar's courtiers, who were all killed, and then he was killed.[37] This incident demonstrates that even when the Assassins did not survive their attacks, when they did, they could wreak more damage yet again.

Fakhr al-Mulk's brother, Ahmad b. Nizam al-Mulk, who became vizier after the former's death, was naturally quite single-mindedly anti-Ismaili, and used to lead attacks on them whenever he could and advise the sultan to attack them. Consequently, he was himself attacked by a group of Assassins, who fell upon him, and attacked him with knives (*sakakin*). Ahmad was wounded on his neck, but survived. Interestingly, the Assassin who attacked him (from the team of more than one) was taken, made to drink wine until he was drunk, and then asked about his companions. In this version of *in vino veritas* he is said to have admitted that they were in the Maymuniyya Mosque (close by), and they were taken and killed.[38] Of the forty-four assassinations surveyed during the high period of Ismaili assassinations in Iraq and Iran, eleven were of viziers.

Many of the other assassinations were of the lords or governors of various towns or cities (six) or prominent *mamluk*s (seven). A good example is that of Ahmadil b. Ibrahim al-Kurdi, lord of Maragha, who was killed in Damascus. A man came to him as a petitioner and gave him a petition while he was weeping (indicating his humility—an excellent ruse), and asked Ahmadil to give it to the sultan. When Ahmadil took it from his hand, the latter struck him with a knife (*sikkin*), but Ahmadil grabbed it from him, and threw it underneath him. A companion assassin then struck Ahmadil with another knife (*sikkin*), but the swords (guards) took them both. Then a third assassin approached and struck Ahmadil again. The historical accounts say that people were amazed that the third one came up after his two companions were struck down.[39] There is no word of the fate of the last assassin, presumably he was cut down like his fellows. But this story illustrates the fact that the Assassins worked in teams, and sometimes utilized clever tactics.

One similar story is that of al-Kamal Abu Talib al-Sumayrimi, vizier of Sultan Mahmud, as he was going along in a procession in Baghdad. When the procession

reached a place hedged in with thorns on both sides, it spread out because of the proximity of the thorns. Quickly an assassin jumped on al-Sumaryrimi with a knife, but it pierced into the donkey he was riding, and the assassin fled to the Tigris River. All of al-Sumayrimi's guards chased after the assassin so that the area around the vizier was empty, whereupon another assassin appeared, stabbed the former in the waist,[40] and dragged him from his donkey, stabbing him repeatedly. When the guards came back, two more assassins attacked them and they fled. When they were able to regroup, and killed the three assassins, they found that "the *wazir* [vizier] was killed like a sheep," with more than thirty wounds on him.[41]

Another example is that of the prominent Qasim al-Dawla Aqsunqur al-Bursiqi, lord of Aleppo, who led the jihad against the Crusaders during the second and third decades of the eleventh century. He was a very pious man and was praying one day in the mosque of Mawsil. The night previously, Aqsunqur had had a prognosticatory dream about dogs dragging him down, he had killed one, but the others killed him. Consequently, his friends did not want him to go out to the mosque, but Aqsunqur told them that he had never missed prayers in his life and would not that day either. Praying in the first row, more than ten assassins leapt on him, they wounded him with knives, and he wounded three of them in the hands, but then he was killed. There is no mention of the fate of his assassins.[42]

The Assassins are notable for the social prestige of their victims. As previously mentioned, they managed to kill eleven viziers (at least) during the period under consideration, around twelve high religious dignitaries, and about the same number of commanders and lords. But several of their victims stand out for their being at the highest level of society. Among them are the two caliphs, al-Mustarshid and his son al-Rashid, the Egyptian vizier al-Afdal (who despite his title, together with his father Badr al-Jamali, effectively ruled Egypt for more than thirty-five years),[43] and the Seljuq Sultan Da'ud. The assassination of al-Mustarshid in 1135 has its roots in the conflict this caliph had with the Seljuq sultans, especially Sultan Mas`ud. Despite the widespread thesis that the Seljuqs were the defenders of the Sunni ascendancy and the person of the caliph, so long abused by the Shi`ite Buyids, the evidence suggests that the Seljuqs were not that much better for the caliphs at all.[44] Al-Mustarshid was captured by Mas`ud, and put into the latter's camp, and while Mas`ud was acting indecisively, seventeen Ismaili Assassins are said to have entered the caliph's tent, murdered him, and cut off his nose and ears.[45] As Deborah Tor has demonstrated, it is difficult to believe that such a brazen attack could have been organized and succeeded without the connivance of Sultan Mas`ud. Given the fact that the caliph was an embarrassment to the sultan, seeing this as an arranged murder seems obvious. All of the Ismaili Assassins are said to have been killed, but where were the guards while they were murdering the caliph?

Al-Mustarshid's son the caliph al-Rashid was assassinated the following year. There are few details about the technique of this murder, but al-Rashid was actually fighting against the Seljuqs, who he blamed for the assassination of his father, when he too was attacked by a group of Ismaili Assassins and killed. Later Sultan Da'ud, who had been the ally of al-Rashid in his fight against the Seljuqs, was similarly assassinated. All three of these assassinations at the top of the political spectrum probably could not have happened without the close support of the Seljuq sultans themselves.

Overwhelmingly, the Assassins used knives, and there are absolutely no examples of any other weapons used, so in those cases where no weapon is specified, we can assume that the knife was the default weapon. There are few examples of close betrayals in the pattern of assassinations (two who were slain, one by a brother and one by a friend). This fact seems in sharp contradistinction to Rapoport's comment: "Normally the movement placed a youthful member in the service of a high official…he would gain his master's trust, and then, at the appropriate time, the faithful servant would plunge a dagger into his master's back."[46] On the contrary, the usual method of approach was to pretend to be a petitioner, or to otherwise gain close proximity to the victim quickly, mainly in public places such as mosques, palaces, and streets. There are only a few examples of actual disguises, such as the murder of the Chamberlain al-Jawhar, who was accosted by a group of Assassins dressed as women, and stabbed to death.[47]

Breaking the list of the Assassins down to determine their fates afterwards, it is possible to see some difficulties with the idea that all Assassins could expect death as a result of their assassinations. In ten of the forty-four cases all or most of the assassins were said to have been killed, but in three additional at least one of the members of the assassination team escaped. At least three of the assassinating teams were killed while trying to escape. In only one of the cases, however, did the assassins escape completely. For the bulk of the assassinations, twenty-nine, there is no mention of the assassins' fate. It is difficult to know what to make of this last category, because one could come to the conclusion that in cases where there is no mention of justice being rendered to the Assassins that this is a tacit admission of failure on the part of the historians (who are universally anti-Ismaili). But the details in many of these cases are sparse in any case, and so it is impossible to come to a final conclusion. One can say, however, that it was not necessarily a death sentence to carry out an assassination during the Seljuq period.

One wonders how many assassinations other than those of these prominent figures were carried out by the Assassins. With only two failures among the forty-four surveyed (and one of those died as a result of his wounds within a year), their success rate against the highest levels of society was quite astonishingly high. But it is not clear from the sources how many of these assassination attempts failed, and so it is difficult to know how to judge the overall success rate of the Assassins during their high period. It would appear that the Assassins exclusively targeted their most prominent enemies or were willing to kill as contract assassins.

Ismaili Assassinations: Syria-Palestine

It was during the period of the Crusader occupation of much of Syria-Palestine (1097–1291) that the Assassins came to the attention of Europeans. For centuries prior to the appearance of the Crusaders the mountainous region between Anatolia and the Sinai Desert along the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean Sea had been a refuge for

religious minorities. During the period of the Crusades, Christians were probably still a majority in the mountainous areas, but there were already substantial groups of Shi`ites, developing communities of Druze, and others in the area. Given the ease of building fortified locations in these mountains, it is not surprising that the Ismailis were attracted by this location.

Their principal castle was called Misyaf, which is located at the beginning of the foothills facing the most populated region of Syria, and constituted an ideal base for their activities, which were primarily missionization. During the period of the Third Crusade against the victorious Saladin (1190–94), the Ismailis adopted the time-tried method of supporting whichever side was the weakest. It is within this context that it is possible to understand some of their most prominent assassinations (or attempted assassinations).

Starting from approximately the appearance of the Crusaders in Syria-Palestine—remembering that the Crusaders actually conquered large sections of Palestine from the Ismaili Fatimid dynasty—there were a number of assassinations that are recorded by Syrian historians. Some of those were directed against the Crusaders, but most were against Sunni Muslims who either were oppressing the Ismailis in their attempts to create for themselves a state in northern Syria or were too close politically to the Crusaders.[48] However, the high period of the Assassins activities in Syria came during the period of Saladin and immediately following (approximately 1175–1250). After Saladin's successful unification of Syria and Egypt in 1171 (during the course of which he eliminated the Fatimid dynasty, legitimate in the eyes of the Assassins), it was obvious that he would be a target for assassination attempts:

> Then Saladin besieged `Azaz [in northern Syria]… and an Ismaili fell upon him and wounded him on his head. Saladin took hold of the hands of the Ismaili, but he continued to strike with the knife, and did not desist until the Ismaili was killed. And then a second and a third fell upon him, and were killed, but he [Saladin] was frightened and turned away.[49]

Although Saladin managed to save himself from these assassination attempts, it is clear that what unnerved him and his army was the persistence of the Assassins. There were to be a number of other assassination attempts against Saladin before he finally made peace with the Assassins.

The successful assassination of the Crusader figure, Conrad of Montferrat, in 1192, who had just been elected King of Jerusalem, and occurred in his own fortress of Tyre, is related in the following manner:

> One day he [Conrad] had been given a friendly invitation to dine with the bishop of Beauvais, and was returning peacefully from the feast, absolutely cheerful and good-humored. He had reached the Toll-House when two young Assassins, unencumbered by cloaks, rushed up to him at great speed, stretched out the two knives which they held in their hands and stabbed him this way and that in the stomach, mortally wounding him before running off at great speed.[50]

One should note that once again, these attackers did not wait to be taken for their actions, nor did they make any effort to kill themselves, but actually tried to save themselves (one by running, the other by taking refuge in a church). Although both were killed in the end, one after some amount of torture, this assassination should be classified as a suicidal attack. What really unnerved the Crusaders was the following statement: "Those young men had been in the marquis' service for a long time, awaiting a suitable moment."[51] Although these were obviously devious tactics, they are explained within the context of the traditional Shi`ite reliance upon *taqiyya* (precautionary dissimulation), which enabled Shi`ites to conceal their identities and to pose in guises that were not true.[52] It is easy to see the reasons why Conrad was chosen for assassination: as the most tenacious of all of the Crusader leaders during the period of Saladin's ascendency (1187–91) his election as king promised to renew the power of the Crusaders under whom the Ismailis had chafed. Thus, his assassination was a logical move, and it was a simple fact that the Assassins had thought things out better than their opponents.

There are a number of other assassinations of prominent Crusaders (such as that of Raymond, son of Bohemond IV of Antioch in 1212),[53] but it is striking that with the exception of a few assassinations or attempted assassinations of political leaders around the time of Saladin there was no large-scale assassination campaign in Syria-Palestine during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Ismailis remained a small, weak group who were eventually easily dominated by the rising Sunni Mamluks during the thirteenth century, and afterwards carried out no further assassinations.

Conclusions

While Ismaili Assassins engaged in suicidal attacks, these need to be differentiated from contemporary suicide attacks, which necessitate the death of the assailant in order for the attack to succeed. There is no particular reason why Assassins in the classical period needed to die, and this research demonstrates that many of them tried to flee the scene of their attack or at least that there is no information concerning what happened to them. Although a scholar cannot be certain as to the precise ideology that motivated these attacks, since there is no concrete evidence that the belief system presented above is actually the one utilized by the Assassins in their ideological conditioning that preceded each assassination, one can say that at least the ideology presented above is plausible. It is also perfectly possible that in the end there was no ideology, and that the Assassins were impelled to their deeds by the mere orders of their spiritual leaders, whose commands had the authority of the imams themselves. Lacking any personal accounts, we will probably never know the truth.[54]

In general, the descriptions of the Assassin attacks in the Arabic sources are indicative of an attempt to create Sunni martyrologies around the prominent victims, and not to perpetuate the memory of the Ismailis or the reasons why they assassinated. Because the

Ismailis were so fundamentally "other," they were safe to utilize as "non-Muslims" in order to kill prominent Muslim political and religious figures. For example, Malikshah's desire that Nizam al-Mulk die by the hand of an Ismaili leaves us with the conclusion that here we have the convenience factor at work: a willing group of Assassins at hand, that can wreak vengeance upon prominent figures (not all of whom, it is clear, actually opposed Ismaili goals), fulfilling both Sunni Seljuq political goals, as well as Ismaili religious goals, at the same time. Ismaili Assassins, just like contemporary radical Muslim groups that utilize martyrdom operations, were comparatively small and weak (compared to their opponents) and in order to grab attention had to use flamboyant tactics (public executions in mosques and other open locations, using symbolic devices to create terror, such as the knife on Saladin's bed, etc.). These methods place the Assassins much closer to those of many terrorist groups. However, the fact of their targeted assassinations demonstrates that they did not practice mass terrorism as it is known presently, but were highly selective. However, the question remains as to how ideological the Assassins were. The evidence reveals that while the assassins were determined, gained access to their victims through betrayal of confidence, there are no records of any slogans shouted out or interrogations carried out upon the assassins to determine what motivated them (other than those few listed above). This is not in accord with other high-profile assassinations in the classical Muslim world. We have already noted that Ibn Muljam (the Kharijite) is known to have cited Qur'an 2:207 when he killed `Ali in 661, and other such cases can be adduced. With the Ismaili Assassins only the ritual aspects of their assassinations were recorded by their hostile opponents in the history books. Although Lewis records evidence that their names were preserved in the castle of Alamut, there does not seem to have been any attempt to build martyrologies around them, or preserve their stories. They killed suddenly, were cut down themselves quickly, and left no mark on history other than a negative one.

Ismaili Assassins within the history of terrorism are equally orphans. They do not have any obvious antecedents or emulators in the later Muslim tradition. Assassinations of political, religious, and economic figures during the premodern period continued after the period during which the Assassins were suppressed, but it is unclear that Muslims as a broad community ever would have remembered the trauma of the collective assassinations were it not for the fact that this memory has been revitalized by the European fixation upon it. Nor does the contemporary Ismaili community have any interest in focusing upon the Assassins, of which they are embarrassed (note Daftary's major book designed to debunk stories about the Assassins), and have long moved beyond. It is very unclear and as yet unproven that there are any causal connections between contemporary Salafi-jihadi Sunni groups and the Ismaili Assassins, who although both are Muslims, do not share the same methodological approach to the Qur'an or to the basic teachings of Islam.

Notes

1. Yule-Cordier, ed., *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition* (reprint, New York: Dover, 1993), i, 142–143.

2. Dan Brown, *Angels and Demons* (New York: Pocket Star, 2000), 14, 35, etc.
3. Farhad Daftary, *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Ismailis* (London and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).
4. e.g., Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-ta'rikh* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1979), x, 315.
5. Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 127.
6. David Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions," *American Political Science Review* 78 (1984): 668.
7. Karin Andriolo, "Murder by Suicide: Episodes from Muslim History," *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (2002): 738–739; Shaul Shay, *The Shahids*, trans. Rachel Lieberman (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2003), 24–26; Christoph Reuter, *My Life is a Weapon: A Modern History of Suicide Bombing*, trans. Helena Ragg-Kirkby (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 23–27; Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 6–7; Robert Pape, *Dying to Win* (New York: Random House, 2005), 12–13, 33–35; and Ami Pedahzur, *Suicide Terrorism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 9.
8. The name the Crusaders gave to the leader of the Syrian Ismailis, historically Rashid al-Din Sinan (d. 1193).
9. James Poland, *Understanding Terrorism: Groups, Strategies and Responses* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2005), 27; a similar statement is provided by Jeremy Spindlove and Clifford Simonsen, *Terrorism Today: The Past, the Players, the Future* (Boston: Pearson, 2013), 32.
10. See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2d ed., ed. B. Lewis, C. Cahen, C. E. Bosworth, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960–2000), s.v. "Nizam al-Mulk" (H. Böwen and C. E. Bosworth).
11. On the history of the sect, see Shabankarahi (d. 1332), *Majma` al-ansab* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1985), ii, 125–133.
12. Sadr al-Din al-Husayni, *Kitab akhbar al-dawla al-Saljuqiyya* (Beirut: Dar al-Afaq al-Jadida, 1984), 66–67; al-Dhahabi, *Ta'rikh al-Islam* (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-`Arabi, 1994), xxx, 24, 145 summarizes this version.
13. Noted by M. T. Houtsma, "The Death of Nizam al-Mulk," *Journal of Indian History* 11 (1924): 147–160; and K. Rippe, "Über des Sturz Nizam al-Mulks," in *Fuad Köprülü armağani* (Istanbul: Osman Yalçin Matbaasi, 1953), 423–435.
14. Zahri al-Din Nishapuri, *The Saljuqnama of Zahir al-Din Nishapuri*, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series (Oxford: Gibb Memorial, 2004), 32; al-Rawandi, *Rahat al-sudur*, Gibb Memorial Series (reprint London: Luzac, 1921), 135.
15. Ibn al-Jawzi, *al-Muntazam fi al-ta'rikh* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, 1993), xvi, 302–307.
16. Al-Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mira'at al-zaman fi ta'rikh al-a`yan* (Hayderabad: Matba`at Majlis Da'irat al-ma`arif al-`Uthmaniyya, 1952), i, 173.
17. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-ta'rikh*, x, 204–206, 313; Abu al-Fida, *al-Mukhtasar fi ta'rikh al-bashar* (Beirut: Muhammad `Ali Baydun, 1997), ii, 17; the earlier source of al-Isfahani (d. 597/1201), *Ta'rikh dawlat Al Saljuq* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, 2004), 223 says the same.
18. Lewis, *Assassins*, 47, citing al-Juvayni, *Ta'rikh-i jahangusha-yi Juvayni* (reprint Tehran: Sozman-i Nashr-i Kitab, [1348] 1969), iii, 203–204; and Rashid al-Din, *Jami` al-tawarikh: qismat-i asma-i `ayiliyan Fatimiyan va-Nazariyan va-da`iyan va-rafiqan* (Tehran: Bangah-i Tarjama va-Nashr-i Kitab, 1977), 110.
19. Thanks to Deborah Tor for this idea.
20. See note 1.

21. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 668.
22. Translation from Majid Fakhry, *The Qur'an: A Modern English Version* (London: Garnet, 1997).
23. e.g., Ibn Abi al-Dunya, *Kitab maqtal amir al-mu'minin* (Damascus: Dar al-Basha'ir, 2001), 40; and Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya wa-l-nihaya* (Beirut: Dar al-Ma`arif, 1990), vii, 327.
24. e.g., Nawwaf al-Takruri, *al-`Amaliyyat al-ishishhadiyya fi al-mizan al-fiqhi* (Damascus: Takruri, 2004), 71–74 and ff.
25. Ibn al-Nahhas al-Dumyati, *Mashari` al-ashwaq ila masari` al-`ushshaq fi al-jihad wa-fada'ilihi* (Beirut: Dar al-Basha'ir al-Islamiyya, 2002), i, 557–560.
26. `Abd al-Salam b. Husayn al-Basri, *Kitab risalat al-anwar* (Silmiyya: Dar al-Ghadir, 2008), 57f.
27. John Renard, "*al-Jihad al-akbar*: Notes on a Theme in Islamic Spirituality," *Muslim World* 78 (1988): 225–242.
28. Al-Qadi Nu`man, *Da'a`im al-Islam* (Beirut: Dar al-Adwa', 1995), i, 408–409; idem, *Kitab al-himma fi adab ittiba` al-a'imma* (Beirut: Dar al-Adwa', 1996), 44.
29. The last imam held to be true by both Twelvers and Seveners (Ismailis).
30. Al-Qadi Nu`man, *Kitab al-himma*, 47.
31. Ja`far b. Mansur al-Yaman, *al-Rida` fi al-batin* (Silmiyya: Dar al-Ghadir, 2008), 76–77.
32. Ibn al-Athir, x, 313; al-Dhahabi, *Ta'rikh*, xxxiv, 28. It is interesting to note that Nizam al-Mulk's own assassin was named Abu Tahir according to the sources.
33. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-ta'rikh*, x, 301.
34. Ibid., x, 471–472.
35. Ibid., x, 366.
36. Ibid., x, 415.
37. Ibid., x, 419.
38. Ibid., x, 478.
39. Ibid., x, 516.
40. One should note how often Assassins favored belly wounds, perhaps because of the agony of death that is part such a death (see also the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat below).
41. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-ta'rikh*, x, 601.
42. Ibid., x, 633–634.
43. al-Maqrizi, *Itti`az al-hunafa'* (Cairo: Lajnat Ihya al-Turath al-`Arabi, 1996), iii, 128f.
44. See Deborah Tor, "A Tale of Two Murders: Power Relations between Caliph and Sultan in the Saljuq Era," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (ZDMG) 159 (2009): 279–297.
45. Ibn al-Jawzi, *Muntazam*, xvii, 248–249, and see Tor, 292–295 (Tor notes that some sources list up to twenty-four assassins, 296).
46. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 666.
47. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-ta'rikh*, x, 76–77.
48. See H. A. R. Gibb (trans.), *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades: Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi* (reprint New York: Dover, 2002), 57–58, 72–74, 145–148, 179–180, 187–195, 202–203.
49. Ibn al-Wardi, *Ta'rikh Ibn al-Wardi* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-`Ilmiyya, 1996), ii, 84 (year 571).
50. Helen Nicholson (trans.), *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 1997), 306.
51. Ibid.

52. Note the encouragement to use *taqiyya* by the missionary Hasan al-Mu`addil, *Risalat mubtada' al-`awalim wa-mabda' dur al-sitr wa-l-taqiyya*, in *Arba` kutub haqqaniyya*, ed. Mustafa Ghalib (Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-Jami`iyya li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Nashr, 1987), 123f.
53. Nasseh Ahmad Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism: The Ever-Living Line of the Imamate* (Richmond, U.K.: Curzon, 1997), 46–47.
54. W. Ivanow, "An Ismaili Poem in Praise of the Fidawis," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14 (1938): 63–72; trans. (Arabic) Samira, *Alamut: Idiyalujiyyat al-irhab al-fida'i* (Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-Jami`a, 1992), 109–111 is probably the closest that we will ever get to such ideology. Unfortunately, there are no specifics in the *qasida*.

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CHAPTER 5

EARLY MODERN FORERUNNERS OF TERRORISM IN EUROPE

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If the term *terrorism* is supposed to make any sense at all, it is best to restrict its use to societies that have witnessed the rise of the state and the creation of a sphere of politics that can be distinguished from the personal rule of individuals or kinship groups.[1] Therefore, historians of Western terrorism interested in the beginnings of this kind of crime might find it useful to focus their attention on the late Middle Ages and the early modern period. This may be a slightly unusual timeframe: It is part of the legacy of nineteenth-century historiography that we do not look for terrorists in early modern sources. This text will suggest some explanation for this reluctance even to accept the idea of early modern forerunners of terrorism.

Terrorism is an unreliable word. It originated in the aggressive disputes of a political crisis: the polemics of the French Revolution introduced the term into modern parlance.[2] This does not necessarily mean, however, that the types of violence that are defined as terrorism today did not exist before the 1790s. Therefore, this chapter has a double aim. In the first part, it explores forms of political crime in prerevolutionary Europe to answer the question of whether the specific type of violence called "terrorism" today existed *avant la lettre* and, if so, in what way. We need to bear in mind two points. First, our exploration needs to include various forms of terrorism. Recent events have shown that some governments support terrorist groups (e.g., the German Democratic Republic's support for the Red Army Faction, or Iran's support for jihadists). Such state-sponsored terrorism can amount to covert warfare. We must look for similar interrelations when we discuss early modern political crime.

Second, all authorities base their struggle against terrorism not simply on facts, but at least in part on their preconceived worldview or their own angst. Thus, when we deal with early modern political crime we must be wary of accepting authorities' point of view too readily. Nervous authorities may have blown the menace of political crime out of proportion.[3]

The second part of this chapter deals with the question of why nineteenth-century historians who were familiar with the term *terrorism* did not use it to characterize early modern forms of political violence. The answer to this question can explain why we seldom speak about early modern terrorism using that particular term and raises the question of whether this reluctance is justified.

Terrorism

Even though it is questionable whether terrorism existed in early modern Europe as a social phenomenon, the term *terrorism* is needed in this context. Terrorism is defined as a form of irregular violence committed by nonstate actors that is part of a bottom-up fight against a state or structures of statehood, including threats of such violence. This violence has a communicative aspect—that is, it tries to inflict harm and wants to provoke specific responses from specific audiences; it is instrumental and symbolic at the same time. Moreover, terrorism has a political aim, even if this political aim is disguised in religious terms: a fight for a theocracy would still be a political fight because theocracies are states.

Religiously motivated political crime has to be included for two reasons. First, it would be misleading to distinguish between the political and the religious sphere in early modern Europe. The political power of the papacy and the prince-bishops, the close relationship between the Protestant churches and the states, the political representation of the clergy in most of the European states, and the military conflicts between factions that chose to identify with certain denominations all suggest that the church(es) and the state(s) of early modern Europe were interwoven. Additionally, the theory and (ritualized) practice of government, as well as the theory and practice of resistance, had obvious religious overtones.[4]

In early modern Europe, the technical preconditions for denominational and political propaganda existed, and the religious leaders and princes knew how to use them. With the Reformation, a European reading public had come into existence. A robust publishing industry that produced masses of pamphlets and newssheets catered to the needs of that audience. Political violence was a major subject in the early modern press.[5]

There was certainly a lot of political violence to report, including not only open campaign-like insurrections, but also numerous assassinations and attempted assassinations of princes: Henry III and Henry IV of France and Gustavus III of Sweden were all assassinated, while Louis XV of France, Elizabeth I of England, Oliver Cromwell, Charles II (Rye House Plot), George III, Joseph I of Portugal, and prince-electors Friedrich IV and Friedrich V of the Palatine and Christian II of Saxony escaped their would-be murderers.[6]

One of the most spectacular political assassinations of the early modern period was that of William I of Orange. After the 1560s William was one of the leaders of the Netherlands' opposition to the rule of the Spanish Habsburgs. As the *stadhouder* of the

most influential of the rebel provinces, William acted as the supreme commander and quasi–head of state. The uprising of the Netherlands had been accompanied by massive denominational violence; many Catholics who found themselves on the losing side blamed William, who had ostentatiously converted to Calvinism. The first attempt on William's life, in 1582, failed. Two years later William was shot by one Balthasar Gérard, a radical Catholic who seems to have been motivated by denominational zeal as well as by the fact that Philip II of Spain had put a price on William's head. Gérard was caught red-handed. Much like some modern terrorists, he seems to have taken pride in his crime. The assassination of a prince influenced practical politics and had a communicative-propagandistic aspect: the fact that Philip had openly offered a reward for the killing of William was a public denunciation of the Dutch leader as a common criminal.

Philip gave Gérard's family a country estate in the Franche-Comté. The Franche-Comté officially belonged to the territorial conglomerate of the Habsburg Netherlands, just as did the provinces that had rejected Spanish overlordship. When Philip presented the murderer's family with an estate in the Franche-Comté, he thus suggested that he could still deal with the Netherlands as he saw fit. The murder and the reward were part and parcel of a complex, public political communication. Additionally, Philip ordered public rejoicing when news of William's death arrived. Pope Gregory XIII had a Te Deum sung to celebrate the assassination.

Was Gérard a state-sponsored terrorist? He clearly hoped to be rewarded by Philip. However, there is neither reliable proof of his ever having had contact with Spanish officials before the attack, nor good evidence for some Spanish conspiracy behind him. It seems safe to assume that Gérard was a bounty-hunting volunteer for whom the royal promise of a reward, combined with his Catholic background, had been sufficient to induce him to kill.[7]

The Gunpowder Plot of 1605—a conspiracy of Catholic renegades including Guy Fawkes to blow up King James I and his Parliament—is even better known than William's assassination. This is due partly to the propagandistic effort made by the authorities as well as by the supporters of the alleged conspirators. After the execution of a Jesuit who had supposedly orchestrated the plot, radical Catholics tried to establish a cult of relics with the monk as a would-be saint at its center. James I, meanwhile, tried to turn the failure of the Gunpowder Plot into a propagandistic victory for himself. He ordered his subjects to celebrate the anniversary of his escape from the conspirators. Guy Fawkes Day might thus be one of the oldest political holidays still celebrated today.[8]

Premodern political criminals did not only attack princes, however. As a matter of fact, the fear of politically motivated attacks on the civilian population was a salient feature of medieval and early modern history. Contemporaries believed that a great number of undeclared wars went on. Raids on rival princes, financial support for their enemies, or payments for military leaders attacking an adversary were customary. Supposedly princes engaging in covert wars sometimes used terrorist tactics. These aimed at maximum civilian casualties, not unlike modern terrorism. The attacks were said to take two forms: arson, which could destroy whole towns, and

mass poisoning, which allegedly spread epidemics. I am rather reluctant to accept what the sources have to say about these terrorist crimes at face value and will explain my skeptical attitude later on.

The most prominent victims of the idea that epidemics could be caused by poisoning were Jews. The accusation that Jews poisoned wells to spread the plague led to a rapid and drastic deterioration of Jewish-Christian relations all over late medieval Europe and eventually to pogroms.[9] However, the idea that one could use poison to spread an epidemic was much older. It dates back to the fifth century BCE, when Athenians blamed the Spartans for the plague that depopulated their town.[10] In 810 CE rumor had it that an enemy of Charlemagne had sent emissaries into the Frankish Empire. They supposedly caused a contagious disease among the cattle by poisoning the livestock.[11] In 1321 France witnessed a wave of attacks on lepers. It was said that the lepers had tried to spread their disease using poison. They supposedly planned to bring down the political and social order of Europe and were said to be in league with Muslim rulers. Hundreds of lepers were killed on the pretext of this conspiracy theory.[12]

Even the Black Death was explained in political terms. In 1348 the authorities of Narbonne arrested vagabonds who were said to be English spies who had been sent to France in order to spread the plague. The English in turn blamed the Flemish. The physician Guy de Chauliac wrote that the poor and the aristocracy accused each other of willfully spreading the plague.[13]

Medieval and early modern medicine had a number of competing theories about the way contagious diseases spread. Willful poisoning was one of them. The authorities hunted alleged plague spreaders in the sixteenth century in Geneva, 1564 and 1628 in Lyon, and all through northern Italy from the fourteenth until the seventeenth centuries. Alessandro Manzoni used this idea in his novel *I promessi sposi* (1827). The *untori*, the salve makers, allegedly spread the plague by putting a certain salve on walls and church doors; whoever touched this unguent contracted the disease. In the seventeenth century authorities in Southern Germany were worried that vagrants disguised as Italian fruit vendors spread plague poison. Even in the nineteenth century rumors persisted that cholera was caused by poison.[14] There were a number of trials against plague spreaders. Doctors, nurses, cleaners, and gravediggers who profited from the epidemic were accused of willfully causing it.[15]

Mass poisoning was supposed to have a political aspect: foreign princes allegedly paid vagabonds to bring poison into the lands of their political or denominational adversaries. In a way, these vagabonds were the soldiers of a covert war, or state-sponsored terrorists; the plague poison was a biological weapon. Who exactly was supposed to pull the strings of these terrorist conspiracies has remained largely unclear. These itinerant poisoners were allegedly paid for their crimes, so their motive clearly was greed.[16]

Fire was another recurring nightmare in premodern Europe. Buildings in early modern towns were mostly built from timber and straw, making them extremely vulnerable to conflagration. Contemporaries often interpreted fires as the result of arson. The feudal warriors of the Middle Ages had used fire as a weapon in their wars,

and arson played a minor role in early modern warfare. Arsonist attacks were said to be part and parcel of the undeclared wars that went on in peacetime. Contemporaries distinguished between two kinds of arsonists. There was the *incendiarius ordinarius*—the common arsonist—who wanted to damage the property of a particular person. It was quite common for some disgruntled farmhand to set fire to his master's house. There was, however, a second kind of arsonist: the *incendiarius famosus* or *seditiosus*. This type wanted to burn down whole villages and whole cities. The arson was meant to inflict the greatest possible damage on civilians totally irrespective of individual victims—a trait often thought to be typical of terrorist attacks.[17] Arsonists were said to be organized much like poisoners: all were supposedly vagrants and in the pay of some foreign potentate.

Contemporaries were convinced that organized arson had a political motive. In 1524 a fire in Troyes was blamed on vagabonds who were said to work for the emperor. These arsonists were allegedly the vanguard of a secret incendiary army that had been ordered to destroy French cities. At the imperial diet at Regensburg in 1540, the Protestant estates demanded that Emperor Charles V should take action against a Catholic conspiracy. This conspiracy supposedly planned to eradicate the new religion by burning whole regions to the ground, a savage combination of instrumental and symbolic violence that sent a clear message to any prince who was considering converting to Protestantism. Radical Catholics among the German princes and the pope himself allegedly pulled the strings of this arsonist plot. In German Habsburg countries there were rumors about arsonist attacks organized by the Hussites in the 1420s, by the Venetians in the early sixteenth century, and finally by the Turks from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Some princes who had been forced out of their territories supposedly planned the military retaking of their respective lands with the help of itinerant arsonists. After the devastating Great Fire of London in September 1666, British cities took measures against vagrants. The homeless were suspected of being arsonists in the pay of Catholics or Quakers. In the seventeenth century, organized Polish criminals were said to offer the "services" of tramps as incendiaries to political or religious leaders who wanted to engage in covert warfare.[18]

The most prominent examples of politically motivated arson as a "weapon of mass destruction" are attacks connected with the *Bundschuh* upheavals, the Grande Peur (Great Fear), and the "Captain Swing" protests. In the early sixteenth century there were rumors all over southwest Germany about a series of peasant rebellions known as the *Bundschuh* upheavals. The peasants were said to have enlisted the help of vagabonds as arsonists who were to spread fear and chaos before the peasants themselves attacked. The leaders of the peasant rebels thus played the role of the foreign potentate who hired arsonists. The *Bundschuh* never actually struck, but a number of suspects were arrested.[19] During the Grande Peur of 1789 the rural population in France feared a pact between the nobility and the homeless poor. These vagrants—called *brigands*—were to raise fires, destroy crops, and spread fear and chaos in order to stop the revolutionary movement. The rumors provoked a violent response: numerous villages took up arms and attacked nobles, and a number of manors went up in flames. The peasants made a

point of burning their feudal contracts.[20] During the English "Captain Swing" protests of the 1830s, it was rumored that Irish itinerant workers were paid by wealthy Jews from the cities to commit arson, whereas the adherents of "Captain Swing" insisted that they did not cooperate with the firestarters.[21]

Arson and poison could be blamed on the same individuals. In 1546 Johann Friedrich I of Saxony and Philip of Hesse issued a warrant for arsonists and poisoners who were allegedly in the pay of the pope. In France the Huguenots were rumored to be poisoners and incendiaries during the 1560s. In 1557 the authorities of Lyon asked Geneva for assistance in their search for a resourceful Spanish criminal who was supposed to have a box full of poisonous powder and apples that emitted flames, apparently some kind of firebomb.[22]

What were the alleged motives of the political criminals of the early modern period? The assassins fell into two categories: mercenaries who worked for a rival prince, and proponents of religious or social groups who tried to defend their standing in society. Anckarström, who killed Gustav III, was an aristocrat who saw the king as an enemy of the nobility. Religion was more important as a motive for political murder, however. François Ravaillac, who killed Henry IV, was a radical Catholic who mistrusted the Huguenot convert on the throne. The organizers of the Gunpowder Plot were Catholic renegades and English nobles with a dislike for the Scotsman on the English throne.[23] The arsonists and poisoners had supposedly the same motive: money. The criminals were said to belong to gangs in the pay of foreign governments. The vagabonds did not have a political agenda of their own, but they torched cities or poisoned towns because a foreign potentate paid them to do so. Today this concept would probably be called state-sponsored terrorism.[24]

Source Criticism

Up to this point, the survey of the source materials has not included any questioning of the reliability of the sources. In order to decide whether forerunners of terrorism in early modern Europe really existed, it is essential to evaluate critically these sources reporting on organized arson and mass poisonings.

No serious historian would take the anti-Semitic narratives of the times of the Black Death at face value anymore, and apart from a few exceptions, historiography has been very skeptical about the plague spreaders.[25] There are virtually no statements of the suspects that were not made under torture or the threat of it. There are few accounts of witnesses who spoke in favor of the defendants. It is difficult to accept that certain individuals spread a highly contagious disease to which they themselves were not immune simply in order to make money or in order to obey the command of some prince. The magical elements of the plague narratives—some of the plague spreaders were supposed to be in league with the devil—did nothing to enhance their credibility.

Most historians who have dealt with the arsonist gangs have accepted them as real. This interpretation is open to doubt. The confessions of alleged arsonists all followed the same pattern. A vagrant happened to meet a person who presented himself as the agent of some foreign potentate. This person was a total stranger or even a foreigner. The agent offered the vagabond a sum of money for setting a fire in a certain region. Nothing or very little was said about the time or place of the attack. The would-be arsonist was immediately paid by the stranger and then left to his own devices. The arsonists claimed to have been paid to start fires somewhere in a territory or kingdom. They seemed to have been equally happy to torch a village, a city, a castle, or a barn.[26]

It is difficult to picture any organizational structures of the arsonists' groups. Some of the sources mention "officers" of the incendiaries. However, the question of who invested these officers with what powers remains unanswered. What the sources do reveal is the amazing flexibility of the arsonists' gangs. Groups allegedly formed and dispersed at will; there were hardly any fixed meeting places. This almost complete lack of organizational structure strongly suggests that arsonists' confessions had no basis in reality. The suggestion that foreign powers paid vagabonds in advance for dangerous and criminal acts without any effective means of control is highly suspect. It is even more implausible that, after receiving their payment the vagabonds committed arson simply in order to "fulfill their contracts."[27]

Mercenaries and the organized arsonists as they appear in court records had little in common. Most mercenaries knew the recruitment officer who contacted them or at least the military leader they agreed to fight for. Before they joined the ranks of their respective army, they did not receive any pay at all aside from a small sum that enabled them to come to the mustering place. Compared to the mercenary system, the arsonist conspiracy, with its lack of organization and freely spent cash, makes no sense.[28]

Thus, the sources do not convincingly prove that the conspiracies of arsonists and poisoners existed. Rather, they demonstrate that alarmist, uncritical, and nervous authorities increased the fears of the public. The early modern fantasies about political criminals who targeted civilians became real enough in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for example in the Fenian Dynamite Campaign (1881–1885) or the attacks on 9/11. It is as if modern radicals unwittingly imitated the imaginary political criminals of early modern Europe.

But even though arsonists and incendiaries were imaginary threats, the fear of political crime had very real consequences. Measures against alleged political conspiracies directly promoted state building and the acceptance of administrative authority. The fight against the (alleged) threat of political criminals, assassins as well as arsonists or poisoners, called for new surveillance and security agencies. The fear of political criminals contributed to the emergence of security measures to protect the prince and helped to remove the princes from the public eye. It contributed to the increasing remoteness of the rulers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who made only rare and well-planned public appearances. The theory of divine right might to a certain degree be seen as a way of removing the very idea of legitimate tyrannicide from the minds of the subjects.[29]

The battle against arsonists and poisoners promoted quarantine and firefighting. Investigations against supposedly itinerant political criminals demanded the quick exchange of information between state institutions and authorities that in turn required a high degree of professionalization and organization.[30] The fear of the state destroyer contributed greatly to the process of state building. Thus, the fear of political crime accompanied the modern state from its very beginning—or rather, the fear of terrorism accompanied the modern state from its very beginning.

Many of the early modern terrorists—the imaginary even more than the real ones—acted on behalf of some secular or ecclesiastic prince. As far as the early modern period is concerned, greed, not some kind of political idea, seems to have been the most important motive: terrorists expected or were supposed to expect a reward from their alleged employers. There was a parallel between the image of the military man and that of the terrorist. The early modern period imagined political criminals as mercenaries who were primarily interested in their pay and had little personal stake in the conflict they fought. Modernity seems to imagine political criminals as soldiers who identify with a nation or an ideology.

It would be misleading to put too much stress on the point that early modern terrorists (supposedly) worked for some authority, however. There are examples to the contrary. Notable groups of early modern political criminals such as the Gunpowder Plotters, the Rye House conspirators, or the peasant adherents of the *Bundschuh* acted—or were said to act—on their own behalf.

As far as terrorism is concerned, the divide between the early modern and the modern eras is thus partly a divide between imaginary and real crimes. Attempts on the lives of early modern princes were real enough, and the religious and/or political motives behind them are evident. Attacks on the civilian population carried out by organized gangs of arsonists and poisoners were in all likelihood imaginary, much like witchcraft or Jewish ritual murder. The consequences they had in the legal and administrative spheres of state-building processes were very real, however. Fantasies of terrorists provoked the authorities to severe measures, especially against the homeless, that cost the lives of hundreds of innocent people.[31] We have to acknowledge that terrorism as an imaginary concept has been known since the late Middle Ages even though it found no equivalent in the actual behavior of criminals. Still, the divide between the imaginary and the real does not justify a strict separation between modern terrorism and early modern political crime.

Historiography

Nineteenth-century historians did not share our skepticism: most of them accepted their sources at face value. They believed that arsonist conspiracies had existed, even though they were skeptical about poisoners. Some historians treated the Grande Peur with skepticism. They suggested, however, that the rumors themselves had been spread

on purpose to cause political unrest. But generally historians of the nineteenth century did not think in terms of the divide between imaginary and real political crimes. They accepted that there had been organized political criminals in premodern Europe, but they did not compare them to the political criminals of their own time. The historians of the nineteenth century did not use the term *terrorism* when they talked about political crime in prerevolutionary Europe, but separated the political violence in Europe before the end of the eighteenth century categorically from the political violence after the revolution. Why?

The revolutions of the late eighteenth century were indeed a formidable caesura. They changed the ways the prerevolutionary and the revolutionary past was perceived.[32] However, not all historians of the nineteenth century accepted the idea that 1789 was a complete break with tradition. Most prominently, Leopold von Ranke, the father of modern historiography, saw history as a continuum. The main object of uninterrupted evolution was the state. Therefore, the very concept of a historical study of organized political crime would be problematic in Ranke's historiography. A history of political criminals let alone a comparison between premodern and modern terrorists would have been alien to Ranke and his followers.[33]

So, what did historians of the nineteenth century say about political criminals in their actual historical writings? The most prominent political crimes of the early modern period in the historiography of the nineteenth century are the *Bundschuh* arson, the Gunpowder Plot, and the Grande Peur. They represent one example each from German, English, and French history, from the sixteenth, the seventeenth, and the eighteenth centuries, one assassination and two attacks on the civilian population. All three crimes fit the definition of terrorism: a form of violence committed by nonstate actors that has a communicative aspect and serves a political aim. The historians chosen here, who researched and interpreted these political crimes, represent a number of different schools. They were influential in their respective fields or had a clear stance in the historical debate. All of them participated in the political debates of their time. Some—such as Louis Blanc or Friedrich Engels—are better known today for their political activities than for their historical research. Included are socialists as well as liberal and conservative authors. How then did they interpret these incidences of early modern political crime?

Several authors denied that premodern political crime was political. Heinrich Schreiber, a former priest and liberal nationalist; Ludwig Bechstein, a moderate nationalist who distanced himself from the liberal ideas of 1848, Friedrich Avé-Lallemant, a conservative historian and police administrator; and Jules Michelet, an ardent republican and adherent of the 1848 revolution with strong anti-Catholic leanings, wrote about the *Bundschuh* and the *brigands* of the Grande Peur.[34] All of them saw the perpetrators simply as criminals. The arsonists did not have any motive for their crimes, but followed their innate antisocial tendencies. Frantz Funck-Brentano, a moderate monarchist and adherent of integral nationalism, claimed that the threat of the *brigands* had been real. He depicted them as primitive riffraff interested mainly in plundering. Camille Desmoulins, Funck-Brentano claimed in a wild flight of fancy, had

personally encouraged this rabble.[35] Avé-Lallemant stressed that the arsonists belonged to a criminal class: in the early sixteenth century, in the context of political rebellions, this criminal class had given birth to all forms of organized crime, and both the criminal class and the mob were, according to him, still active, virtually unchanged, in his own time. New political developments made no impression on this underclass, which Avé-Lallemant regarded as apolitical. Avé-Lallemant's argument had racist overtones: he stressed the alleged Jewish influence in organized crime. The historian and SS officer Günther Franz echoed Avé-Lallemant's ideas in the 1930s: he denounced the itinerant poor as "inferior" persons with innate criminal tendencies.[36]

Other thinkers saw crime as a profession rather than a personal predisposition. Wilhelm Zimmermann—who sympathized with peasant rebels, just as he sympathized with the 1848 revolutions—emphasized that the organization of the lowest stratum of society was like a guild. However, Zimmermann did his best to downplay the role arsonists had supposedly played in peasant insurrections, because he did not want the heroic fight of German peasants tainted with the odium of organized crime. As organized crime, early modern political violence could not have anything in common with the revolutionary violence of 1848.[37] Engels also saw the vagabond arsonists as members of an organized rural underworld. He described them with benevolent anthropological interest and acknowledged the strength of their organization. However, he did not see them as revolutionaries. Engels was at pains to stress that the arsonists had never really belonged to the peasant rebels.[38]

Other authors sided with the political criminals more openly. Louis Blanc, one of the founders of French socialism, and Jean Jaurès, together with Georges Clemenceau his most important follower and later one of the leaders of the Parti Socialiste Français, pointed out that the political violence had been provoked by appalling social circumstances. Blanc characterized the Grande Peur as a delusion. However, he saw the famine, the stories about arsonists, and the ensuing disorder of the French countryside in 1789 as the provocation needed to awaken "l'enthousiasme de la liberté." The rumors about the nobility's pact with the *brigands* led to the abolition of feudalism.[39] Jaurès was less skeptical. Despite his pacifist convictions, he did not hesitate to acknowledge the arsonist vagabonds as a "mouvement du prolétariat rural."[40] The idea of the terrorist as a social criminal is still widespread. It was in this context that nineteenth-century historians suggested a connection between political criminals of the early modern period and those of their own time. They did not say this in so many words, however.

Before and after the Catholic Relief Act of 1829, English authors—Protestants and Catholics alike—condemned the oppression of Catholicism in early modern England. They admitted that Catholics had been provoked beyond control before a minority decided to strike back. Thus, they did not simply condemn the Gunpowder Plot as treason.[41] The radical William Cobbett supported the Reform Bill of 1832 and Catholic emancipation. He found the plotters' resistance justifiable.[42] A number of authors, the most prominent among them the Jesuit John Gerard, echoed the suspicions voiced in the early seventeenth century: they claimed that the government had known about the Gunpowder Plot and suggested that it had been a government plan to discredit Catholics.[43]

Even authors who admitted the possibility of the existence of a Catholic plot felt that the Guy Fawkes Day celebrations were an insult to the English Catholic minority. In 1851 a series of letters published in the *Times* after Guy Fawkes Day provoked an angry reaction from Catholics, who maintained that the only point of the festivities was to vilify their Church.[44] Well before the renaissance of English Catholicism, various authors, most notably Protestant clergymen, called for the abolition of Guy Fawkes Day in the name of Christian tolerance.[45] The public regarded the plotters more leniently after the Gordon Riots made anti-Catholic prejudice unacceptable. Thus, the discussion about the Gunpowder Plot was a debate about religious tolerance and the role of the Anglican Church in nineteenth-century Britain.[46] This religious discourse marginalized the relevance of the Gunpower Plot for politics in Hanoverian and Victorian Britain. The nineteenth-century authors did not see a parallel between the Catholic conspirators of the seventeenth century and the Fenians of their own time.

Several French authors, among them the conservative nationalists Félix de Conny and Édouard Forestié, as well as the liberal Louis Adolphe Thiers—the historian of the Revolution who became the father of the Third Republic—entertained similar ideas about the rumors surrounding the *brigands*. There had been no conspiracy of the aristocracy and the homeless, but there had been a conspiracy to start rumors about this unlikely coalition. Conny blamed the duke of Orléans for the Grande Peur, which he saw as a "grande conspiration contre la liberté."[47] Much like the ultraconservative Augustin Barruel, Forestié suspected that the Freemasons were behind the revolutionaries. They spread the rumors about arsonists in order to justify arming the people and fostering the ever more ruthless policies of the revolutionaries. Forestié even used the word *terroriste* in order to claim that the Terror of the revolutionary regime had begun several years before 1793.[48] Thiers thought that Mirabeau, Sièyes, and the duke of Orléans might have started the rumors. The conspiracy theories surrounding today's terrorism are by no means a new phenomenon. All authors agreed that the rumors about the arsonists had galvanized the French countryside into revolutionary action. As Thiers put it, the rumor of political crime had been a "a strategic trick that made the revolution of the 14th of July all-encompassing by provoking the armament of the nation."[49]

Thus, the historians of the nineteenth century compared no social movement—violent or nonviolent—of their time to the political criminals of the early modern era. They had a strong tendency to explain the political crime of early modern Europe as either not political or as not criminal. The criminal underclass Avé-Lallemant and others described had no political agenda. Other nineteenth-century historians did not characterize the political criminals of the early modern period as criminals. From their point of view, their demands had been entirely justified and addressed typical problems of the early modern period: religious discrimination and the suppression of the peasantry. These problems were not the problems of the nineteenth century. At least, the urban reading public of Western and Central Europe would not see them as such.[50]

The twentieth and twenty-first centuries proved the nineteenth-century optimistic assumption that religious matters had become private matters incorrect. Therefore, the

experience of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is closer to the early modern point of view, which accepted that religious attitudes have serious political implications, than to that of nineteenth-century historians. Historians of the nineteenth century found it difficult to relate political criminals of the early modern period to those of their own time, because these criminals had fought for aims no terrorist stood up for any longer. With the exception of the Irish famine, after 1820 the great crises of agricultural production were over; the countryside no longer starved. The vestiges of the peasants' feudal obligations vanished in a largely peaceful process until the middle of the nineteenth century.[51] The political criminals of premodern Europe had fought against problems of their time. That did not make them champions of modernity, however. Neither the criminals nor their alleged employers were the vanguard of the Enlightenment or nineteenth-century society: the answers they gave to the problems of their times, the aims they fought for with criminal and violent means, were those of premodern Europe. They did not demand religious tolerance in general, only the improvement of the situation of their denomination; they did not call for a new economic system, only a fairer treatment of peasants.

From a nineteenth-century point of view, such aims were seriously deficient. The political criminals of the early modern period seemed to lack political awareness. Anarchism and nationalism as the great driving forces behind nineteenth-century terrorism were alien to the mindset of all political criminals of the early modern period. The arsonist gangs of the *Bundschuh* or the Grande Peur were said to spread chaos, but nobody claimed that they pursued the end of all government as a positive aim. The aims attributed to the anarchist as the prototype of the nineteenth-century terrorist and to the early modern political criminals were so different that they obscured the basic similarities between both groups.[52] Even though Zimmermann presented the German peasant rebels as early nationalists, he did not claim that their alleged arsonist helpers had any program at all.[53] Without the idea of the nation, without distinct plans for an alternative economic or religious life, the political criminals of the early modern period seemed to be very different from those of the revolutionary and postrevolutionary era.

The nineteenth century expected political criminals to be motivated by some specific political or philosophical concept. They expected an idea. For Hegel, Fichte, and their followers the state provided political and moral ideas, embodied them and realized them. A political conflict made sense only if it was a conflict about political ideas.[54] Political criminals would have distinct political ideas of their own concerning the purpose of the state—for example, militant Marxists—or they would claim that the state itself contradicted the idea of personal freedom—for example, anarchists.[55] Early modern political criminals had no such concepts. From a philosophy-oriented nineteenth-century point of view it was thus questionable whether they were political at all.

Nineteenth-century historians concentrated on the idea behind the violence, the content, but they neglected the violence itself, the form. Thus, these historians overlooked the obvious similarities between early modern and modern political violence, between early modern and modern terrorism. The historians depicted early

modern terrorist crimes as integral parts of a cultural system ruled by religion and by the peasant economy, not by political ideas, that is to say, by a cultural system which had hardly anything to do with the historians' own time, with "modernity." Terrorism became a phenomenon without history.

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CHAPTER 6

"THUGS AND ASSASSINS," "NEW TERRORISM" AND THE RESURRECTION OF COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE

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During the heyday of the so-called "War on Terror," the American president George W. Bush, as well as the vice president Dick Cheney, referred on numerous occasions to the insurgents in Iraq as "thugs and assassins."[1] Among the plethora of derogatory names that could be applied to those opposed to the American invasion, it is hardly coincidental that the White House should have happened upon those two. While Bush cannot be expected to have realized the discursive genealogy of his terminology, his advisors and speechwriters certainly could. Apart from their colloquial connotations (i.e., "hoodlums" and "murderers"), both terms derive from, and thus implicitly denote, historical practices vaguely associated with the "Orient." As such they resonate with popular stereotypes of dark-skinned, scimitar- or dagger-wielding, turban-clad villains, who have long been stock characters in Western mass culture, frequently appearing in pulp literature and Hollywood movies.[2] The terminology thus invokes some of the most pervasive tropes of Orientalism, namely, that of religious fanaticism and irrationality—or, to put it differently, cultural incommensurability with Western "enlightened" modernity.

Rather than simply deriding Iraqi insurgents as being little more than criminals, the Bush administration was effectively deploying the discursive arsenal of nineteenth-century British imperialism.[3] This might be of little note, were it not for the fact that the links between the ongoing "War on Terror" and the cultural stereotypes derived from the colonial past are far more elaborate and insidious. When Bryan C. Del Monte, U.S. Department of Defense, finds it appropriate to use the iconic image of the "Thug" high-priest Mola Ram, from Steven Spielberg's *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984), in an official presentation on the internment of Al Qaeda suspects, the contemporary use of manifestly colonial imagery is no longer coincidental nor mere harmless fun.[4] It is, instead, indicative of a distinct political style that elevates cultural stereotypes to

analytical insights and constructs an image of the enemy for political purposes—all on the basis of empirically dubious modes of interpretation. This chapter examines the resurrection of colonial knowledge by modern terrorism experts and the reinvention of the nineteenth-century Indian "Thugs" as ideological predecessors to the so-called "religious terrorists" of today.

The "Thugs" were first introduced as proto-terrorists by political scientist David C. Rapoport in his seminal article "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions" in 1984, where they were compared with the Middle Eastern "Assassins" and the Jewish Zealot/Sicarii to examine how religion had shaped terrorism throughout history.[5] Rapoport took issue with what he perceived to be a common trend in the study of terrorism, namely, the assumed modernity of the phenomenon supposedly born from the technological developments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[6] Instead, he argued, the three case studies revealed the "ancient lineage of terrorism" and proved that history was relevant to the study of modern terrorism. Having examined the "Thugs," "Assassins," and Zealot/Sicarii, Rapoport concluded that "despite a primitive technology, each developed much more durable and destructive organizations than has any modern secular group."[7] The characteristics of each group were furthermore seen to be entirely determined by their respective religions—Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism. As such they were prime examples of what Rapoport described as "holy terror" and rather than trying to explain the rationale and political purpose of such terrorist groups, he suggested a better understanding of their religious doctrines was needed: "The holy terrorist believes that only a transcendental purpose which fulfils the meaning of the universe can justify terror, and that the deity reveals at some early moment in time both the end and the means and may even participate in the process as well."[8] Although terrorism throughout the twentieth century had been predominantly political in character, Rapoport sounded a note of caution: "Sacred terror, on the other hand, never disappeared altogether, and there are signs that it is reviving in new and unusual forms."[9]

Since the publication of Rapoport's article, it has become seemingly prerequisite for standard works on terrorism to cite the three case studies and to reproduce uncritically its findings. In lieu of empirical research, authors tend to crudely paraphrase Rapoport and the assumed relevance of "Thuggee" to the study of modern terrorism is thus taken for granted.[10] Yet the significance of the article is not simply a matter of citations—it has also provided the foundation for what has become known as the "New Terrorism" paradigm. While Rapoport did not suggest which late-twentieth-century terrorist groups might exemplify the implied recurrence of "holy terror," Bruce Hoffman, recognized today as one of the world's leading terrorism experts, did not hesitate to do so. A decade after Rapoport's article, Hoffman picked up the mantle and taking the three case studies as inspiration, he formulated a model of contemporary "holy terror" or, as he defined it, "terrorism motivated by a religious imperative."[11] Completely distinct from "secular terrorists," Hoffman argued that "religious terrorists" carry out indiscriminate acts of violence as a divine duty with no consideration for political efficacy—their aim is transcendental and "holy terror" constitutes an end in itself.[12] Hoffman's concept has since

been taken up and developed by a number of other writers, including Walter Laqueur, Steven Simon, and Daniel Benjamin, and rebranded as the "New Terrorism."[13] While American Christian supremacists and Jewish fundamentalists, as well as the pseudo-Buddhist Aum Shinrikyo cult, are cited as examples of the "New Terrorism," the concept is applied mainly to Islamic terrorism and its emergence seen as a direct result of the Iranian revolution of 1979. The rise of Al Qaeda and the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, in particular, have thus been regarded by some as validating the idea of a new breed of deadly terrorism motivated by religion. The concept of the "New Terrorism" has since enjoyed an unprecedented impact on policymaking and has, alongside the "Clash of Civilizations" thesis, provided the "academic" legitimation for the "War on Terror."[14]

Although proponents of the "New Terrorism" concept have been critiqued for their simplistic and politicized analysis of terrorism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, few have questioned the historical underpinnings of the concept.[15] It is, however, instructive to examine the discursive continuities and the use of history in contemporary debates on terrorism.[16]

Thuggee in Context

Similar to witchcraft in Early Modern Europe, the only sources available to historians examining the "Thugs" of early nineteenth-century India are those produced by the very authorities who persecuted them. This imposes severe limitations on any attempt to examine the subject, and a history of "Thuggee" simply cannot be written independently of the history of British rule in India. By reading the colonial records against the grain, however, and relying on the broadest range of sources possible, it is nevertheless possible to overcome some of these difficulties.[17]

As a form of banditry, "Thuggee" appears to have flourished in various parts of India in the eighteenth century during the waning years of the Mughal Empire and concurrent with the political turmoil caused by the gradual establishment of East India Company rule.[18] Rather than being ritual stranglers motivated by religious beliefs, the "Thugs" may more appropriately be described as bandits, often serving as armed retainers to local elites and in some instances even paying a formalized tax on the loot they brought back from their expeditions. As such they constituted an integral part of the local power structures of precolonial India, where, as Gordon Stewart has argued, it was commonplace for landowners and petty rulers to entertain marauders and mercenaries to keep control of land, power, and status.[19] In those localities where the "Thugs" were settled and enjoyed the protection of landowners and small kings, they developed a lore of their own and could muster hundreds of men for their annual expeditions, which brought them plentiful loot.[20] Elsewhere, however, "Thug" gangs might be made up by a handful of vagrants, starving peasants, or runaway servants, who eked out a living by strangling and plundering lone travelers—but who might as readily take up service

anywhere they could or survive by petty crime. Such men lived at the margins of society and being vulnerable to drought and famine rarely stayed long in one place; having no fixed abode they occupied a precarious position between sedentary and peripatetic society.[21] Among the different people who engaged in "Thuggee" we find traders, soldiers, peasants, mendicants, servants, and slaves, who might or might not, at different times, acknowledge being "Thugs." Common to all was the fact that banditry was never their sole source of income as even the most seasoned veterans would take up other types of employment or spend years cultivating land in between expeditions. "Thuggee" was a type of *crime*, not a type of *criminal*. British policies of the early nineteenth century furthermore led to the disbandment of the standing armies of Indian rulers, which in the words of one historian, "unleashed scores of armed men across the countryside."[22] Denied military employment such men were forced to turn to other livelihoods—one option being banditry. Rather than being an ancient "timeless" phenomenon, "Thuggee" emerged as the result of distinct historical processes and within specific regional, political, and socioeconomic contexts.[23]

The "Thugs" would undertake their expeditions after harvest and before the rains set in, thus following the agricultural cycle, but also the traditional pattern of military campaigning, including the rituals that preceded the departure of armies.[24] During the expeditions, they would follow the main trade and pilgrimage routes and prey on the thousands of people who annually traversed the Indian subcontinent. A common ploy was to induce travelers to join them for the safety of numbers and at some secluded spot they would strangle and plunder their hapless victims. By murdering their victims as a matter of course, the "Thugs" ensured that there were no witnesses to their deeds and for that purpose strangulation was an easy and swift method. In short, they relied on secrecy and stealth rather than on blunt force or overt displays of armed power. Murder by strangulation was the hallmark of the "Thugs," but they would use whichever method was most convenient and quite often had recourse to swords, knives, or poison. The bodies of their victims were usually buried to prevent detection, but often they were just dumped in a nearby well or thrown into a watercourse. As far as their religious beliefs and practices were concerned, the "Thugs" worshipped their tutelary deity and would offer a sacrifice after successful expeditions—as did other martial groups, robbers, and military leaders.[25] Religious beliefs and practices in nineteenth-century India were less rigid than commonly assumed, and it was nothing out of the ordinary for Hindus and Muslims to share rituals or visit the same shrines.[26] By invoking manifestations of the Hindu goddess, who was associated with power and military prowess, and by complying with the ritual observances associated with this form of goddess worship, bandits could pursue their vocation with divine sanction and moral impunity.[27]

Many of the religious beliefs and practices of the "Thugs" were in fact those of high status martial groups, such as the Rajputs, and it is likely that they were consciously appropriating elite status symbols in order to assign social and religious legitimacy to their actions. Being Rajput was not so much related to birth or ethnic background as to a martial and ritual tradition, which emerged out of a history of military service, migration, and settlement, during the late Mughal period.[28] The use of military terminology

and observances prevalent among the "Thugs" can all to a greater or lesser extent be traced back to this traditional warrior ideal. One British official described the parallels between bandits and kings in precolonial India:

> In India, the difference between the army of the prince and the gang of a robber was, in the general estimation of the people, only in *degree*—they were both driving an *imperial trade*, a 'padshahi kam.' Both took the auspices, and set out on their expedition after the Dasahra, when the autumn crops were ripening; and both thought the Deity propitiated as soon as they found the omens favourable; one attacked palaces and capitals, the other villages and merchants' store-rooms. The members of the army of the prince thought as little of the justice or injustice of his cause as of the gang of the robber; the people of his capital hailed the return of the victorious prince who had contributed so much to their wealth, to his booty, and to his self-love by his victory. The village community received back the robber and his gang with the same feelings, by their skill and daring they had come back loaded with wealth, which they were always disposed to spend liberally among their neighbours. There was no more truth in the prince and his army in their relations with the princes and people of neighbouring principalities, than in the robber and his gang in their relation with the people robbed.[29]

Although obviously biased, this account nonetheless provides a reasonable description of the notions of legitimacy and honor invoked by the "Thugs."[30]

When the East India Company first became aware of the existence of "Thuggee," in southern India in 1807 and in northern India in 1809, it was perceived simply as a problem of law and order associated with certain localities on the periphery of British control. From the 1830s onward, however, colonial rule in India was increasingly influenced by utilitarian and evangelical ideals of reform, and the suppression of Indian crime came to be seen as a moral issue, similar to the abolition of widow-burning or infanticide.[31] As the British understood Indian society to be defined by caste, criminals were regarded as distinct social groups and the "Thugs" identified as "hereditary criminals."[32] One British official stated that "once a Thug always a Thug is their motto and their creed. Nothing can or will reform or deter him from the practice of his profession."[33] Since all victims were murdered, it was exceedingly difficult to produce circumstantial evidence sufficient to convict the "Thugs," and enterprising officials called for extraordinary police and judicial measures to cope with them. Captured "Thugs" were offered a pardon if they would turn approvers, or King's evidence (i.e., informers), and testify against their accomplices and the British official, W. H. Sleeman, actually built his career by sensationalizing the threat posed by "Thuggee."[34] Goaded by such colonial interlocutors, and under the threat of perjury, the approvers provided detailed descriptions of the "Thugs" religious beliefs and practices. Through a process of lengthy interviews, with leading questions, over an extended period of time, an account of "Thuggee" was thus elicited, which was easily made to conform to British preconceived notions of caste, religion, and Indian criminality. It was not that the information provided by the approvers was incorrect, but rather that the British emphasized certain points and repressed others in order

to make sense of what appeared simply to be a barbaric and outlandish practice. The goddess worship of the "Thugs," for instance, was interpreted as the main cause of the "Thugs" killings and gave rise to the notion of "Thuggee" as a fanatical form of human sacrifice. When we look at the historical records, however, we find the approvers repeatedly emphasizing the pragmatic rationale behind "Thuggee"; when asked whether a runaway approver would return to his former ways, the response from the captured "Thugs" was clear: "Where will he get food? He will kill, to feed himself!"[35]

The evidence relating to "Thuggee" is accordingly anything but straightforward and the British accounts can only be approached with the utmost methodological circumspection. It must be clear, however, that "Thuggee" was not essentially a religious practice; that it was not an all-India conspiracy of ritual stranglers; and that being a "Thug" did not constitute a caste-like identity. On the whole, it seems most plausible that the practice of "Thuggee" was motivated by more profane factors, and that the "Thugs" simply endowed their actions with a ritually legitimate significance. Some historians have tried to recast "Thuggee" as either an anticolonial practice or as social banditry along the lines of Eric Hobsbawm's classic model, but "Thuggee" was devoid of any trace of social protest.[36] The "Thugs" killed quite indiscriminately; they had no grudges, no scores to settle, no wrongs to avenge vis-à-vis their victims. "Thuggee" was a strategy to ensure survival by murder and plunder, while maintaining social and ritual status, and not simply an expression of discontent or of religious fanaticism.[37]

From "Thuggee" to "Holy Terror"

In the article "Fear and Trembling," Rapoport shows awareness of the historiographical debates about "Thuggee," but deliberately dismisses the argument of those scholars who, by 1984, had suggested that British accounts of "Thuggee" might be closely aligned with the imperialist project and thus intrinsically biased.[38] The fact is that Rapoport relies exclusively, and on the whole uncritically, on published British accounts of "Thuggee" and as such replicates many of the Orientalist tropes that characterized colonial knowledge of the Indian subcontinent. He quotes, for instance, Sleeman's description of how the "Thug considers the persons murdered precisely in the light of victims offered up to the Goddess, and he remembers them, as a Priest of Jupiter remembered the oxen and as a Priest of Saturn the children sacrificed upon the altars."[39] Rather than recognizing this as a highly subjective reference to pre-Christian religion applied to an Indian context, Rapoport leaves the quotation to speak for itself as if it constituted an adequate representation of the beliefs of "Thugs." A similar approach characterizes his examination of the "Thugs" as prototypical exponents of "religious terrorism."

Rapoport's rationale for labeling the "Thugs" as "terrorists," and for constructing the wholly apolitical category of "religious terrorists," is predicated on the same basic assumption; namely that the "Thugs" deliberately sought to inflict pain and cause terror in their victims:

> For the holy terrorist, the primary audience is the deity, and depending on his particular religious conception, it is even conceivable that he does not need or want to have the public witness his deed. The Thugs are our most interesting and instructive case in this respect. They intend their victims to experience terror and to express it visibly for the pleasure of Kali, the Hindu goddess of terror and destruction. Thugs strove to avoid publicity, and although fear of Thugs was widespread, that was the unintended result of their acts. Having no cause that they wanted others to appreciate, they did things that seem incongruous with our conception of how "good" terrorists should behave.[40]

No source is cited for this curious interpretation of "Thuggee"—probably because it does not exist. The very notion that the "Thugs" should prolong the death of their victims is incompatible with their entire *modus operandi* and among the hundreds of testimonies and depositions from captured "Thugs" there is no mention of any such practice. Instead we find numerous descriptions of the ability of the stranglers to dispatch their victims in an instant or, as one approver told the British officer recording his statement: "It is the work of an instant! You are long in writing it—but in reality, it is instantaneous (snapping his finger to show its quickness!) it is like pulling a trigger!"[41] Furthermore, the notion of prolonged agony is not even corroborated by those officials who otherwise did not hesitate to sensationalize "Thuggee"; Sleeman himself wrote that "I have very rarely discovered any instance of what may, perhaps, be termed *wanton cruelty*; that is pain inflicted beyond what was necessary to deprive the person of life—pain either to the mind or body."[42] In short, Rapoport's description of the "prolongation of the death agony…required by Thug doctrine" is entirely baseless.[43]

Moreover, Rapoport defines the "Thugs" as terrorists with reference to the (allegedly) non-normative character of their violence and by equating "terror" with "terrorism."[44] The deficiency of definition aside, the "Thugs" did not, as we have seen, intend to cause terror in their victims and there is no indication that "Thuggee" was regarded by the local population as being a particularly "outrageous" type of murder.[45] The lack of evidence for the presupposition that the "Thugs" wanted their victims "to experience only terror," is thus more than just a crack in an otherwise solid argument, since it removes the very raison d'être for including the phenomenon of "Thuggee" in a discussion of terrorism in the first place.[46] The historical "Thugs" were not terrorists in any meaningful sense of the word, nor are they "normally identified as such in the academic literature" as Rapoport claims.[47]

The use of the present tense by Rapoport further serves to construct the "Thugs" as a timeless essence—and one with a strangely contemporary presence: "Although the Thugs may do what they do because they know that ordinary Hindus regard such actions as terrifying and horrible, they want their victims only to experience terror."[48] Not only is this statement factually incorrect, but Rapoport also seems to assume that being a "Thug" constituted a primary and unchangeable identity, that is, a static and clearly identifiable category of analysis. Similarly to Orientalist generalizations about Arabs, exemplified in the notion of "the Arab mind," it is a historically disembodied and abstract archetype of the "Thug" that Rapoport subjects to his scrutiny.[49] This approach

is based on the belief that the "Thugs," like the "Assassins," were defined entirely by religious doctrine and that accordingly the key to understanding the phenomenon of "Thuggee" lies not in its historical context but in the tenets of its "parent religion": Hinduism. According to Rapoport, "The Hindu image of history as an endless series of cycles makes Thuggee conceivable," and "because Hinduism provides no grounds for believing that the world can be transformed, the Thugs could neither perceive themselves nor could they be perceived as rebels."[50] The emphasis on religion in the discussion of "Thuggee," however, is clearly not sustainable when considering the primary sources in a critical light. Rapoport's selective reading of the sources furthermore leads him to suggest that the "Thugs" only attacked travelers "for obscure religious reasons," while in fact they were highway robbers who killed people far from their homes, in isolated areas, to avoid discovery.[51] He also infers that the "taboo" against killing Europeans allowed the "Thugs" to escape attention—but there was no such prohibition and the "Thugs" did not kill any Europeans precisely because that would have drawn official attention to their operations.[52] What was essentially a "rational" *modus operandi* is thus presented as the incidental side-effect of "irrational" beliefs.[53]

The British recorded in great detail the plethora of omens apparently observed by the "Thugs" during their operations and from this Rapoport concludes that for the Thugs "there were no choices to be made because in dubious circumstances Kali manifested her views through omens."[54] Yet again, the evidence, with which Rapoport is familiar, suggests quite the opposite. Many of the stories recounted by the captured "Thugs" concerned the interpretation of omens and the calamities that befell those who disregarded them—which happened quite often.[55] The approvers were keen to emphasize the importance of omens and ritual observances, but in practice the "Thug" gangs were not slavishly observant to any doctrinal belief system; they were bandits who sought religious sanction for their activities, but whose observance of religious beliefs were contingent on practicalities. Goddess worship and the invocation of religious sanction allowed them to kill and plunder with moral impunity—effectively attributing the blame for their actions to the deity, as one of the informers stated: "She pardons our murders. It is not I, who murder, but Bhowanee, she is responsible!"[56] As the British operations began to take effect, the captured "Thugs" would increasingly ascribe their downfall to a lack of attention to religious observances. But religion did not cause the "Thugs" to murder any more than their religious transgressions were the cause of the British success in putting an end to them. Deceiving and strangling people was not honorable or socially acceptable, which is precisely why the "Thugs" constructed a ritual framework to imbue their activities with some sort of legitimacy. Like the mythic genealogies of many trades and castes in India, bandits would claim divine origins for their profession, and the British mistook this attempt at legitimizing "Thuggee" as its root cause—as does Rapoport. While Rapoport does acknowledge that religious observances might have been "rationally designed," he still dismisses the potential significance of this insight since, as he states, "divinely authorized rules cannot be altered even when they become destructive."[57]

One of the aspects of "Thuggee" that has attracted particular attention is the claim made by Sleeman's grandson, James, that the stranglers were responsible for over a million murders.[58] Believing this to be an exaggeration, Rapoport suggests that 500,000 is a more plausible number and thus concludes that: "The Thugs murdered more than any known terrorist group.…If the significance of a terrorist group is to be understood by these measures, the Thugs should be reckoned the most important ever known."[59] James Sleeman reached his number, which he claimed was a conservative estimate, by assuming that each "Thug" killed on average 400 people during his lifetime, and since the British had arrested 4,500 "Thugs" by the end of their campaign, the total number of victims was almost two million.[60] Unfortunately, such numbers are pure speculation and have no basis in the historical records. In the first instance, it has to be recalled that "Thuggee" was not an identity but a type of crime—some individuals might join larger gangs only once or twice in their life and never see a murder, while other self-proclaimed "Thugs" might join other bandit gangs or even the army of a local ruler. Although a handful of approvers did brag about having been *present* at hundreds of murders, such dubious "evidence" hardly allows for generalizations.[61] Only a few members of any gang would be directly involved in the killings, the numbers of which varied considerably from season to season. One might as well try to estimate the total number of murders committed by Sicilians over a 300-year period by extrapolating the victims of a few Mafia hit men. During a period of intense political turmoil, extended warfare, and recurring military campaigns, not to mention epidemics and drought, it is unlikely that the numbers of people killed by "Thugs" were in any way significant by comparison. Accordingly, the "Thugs" were not the deadliest terrorists in the history of mankind—not least because they were not terrorists in the first place.

It might be objected that an article running to just under twenty pages should not be faulted for inaccuracies, especially since Rapoport is no expert on Indian history and merely sought to make a broader comparison using the "Thugs" as an example. The criticism, however, is more than mere academic nitpicking over the interpretation of historical sources. The problem is not that Rapoport gets a few things wrong (which would be an understatement), but rather that his account of "Thuggee" bears only a cursory resemblance to his colonial sources, and none whatsoever to critical scholarship on the subject. Rapoport's examination of the historical "Thugs" actually has more in common with the image of the Kali-worshipping stranglers so prevalent to popular representations, and epitomized by *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*—released the same year that his article was published. Rapoport's findings, however, have long been considered as established facts and a closer reading of Bruce Hoffman's work reveals the 1984 article to be what amounts to the urtext of the "New Terrorism" paradigm. According to Rapoport, "the transcendent source of holy terror is its most critical distinguishing characteristic; the deity is perceived as being directly involved in the determination of ends and means."[62] In his conclusion, Rapoport further described the inability of religious terrorists to adapt: "The ends are predetermined, and no real evidence exists that the participants learn to alter their behaviour from others within their own tradition, let

alone from those outside it."[63] Turning to Hoffman's definition of "holy terror," we recognize the clear imprint of all the characteristics attributed to the "Thugs" by Rapoport. Hoffman argues:

> For the religious terrorist, violence first and foremost is a sacramental act or divine duty executed in direct response to some theological demand or imperative. Terrorism assumes a transcendental dimension,* and its perpetrators are therefore unconstrained by the political, moral, or practical constraints that seem to affect other terrorists (*See, for example, Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in three Religious Traditions," p. 674).[64]

Furthermore, "they execute their terrorist acts for no audience but themselves" and "where the secular terrorist sees violence primarily as a means to an end, the religious terrorist tends to view violence as an end in itself."[65] This assumed lack of rationale and violence as an end in itself clearly points back to Rapoport's assertion that "the Thugs were concerned with three parties (the assailant, his victim, and a deity)."[66] The "Thugs" are, of course, not the only component of the "New Terrorism" concept, but they are indubitably essential to its original formulation. Without the "Thugs," there would have been no concept of "religious terrorists" acting entirely outside the political sphere. Since, as I have suggested, Rapoport's construction of "Thuggee" is empirically unsustainable, so too the concept of "New Terrorism" lacks basic credibility as an analytical framework for the understanding of terrorism in the modern world.[67]

Constructing the Enemy

Immediately after the attack on the World Trade Center in 2001, one journalist suggested in *The Guardian* that the historical case of the "Thugs" might prove instructive: "The Kali-worshipping Indian Thugs strangled an estimated 1m souls before Captain Sleeman stopped them in the 1830s (his account of how it was done ought to be compulsory reading for anti-terrorism agents)."[68] There are obviously valid comparisons to be drawn between the past and the present; yet the apparent similarity between chronologically disparate violent practices is mostly due to the manner in which they have been constructed, rather than any inherent affinity. The most obvious historical parallel is accordingly not between the "Thugs" of the nineteenth century and the modern-day "religious terrorists," but between the type of knowledge produced by colonial officials then and antiterrorism experts now.[69] The experts, past and present, establish their authority by asserting a deep knowledge of the "enemy," which is defined in simplistic and essentialized terms that confirm preconceived stereotypes and ultimately legitimizes government policies at all levels.[70] "If policy-makers can rely on a set of simple assumptions about terrorism," Martha Crenshaw argues, "they need not concern them-

selves with understanding a contradictory and confusing reality."[71] This is accordingly a form of knowledge that is defined entirely by its entanglement with politics and thus intrinsically instrumental.[72]

The colonial construction of "Thuggee" as an extraordinary form of crime carried out by ritual stranglers, operating within an India-wide network of murderers, buttressed calls for increased police resources and legitimized the introduction of new legal measures. The principles of rule of law and individual rights, the invocation of which provided the moral justification of British liberal imperialism, were thus not deemed to be applicable when it came to the exceptional case of "Thuggee." During the first decades of the nineteenth century, the British had found it all but impossible to secure convictions against suspected "Thugs," both due to the secretive nature of the crime and to the legal requirements concerning evidence. The first of many judicial interventions, Regulation VIII of 1818, however, enabled the imprisonment of "notorious" criminals, including "Thugs," for indefinite periods of time against security when no formal conviction could be obtained.[73] By setting the bail at a sufficiently high amount, this effectively allowed the authorities to keep suspected "Thugs" in prison for as long as they deemed necessary—irrespective of the evidence.[74] Prior to the implementation of such legislation, the British had actually secured the punishment of suspects by handing them over to local Indian rulers, who were not bound by any legal requirements, and who could thus demonstrate their loyalty to the Company.[75] By the late 1820s, however, the new moral characterization of "Thugs" as "common enemies of mankind" led to an official policy according to which they were to be "considered like Pirates, to be placed without the pale of social law, and be subjected to condign punishment by whatever authority they may be seized and convicted."[76] Special courts were established within the Non-regulation Territories, where formal legislation could be bypassed, and suspects were arrested on the testimony of informers whether they resided within British territory or not, and regardless of where the purported crime had taken place. Finally, Act XXX of 1836 embedded in law the pragmatism that had hitherto driven the work of Sleeman and others; without formally defining "Thuggee," the act made any association with "Thugs" a punishable crime and the requirements of circumstantial evidence were furthermore made superfluous as convictions could henceforth be based exclusively on the testimony of informers.[77] Accordingly, the British constructed "Thuggee" as a new category of crime, the suppression of which necessitated a new paradigm of what was essentially extra-legal judiciary intervention. The anti-"Thuggee" campaign thus significantly expanded the British sphere of influence and played a major role in consolidating colonial sovereignty in India. If this sounds familiar, it is for the simple reason that the "War on Terror" and antiterrorism legislation today has been justified in a manner not too dissimilar to the operations against "Thuggee" some 200 years ago.[78]

The perception of "religion" as a discreet and constant essence that determines people's actions is unfortunately as misleading when applied to historical violence as it is in the context of the so-called "New Terrorism." Public invocations of religious sanction or motivation serve as a means by which to garner support—it is the expression of complex

motives, including political and socioeconomic ones, through a religious idiom which has a powerful efficacy.[79] Highlighting the religious nature of "Thuggee" was actually in the interest of both the "Thug" approvers and the British: it enabled captured "Thugs" to defend their actions and represent themselves as morally superior to "common criminals," while to British officials it provided clear evidence of the barbaric nature of Indian society, thus legitimizing colonial rule. Similarly, for the terrorism expert to emphasize the religious motivation behind Islamic terrorism implicitly delegitimizes such acts, while the very same emphasis on religion by Muslim terrorists can be seen to justify them—that which condemns jihad in Western eyes, makes it the ultimate tool of propaganda within an Islamic context. Yet neither the concept of "religious terrorism" nor Osama bin Laden's public declarations of "holy war" constitute adequate examinations of the conflict in question or of the causes of violence. People might claim that they do what they do because of religion (i.e., use religion to legitimize certain acts), but it is the very task of scholars to unpack such claims and not to accept them at face value. Religion does not rigidly determine how people act and is only one factor among others that inform social practices. "In reality," as Alexander Spencer puts it, "it is extremely hard if not impossible to distinguish between religious and political motivations," and such conceptual Manichean definitions are therefore "predominantly artificial."[80]

To deny the political dimensions, and thus implicitly deny legitimacy and rationality, of the actions of people and groups opposed to Western policies constitutes a dangerous and almost willfully ignorant misreading of global conflicts in the modern world.[81] Consider George W. Bush's description of the threat of Islamic radicalism in 2005:

> We're not facing a set of grievances that can be soothed and addressed. We're facing a radical ideology with inalterable objectives: to enslave whole nations and intimidate the world. No act of ours invited the rage of the killers—and no concession, bribe, or act of appeasement would change or limit their plans for murder.[82]

Compare this to the British claim that the "Thugs" were "no body of amateur assassins, driven to crime by force of circumstance" but murdered out of "sheer lust of killing."[83] The "enemy," in other words, does what he does because he is the "enemy." This denial of rationality easily assumes a pathological tenor—"religious terrorists" are thus often believed to be suffering from delusions and paranoia and Laqueur, for instance, invokes the concept of "fanaticism," although the term is self-evidently subjective and thus has no intrinsic analytic value.[84] As with the discursive connotations associated with the term "Thug," a consideration of violence in the modern world cannot be undertaken without due attention to the very process of designating certain movements and practices as "religious" or as "terrorist." "Religious terrorism" is not a concise and objective descriptor of external facts—employing the concept in itself constitutes a political act. "The myth of religious violence," Cavanaugh argues, "is a form of Orientalist discourse that helps reinforce a dichotomy between the rational West and other, more benighted cultures—Muslims especially—that lag behind."[85]

Conclusion

Where most historians have long since begun to critically examine the representation and colonial construction of native customs such as "Thuggee," Rapoport and his adherents seem content to cherry-pick those Orientalist stereotypes that match their agenda, disregarding the wider historical and historiographical context.[86] It is indeed ironic that the use of history by terrorism experts has resulted in an entirely ahistorical analysis, which sees the "religious terrorist" as a two-dimensional stereotype causing havoc through the millennia unaffected by historical change.[87] It is further to be lamented that the colonial construction of "Thuggee" should have ended up providing the inspiration for yet another politically inflected construction of the enemy—as fanatical and thus politically illegitimate, as irrational and thus premodern. Not only do instrumental analyses misrepresent beliefs, movements, and practices, they also preclude real insights and, as we have seen in places like Iraq and Afghanistan, the "War on Terror" has actually sustained terrorism and created the conditions for its global dissemination. What passes for "knowledge" is historically constructed and without sufficient awareness of the specificity and discursive context of such constructions, we are doomed to repeat the mistakes of the past—even as we think we are learning its lessons.

This is not to say that colonial knowledge is uniformly flawed, or that history has no relevance to the present. In one of the earliest publications on the "Thugs," from 1816, the British medical officer R. C. Sherwood commented on the functional aspect of their religious beliefs: "Ridiculous as their superstitions must appear, they are not devoid of effect. They serve the important purposes of cementing the union of the gang; of kindling courage and confidence; and, by an appeal to religious texts deemed infallible, of imparting to their atrocities the semblance of divine sanction."[88] Rapoport reproduced these lines in his article without apparently noting their import, and numerous authors have since echoed his argument without apparently reading the article closely.[89] Were we to apply Sherwood's comments, not to the historical "Thugs," but to the disparate groups and individuals today labeled as "religious terrorists," however, different lessons might perhaps be drawn from the past.

Notes

1. George Bush, as well as Dick Cheney, have used the phrase on a number of occasions, see for instance: http://amysrobot.com/archives/2004/04/thugs_and_assassins.php. See also Geoff Nunberg's comment: http://people.ischool.berkeley.edu/~nunberg/assassins.html.
2. See Reeva Spector Simon, *Spies and Holy Wars: The Middle East in 20th Century Crime Fiction* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).
3. Christina von Hodenberg makes a similar analysis of the use by the Bush administration of popular tropes, see von Hodenberg, "Of German Fräuleins, Nazi Werewolves, and Iraqi

Insurgents: The American Fascination with Hitler's Last Foray," *Central European History* 41 (2008): 71–92.

4. http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CD0QFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.cs.washington.edu%2Feducation%2Fcourses%2Fcsep590%2F05au%2Flectures%2Fslides%2FDelMonte_113005.ppt&ei=4JS4ULW2OsqL4AT2qYGIBQ&usg=AFQjCNEbcgALBWmyII_5h6Om8mFjHjbNAw.
5. David C. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions," *American Political Science Review* 78, no. 3 (September 1984), 658–677. I use scare quotes when referring to the "Thugs" and "Assassins" in recognition of the fact that these terms are historically contentious. "Thug" and "Thuggee" denote the person and the practice respectively, similarly to 'robber' and 'robbery'.
6. Ibid., 658–659.
7. Ibid., 658. Incidentally, Rapoport's claim that the three groups have never been compared is not entirely correct. In the nineteenth century, the "Thugs" were often mentioned in the same breath as the "Assassins" and in some cases it was even suggested that the former had developed from the latter, see "The Secret Societies of Asia—the Assassins and Thugs," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 49, no. 304 (February 1841): 229–245. Rapoport's description of Thomas DeQuincey as "the first student of comparative terrorism" ("Fear and Trembling," 659 n. 3) is furthermore dubious.
8. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 659.
9. Ibid.
10. See, for instance, Barry Cooper, *New Political Religions, or An Analysis of Modern Terrorism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004); Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Philip Bobbitt, *Terror and Consent: The Wars for the Twenty-First Century* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 2008); Gus Martin, *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2009). Publications promoting the "New Terrorism" concept invariably refer to Rapoport's article, which has been cited a total of 323 times according to Google Scholar: [http://scholar.google.co.uk/scholar?cites=10273766726796691769&as_sdt=2005&sciodt=0,5&hl=en].
11. Bruce Hoffman, "'Holy Terror': The Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative" (RAND, 1993).
12. Ibid., 2–3. The same argument is made in Hoffman's *Inside Terrorism*.
13. Walter Laqueur, *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Steven Simon and Daniel Benjamin, *The Age of Sacred Terror: Radical Islam's War against America* (New York: Random House, 2003). For a particularly tendentious analysis, see Matthew J. Morgan, "The Origins of New Terrorism," *Parameters* 34, no. 1 (2004): 29–43. See also Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2000).
14. Bernard Lewis's work, upon which both Rapoport and Hoffman rely, has also formed a crucial part of the neoconservative conceptualization of the two Gulf Wars, see William T. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). Cavanaugh's excellent book touches upon many of the same issues discussed in this article.
15. See, for instance, Thomas Copeland, "Is the 'New Terrorism' Really New?: An Analysis of the New Paradigm for Terrorism," *Journal of Conflict Studies* 21, no. 2 (Winter 2001); Jonny

Burnett and Dave Whyte, "Embedded Expertise and the New Terrorism," *Journal for Crime, Conflict and the Media* 1, no. 4 (2005): 1–18; Martha Crenshaw, "The Debate over 'New' vs. 'Old' Terrorism," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2007, [http://start.umd.edu/start/publications/New_vs_Old_Terrorism.pdf]. For a comprehensive overview of the various contributors to the debate, see Antony Field, "The 'New Terrorism': Revolution or Evolution?" *Political Studies Review* 7 (2009): 195–207.

16. I am here concerned mainly with the religious aspects of the "New Terrorism" paradigm. I will not be discussing the much-celebrated case of the "Assassins," which, however, fits the same mould of Orientalist stereotypes that have been resuscitated in recent decades, see Farhad Daftary, *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Isma'ilis* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994).
17. For a discussion of the methodological implications of the primary material, see Kim Wagner, *Thuggee—Banditry and the British in Early Nineteenth-Century India* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007).
18. Scattered references to robbers who strangled travelers can be found dating back to the end of the seventeenth century, but it is not till around 1800 onward that historians have sufficient evidence to be able to speak of "Thuggee" as a distinct historical phenomenon, see Kim Wagner, *Stranglers and Bandits—A Historical Anthology of Thuggee* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 61–64; and William Pinch, "When Stranglers Roamed the Road," *Counterpunch* 16, no. 21 (2009): 1, 3–7.
19. See Stewart N. Gordon, "Scarf and Sword: Thugs, Marauders, and State-Formation in Eighteenth-Century Malwa," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 4, no. 6 (1969): 403–429. See also Sandria B. Freitag, "Crime in the Social Order of Colonial North India," *Modern Asian Studies* 25, no. 2 (1991): 227–261.
20. See, for instance, W. H. Sleeman, *Ramaseeana, or a Vocabulary of the Peculiar Language Used by the Thugs* (Calcutta: Military Orphan Press, 1836), 141–270.
21. Among the "occasional" thugs might also be counted the various itinerant groups who committed the odd murder of travelers from time to time during their travels or pilgrimages, see, for instance, deposition of Mannath, January 11, 1838, Thagi & Dakaiti, D.2-(3), National Archives of India (NAI); or Burree Jumaul Khan, December 10, 1836, Home Dept (Foreign & Political), January 30, 1837 (no. 51), NAI.
22. Seema Alavi, *The Sepoys and the Company: Tradition and Transition in Northern India 1770–1830* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), 40.
23. For a detailed case study of one particular area, which constituted the "heartland" of "Thuggee," see Wagner, *Thuggee*.
24. See W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections* (London, 1844), 1: 359.
25. See Cynthia Ann Humes, "Rajas, Thugs, and Mafiosos: Religion and Politics in the Worship of Vindhyavasini," in *Render unto Caesar: Religion and Politics in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Sabrina Petra Ramet and Donald W. Treadgold (Washington, DC: American University Press, 1995), 219–247.
26. This is not to say that caste and religious divisions were nonexistent, but rather that they were flexible and that different norms took precedence depending on practical needs and circumstances. When united on expeditions, the Hindu and Muslim "Thugs" would, for instance, eat separately but drink and smoke together, see testimony of Ghulam Hussain, November 11, 1810, enclosed in Bengal Criminal Judicial Proceedings, P/130/27, January 18, 1811 (no. 46), British Library (BL).

27. Some "Thugs" believed that their profession had been instituted by the goddess, as do a number of common castes associated with specific professions in India, see McLeod to F. C. Smith, October 10, 1834, Boards Collections (BC), F/4/1567/64218 (BL).
28. See Dirk H. A. Kolff, *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy: The Ethno-history of the Military Labour Market in Hindustan, 1450–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
29. W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles*, 2: 30–31, emphasis in original; see also Thomas D. Broughton, *Letters Written in a Mahratta Camp during the Year 1809* (London, 1813), 213.
30. See statement of Buhram, "Collections on Thuggee and Dacoitee, by Capt. James Paton," Add. 41300, 24 (BL). Locally, the "Thugs" were also referred to with terms such as "sepoys" or Mewatis, which had distinct connotations of mercenary or military service, see Wagner, *Thuggee*, 89–92.
31. See Radhika Singha, *A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).
32. For a general discussion of caste in colonial India, see Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
33. F. C. Smith: Report on the sessions of 1831–32, June 20, 1832, quoted in N. K. Sinha (ed.), *Selected Records Collected from the Central Provinces and Berar Secretariat relating to the Suppression of Thuggee, 1829–1832* (Nagpur, 1939), 121.
34. See W. H. Sleeman's anonymous article in *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, October 3, 1830, and "Note by Secretary Swinton," October 4, 1830 (BC), F/4/1251/50480(2) (BL).
35. Paton, "Collections," 22-19.
36. See Hiralal Gupta, "A Critical Study of the Thugs and their Activities," *Journal of Indian History* 34, no. 2 (August 1959): 167–177, 173; and Felix Padel, *The Sacrifice of Human Being, British Rule and the Konds of Orissa* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), 138.
37. See also Anton Blok, *Honour and Violence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001).
38. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 661 n. 9. The two works mentioned by Rapoport are Hiralal Gupta and Stewart Gordon.
39. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 664.
40. Ibid., 660. Describing Kali simply as the 'Hindu goddess of terror and destruction' is a commonplace yet grossly distortive simplification, which dates back to the British construction of Hinduism in the nineteenth century, see Hugh Urban, "India's Darkest Heart: Kali in the Colonial Imagination," in *Encountering Kali: In the Margins, at the Center, in the West,* eds. J. J. Kripal and R. F. McDermott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
41. Paton, "Collections," 56/67, parenthesis in original.
42. W. H. Sleeman, *Ramaseeana*, 8.
43. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 664.
44. This is not the place to enter into a lengthy discussion of the definition of "terrorism," but it should be obvious that it cannot be reduced simply to "terror" or to "extranormal violence," see Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 660 n. 5. For a perceptive discussion of the definition of terrorism, see Richard English, *Terrorism: How to Respond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
45. The evidence is scarce on this point, but see Wagner, *Thuggee*, 150.
46. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 660 n. 5.
47. Ibid., 660.
48. Ibid., 661 n. 5.

49. Raphael Patai's *The Arab Mind* (New York: Scribner, 1973) constitutes one of the most glaring examples of neo-Orientalism, though by no means the only one, see Cavanaugh, *Myth of Religious Violence*, 194–208.
50. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 665 and 673. It may be noted that Rapoport's exegesis of Hinduism is incorrect.
51. Ibid., 662.
52. Ibid., 663. It was the killing of a British officer by villagers in 1812 that led to the expulsion of the "Thugs" from their safe haven in the borderlands of Parihara in modern-day Uttar Pradesh, see Wagner, *Thuggee*.
53. Describing "Thuggee" as a "cult" or "brotherhood" further reiterates the purportedly irrational aspects of the phenomenon, see Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 661 and 662–663.
54. Ibid., 663.
55. See, for instance, W. H. Sleeman, *Ramaseeana*, 127, 141–142, and 221.
56. Paton, "Collections," 47/58-59.
57. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 674.
58. James Sleeman, *Thug; or A Million Murders* (London: S. Low, Marston, 1933).
59. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 662.
60. J. Sleeman, *Thug*, 232–236.
61. See Mike Dash, *Thug: The True Story of India's Murderous Cult* (London: Granta, 2005), 283–289.
62. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 674.
63. Ibid., 674–675.
64. Hoffman, 2.
65. Ibid., 3. See also Steven Simon and Daniel Benjamin, "America and the New Terrorism," *Survival* 42, no. 1 (2000): 66. According to Mark Juergensmeyer, "religious terrorism" is violence "for which religion has provided the motivation, the justification, the organization, and the world view" (*Terror in the Mind of God*, 7). Attempts at defining "religious terrorism" in a more reflexive manner leads to rather contradictory observations, such as Burgess's claim that there is "religious terrorism that is more political than religious," see Mark Burgess, "Explaining Religious Terrorism, Part 2: Politics, Religion, and the Suspension of the Ethical" (2004), [https://www2.bc.edu/~simion/bti/news/09/04/releases/explaining_religious_terrorism2.pdf].
66. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 664.
67. In their critique of Laqueur's book *The New Terrorism*, Burnett and Whyte similarly identify a "complete lack of any systematic analysis of the empirical data produced to support the paradigmical shift in terrorism it claims to portend" ("Embedded Expertise and the New Terrorism," 3).
68. Kevin Rushby, "Passports to Paradise," review of Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins* (London: Weidenfeld, 2001), *The Guardian*, September 22, 2001. For a similar view, see Joseph Poprzeczny, "Global War on Terrorism," *News Weekly*, March 7, 2009, [http://newsweekly.com.au/article.php?id=3919].
69. A recurring narrative within the conventional accounts of "Thuggee," as well as in the "New Terrorism" literature, is that of the expert alone recognizing the scope of the new emergent threat, while a complacent government ignores the timely warning, see, for instance, Sir Francis Tuker, *The Yellow Scarf* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1961); and Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, *The Age of Sacred Terror*. A review of the latter book entitled

"While America Slept" speaks to this very issue, see review by Ellen Laipson, *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 1 (January/February 2003): 142–147.

70. See Burnett and Whyte, "Embedded Expertise and the New Terrorism." If proponents of the "New Terrorism" concept were critical of the official antiterrorist strategies of the 1990s, their work subsequently fed directly into the "War on Terror" initiated under the Bush administration.
71. Crenshaw, "The Debate over 'New' vs. 'Old' Terrorism," 29.
72. There seems to be little awareness that the statistical "facts" used to buttress claims about the increased prevalence of "religious terrorism" today are ideologically constructed. Yet the significance of science to the imperial project is well known, as is the reliance on statistics and classification as rhetorical strategies and tools of governance, see Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); and Arjun Appadurai, "Number and the Colonial Imagination," in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 114–135.
73. Reg. VIII of 1818, V/8/19 (BL).
74. Wagner, *Thuggee*, 187–193.
75. Ibid.
76. Swinton to Stewart, October 23, 1829; *Ramaseeana*, 379–384; and W. H. Sleeman to F. C. Smith, May 13, 1830 (BC), F/4/1251/50480(2) (BL).
77. See also Singha, *A Despotism of Law*, 168–228.
78. The "New Terrorism" concept, Alexander Spencer suggests, "can be used to justify a whole new set of rushed restrictive governmental counter-measures, without these being democratically debated, publicly discussed, independently monitored or even necessary" ("Questioning the Concept of 'New Terrorism,'" *Peace, Conflict & Development* 8 [January 2006]: 5). See also Crenshaw, "The Debate over 'New' vs. 'Old' Terrorism," 28–29; and Burnett and Whyte, "Embedded Expertise and the New Terrorism," 7.
79. According to Stephen Holmes: "Many of the key actors in the 9/11 drama, admittedly, articulate their grievances using archaic religious language. But the very fact that the code involved is ancient while the behaviour we want to explain is recent suggests the inadequacy of causal theories that overemphasize the religious element" ("Al-Qaeda, September 11, 2001," in *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*, ed. Diego Gambetta [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005], 134–135). See also Charles Townshend, *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 96–113.
80. Spencer, "Questioning the Concept of 'New Terrorism,'" 24 and 15.
81. To make sense of seemingly senseless violence need not entail justifying or condoning such acts, whereas demonization effectively precludes a deeper understanding and thus exacerbates existing conflicts.
82. George W. Bush, Speech at the National Endowment for Democracy, 6 October 2005, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/administration/bushtext_100605.html.
83. J. Sleeman, *Thug*, 5.
84. See English, *Terrorism*, 28–29. See also Laqueur, *New Terrorism*, 95–96.
85. Cavanaugh, *Myth of Religious Violence*, 194.
86. Burnett and Whyte argue that "since the very particular historical and political conditions that enable us to understand political violence are abstracted from their specific location, our capacity for understanding the political and historical context for this violence is lost" ("Embedded Expertise and the New Terrorism," 14).

87. Much research on suicide attacks within an Islamic context similarly assumes the existence of an immutable tradition, which allows for simplistic comparisons that effectively negate historical specificity, see, for instance, Karin Andriolo, "Murder by Suicide: Episodes from Muslim History," *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (September 2002): 736–742. In the sensationalized popular history *Anatomy of Terror*, Andrew Sinclair talks of the recurrence of "medieval extremes of belief" and describes Osama bin Laden as a "new Old Man of the Mountains" (327 and 335). Needless to say, Sinclair's account of "Thuggee" is seriously flawed, see ibid., 112–124.
88. The citation is from a later reprint of the article, see R. C. Sherwood, "Of the Murderers Called P'hansigars," *Asiatic Researches* 13 (1820): 263.
89. Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling," 663. Rapoport wrongly attributes the statement to a review article from 1901.

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PART II

THE EMERGENCE OF TERRORISM IN EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES, AND RUSSIA

CHAPTER 7

SITUATING THE REIGN OF TERROR IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN TERRORISM

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The Reign of Terror was a period of state-sanctioned violence in the midst of the revolutionary decade in France (1789–1799). The Terror (March 1793–July 1794) was the most radical phase of the Revolution, which had begun, moderately enough, with demands for the reform of the monarchy and for a better, more equal system of taxation.[1] The Revolution radicalized with the outbreak of war, civil war, and recurring crises of subsistence. The Reign of Terror, in some measure at least, was the response to these dire circumstances of a country on the brink of collapse. It was characterized by repressive measures and massive brutality alongside some of the most progressive experiments in social welfare and daring political visions that Europe had ever seen. By the time the Terror came to an end, in the summer of 1794, tens of thousands of citizens had been executed, and hundreds of thousands were languishing in jail.[2]

Because the French Revolution holds such a foundational place in narratives of the modern world, the Terror has had a galvanizing effect on virtually anyone who has come across it. The French Revolution gave the world the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (August 1789), but also the guillotine. What, then, is this modernity that the Revolution did so much to define? Is it the promise of universal human rights, or the guillotine, or both? More troubling, is the guillotine necessary in order to realize the promise of the Revolution?

The debates about the causes and meaning of the Terror began in its immediate aftermath and possibly when it was still under way. For some, the Terror was a regrettable yet justified response to the difficult situation of France in the fall of 1793: war with an alliance of neighboring European monarchies, counterrevolutionary rebellions in the south and in the west, chronic shortage of supplies. The Terror was terrible, but it was

necessary as a means to save the young republic from dissolution.[3] For others, the Terror was not a response to contingent developments on the ground but rather a foregone conclusion of revolutionary ideas.[4] The political culture of the French Revolution, so the argument goes, owed much to the Enlightenment, particularly to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's philosophy of the general will. According to Rousseau, the proper use of reason should lead all members of a political community to want the same thing for the welfare of them all—the general good. The problem with this idea is that it left no room for dissent, which could only be seen as treason. The Revolution might have been democratic in intent, but it was authoritarian in practice.[5]

Historians of terrorism also attribute a foundational status to the French Terror, for two main reasons. First, the term *terrorisme* itself was coined during the French Revolution. It was defined formally for the first time in 1798—four years after the Reign of Terror—as "a system, a regime of terror."[6] Second, historians of terrorism see the French Revolution as a turning point because it was the first time that terror was used systematically for the purpose of remaking society on a rational basis.[7] Earlier forms of political violence, most notably tyrannicide, targeted individual rulers.[8] In contrast, the French Terror targeted the entire social order that made certain forms of power and inequality possible and necessary. As Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin put it, "The French Revolution marked a turning point in the history of terrorism…prefiguring a practice that was to evolve considerably in the twentieth century with the advent of totalitarianism and large scale violence."[9]

The claim that the French Terror is the matrix of modern terrorism is problematic. It rests on a rather idealized image of the Reign of Terror. Unlike the impression one gets from reading broad narratives of the history of terrorism, the French Terror was often chaotic rather than systematic, its geographic incidence was uneven, and its methods and logic owed much to traditional forms of power, most notably those of the monarchy. The terminological link is also more complex than it seems. Terrorism is a political concept, but it emerged out of specific and quite complex understandings of terror as an intense psychological experience. The views of this psychological experience in the period leading up the Revolution are quite alien to the associations that the term *terrorism* holds today, yet they are part and parcel of its emergence as a political concept in the modern period.

Moreover, claims about the relationship between the Reign of Terror and terrorism depend on how one defines the latter, yet this is obviously a contentious matter. Social scientists tend to distinguish between terrorism, or subversive terror, and state terror. The former is defined as political violence "from below," practiced by nonstate actors, whereas the latter is defined as political violence "from above," directed by the state, usually against its own citizens.[10] Yet the French Terror was a case of political violence that was neither precisely from above nor precisely from below.

In order to situate the Reign of Terror in the *longue durée* history of political violence, we must put aside modern definitions of terrorism and broaden the categories of analysis. Terror during the revolutionary era was, at one and the same time, an internal, subjective experience, an external, historical event, and a way of doing politics. Terrorism

referred to political violence that was simultaneously from below and from above or rather, to a moment when these very distinctions were in question.

The Meanings of Terror in the Revolutionary Era

In 1762 the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* defined the word *terreur* as "an emotion caused in the mind by the sight of evil or an immediate threat; great fear."[11] The allusion to evil, or *mal* in the French, attests to the theological roots of the term. The 1798 edition of the dictionary kept this definition in place but added the neologism *terrorisme*, and another, *terroriste*, which was defined as "a partisan or agent of the Regime of Terror, which has taken place through the abuse of revolutionary measures."[12] Beneath this linguistic change lies a rich history of the meaning of terror during the revolutionary era.[13]

Before the French Revolution politicized the term irrevocably, *terror* referred first and foremost to a particular experience of fear, initially and in particular the fear of God.[14] The *Encyclopédie* included an entry on terror that distinguished between fear (*peur*), which referred to a general apprehension of coming danger; fright (*frayeur*), which meant a more immediate sense of alarm, and terror (*terreur*), which, as the most extreme of these, was capable of "destroying our mind."[15] The French naturalist the Comte de Buffon elaborated a physiognomy of fear, noting that "in fear, in terror, in dread, the forehead wrinkles, the eyebrows are raised, the pupils are widened as much as possible…the mouth is open widely."[16]

In the context of the Enlightenment's philosophy of the human mind, terror was seen as particularly devastating because its source was often unclear, operating on the imagination rather than on the senses and thus capable of augmenting itself indefinitely. The *Encyclopédie* related the term to panic and described both as "those forms of dread that have no foundation in reality because they are believed to have been inspired by the god Pan."[17] The reference here is to the story of the Gallic invasion of the Balkans, when, according to the second-century geographer Pausanias, the god Pan struck terror into the hearts of the Gallic warriors so that in a collective frenzy they turned on each other and decimated their own army, hence the term *panic*. The power of terror lay in its tenuous relation to reality—or, rather, in its unreality.

The sources of terror might have been unclear, but its effects on mind and body were visible and a subject of considerable interest to the eighteenth-century medical sciences. This was particularly so for vitalism, a holistic medical philosophy, which emphasized the coordination of mind and body. According to vitalist physicians, a person could have too much or too little sensibility, a term that referred to the general capacity for receiving impressions from external sources. In the latter case, vitalist physicians often advocated the use of pain and terror to jolt a patient's constitution back into action. In other words, they saw the experience of terror as having a therapeutic effect on some

patients, particularly those suffering from various forms of paralysis and melancholy. Accordingly, vitalist physicians developed an early form of shock therapy, a "therapeutics of perturbation," whereby terror and pain were used to induce a state of crisis that could cure patients of certain afflictions.[18]

Thus, well before the French Revolution there was a medical philosophy in place that saw terror as having a potentially beneficial effect on people. In the aftermath of the Reign of Terror, physicians drew on such theories in order to evaluate the impact of revolutionary violence on society. In 1796, for example, the Lyonnais surgeon Marc-Antoine Petit delivered a lecture on the influence of the Revolution on public health, where he argued that the effects of the Terror had been contradictory—simultaneously beneficial and pernicious. Petit drew most of his examples from the brutal repression that the city of Lyon had suffered at the hands of revolutionary forces during the Reign of Terror. One of his anecdotes concerned a respectable resident of Lyon, whom Petit described as "one of the last victims of the Terror." The man had been suffering from various afflictions, which the doctors had failed to cure but which disappeared completely when he was thrown into prison by revolutionary authorities. Surprisingly, these symptoms reappeared after the man's release from prison, which was brought about by the end of the Terror. Recounting numerous other instances where the shock and terror of revolutionary violence improved the health of certain patients, Petit argued that "revolutions act on the political body as medicine acts of the human body. In one as in the other, the first effect is disorder, the first sensation is pain."[19] The Terror, Petit was implying, might have felt bad while actually being beneficial.

Medical and philosophical approaches to terror were the provenance of scientific elites, and at first glance they have little to do with the political concept of terrorism that emerged from the French Revolution. Yet in a sense, the Jacobins who elaborated the concept of revolutionary terror operated under similar assumptions: terror was a terrible experience, yet French society would emerge the better for it. Moreover, the medical perception of terror and its effects on individual and public health played a part in the revolutionary debate on the nature of terror as a political system. But for the most part, the revolutionaries who spoke of terror in 1793–94 had something quite different in mind from the medical and philosophical articulations of the term explored so far.

As Sophie Wahnich argues, the politicization of terror during the French Revolution had popular roots: "The revolutionary Terror…was a process welded to a regime of popular sovereignty…[it] was willed by those who, having won sovereign power by dint of insurrection, refused to let this be destroyed by counterrevolutionary enemies."[20] The texts of the period reveal that references to terror increased dramatically in the summer of 1793.

This was a moment of profound crisis. A popular insurrection in August 1792 brought down the monarchy and established the republic, a fledgling entity led by inexperienced men and facing existential threats from multiple directions. The war with an alliance of European monarchies, which broke out in the spring of 1792, was going badly, and foreign invasion was imminent. Within French borders, a counterrevolutionary rebellion was spreading through the west, in the region known as the Vendée, and the two major

cities in the south, Marseilles and Lyon, were rebelling against the authority of the National Convention, the legislative body that had been governing the country since the fall of the monarchy. The republic, in short, was being torn from within and crushed from without. Things came to a head in July 1793 when Jean-Paul Marat, the notorious Jacobin journalist and a symbol of the popular cause, was assassinated in his bathtub by Charlotte Corday.[21]

The death of Marat had an immediate, radicalizing impact on the course of the Revolution.[22] The word *terreur* erupted with force into popular discourse precisely at this moment. Thus, a day after Marat's death a political club in Paris assured the National Convention that "our calm and the force of our union will terrorize tyrants," and the editors of a popular newspaper warned their readers that "it is only by striking the soul of traitors with terror that you will assure the independence of the homeland."[23]

The term "Terror," as employed by Parisian militants, meant intimidating counterrevolutionaries, foreigners, aristocrats, and hoarders of foodstuffs—basically, anyone perceived to be an enemy of the popular cause—into submission. Thus, on September 5, 1793, several days after news that the port city of Toulon had fallen into English hands reached the capital, a crowd of Parisian radicals invaded the session of the National Convention and demanded that the deputies adopt more decisive measures to turn the war around and resolve the ongoing subsistence crisis. It was in this context that Bertrand Barère, a leading Jacobin and a future member of the Committee of Public Safety, famously urged his colleagues to "make terror the order of the day."[24] For a long time history books have singled out this date as marking the institutionalization of the Terror, yet, as Jean-Clément Martin has pointed out, Barère's demand was never formally accepted by the Convention.[25] Nevertheless, the Convention did decree the creation of the revolutionary armies, and several days later, on September 17, 1793, it adopted the Law of Suspects, a decisive step toward a policy of terror. What is striking in these popular demands for terror in the fall of 1793 is the injunction from below to act with resolution against the enemies of the people.

However, in the following months revolutionary leaders elaborated their own concept of terror, which was different from the popular one in that it advocated terror not so much as a measure of deterrence, but rather as a tool of social and moral transformation. The clearest articulation of this concept of revolutionary terror can be found in a seminal speech delivered by Maximilien Robespierre on February 5, 1794, a day after the Convention decreed the abolition of slavery throughout the French Empire. The Reign of Terror was well under way by this stage, and Robespierre, a thirty-five-year-old lawyer from Arras, a radical Jacobin, and one of the most influential members of the National Convention, was its definitive spokesperson.[26]

Terror, according to Robespierre, was a means of creating a republic based on virtue. The goal of the Revolution was not merely to change the regime or to distribute resources in a more equitable manner; it was to create a moral order of things. The language, which Robespierre employed in describing this desired order, was strikingly utopian. "We want to substitute … morality for egoism, probity for honor, principles for custom, duty for propriety, the empire of reason for the tyranny of fashion … the greatness of man for

the pettiness of the great."[27] In the social order that Robespierre envisioned, citizens would put the interests of the republic above their own: this, for him, was the true meaning of virtue.

This great moral vision aroused much resistance, and terror was necessary in order to vanquish those who stood in the way of its realization. Robespierre described this struggle in stark, Manichean terms that left little room for compromise or compassion. As he put it, "The first maxim of your politics should be to lead the people by reason, and the people's enemies by terror":

> If the mainspring of popular government in times of peace is virtue, the mainspring of popular government in revolution is virtue and terror: virtue, without which terror is fatal; terror, without which virtue is powerless. Terror is nothing but prompt, severe, inflexible justice…it is not so much a specific principle as a consequence of the general principle of democracy applied to the homeland's [*patrie*] most pressing needs.[28]

Robespierre's reference to "the mainspring of popular government" was probably drawn from the classification of political regimes that Montesquieu elaborated in *The Spirit of Laws* (1748), wherein he identified terror as a characteristic of despotic regimes and virtue as the principle of republican regimes.[29] Yet according to Robespierre, who saw popular government, republican government, and democratic government as synonymous terms, the Revolution constituted a state of exception, similar to war, and that made the recourse to terror by a republican regime both necessary and justified.

Terror seen in this way was a transformative experience. The harsh measures that it entailed imposed a terrible duty on the citizens, whose natural empathy for their fellow beings made such repression difficult to bear and to carry out. Yet this is what republican virtue meant: self-mastery, the resolve to overcome one's natural inclinations in order to do one's duty. In this sense, the concept of revolutionary terror that Robespierre articulated was political through and through: a genuine act of the will.[30]

This view of terror as a tool of social, political, and moral regeneration found expression in a text written after the fall of Robespierre by the reactionary writer Adrien de Lezay-Marnèsia. Referring to the Reign of Terror, Marnèsia argued that, "eighteen months were enough to root out of the people customs centuries old, and to implant others that several centuries would scarcely have sufficed to establish…its [the Terror's] violence made of it a new people."[31] We have here an early articulation of the idea that terroristic violence intervenes in the course of time by accelerating historical change, an idea that, as Claudia Verhoeven argued, would become a defining feature of terrorism in the late nineteenth century.[32] But for Robespierre the point was this: terror was a harrowing experience, yet it was necessary in order to transform the French people from subjects of the monarchy to citizens of the Republic.

The period that followed the fall of Robespierre, the Thermidorian Reaction, is crucial for our understanding of the Reign of Terror and its links to terrorism. On 9 Thermidor (July 27, 1794), a coup d'état staged by members of the National Convention

brought down the Committee of Public Safety and marked the end of the Terror. Over the next two days, Robespierre and about a hundred members of his close circle were executed in Paris without trials. The period that followed these events was characterized by a conservative backlash and a concerted effort to restore order. Yet the men who led the country out of the Terror had often played a part in it. The legitimacy of the new government depended on its ability to distinguish itself from the previous regime. As Howard Brown and others have shown, the Thermidorians defined themselves to a large extent by defining the Terror.[33] For these reasons, the analysis of revolutionary terror in its immediate aftermath was extraordinarily rich and, indeed, continues to mark the contours of the historiography.[34]

Three things stand out in the Thermidorian investigation of the Terror: its criminalization, its definition as a distinct political system, and the emphasis on its effects on individuals and on society. The Thermidorians described the Reign of Terror as a massive crime perpetrated by a coterie of revolutionaries who were either corrupt or led astray. This much was made clear in a seminal speech delivered a month after the events of 9 Thermidor by Jean-Lambert Tallien, former *terroriste* and now prominent Thermidorian. "The shadow of Robespierre still hovers over the Republic," Tallien told his audience, and he ended his speech by calling on the Convention to "make justice the order of the day," thus establishing an inverse symmetry with the famous call to "make terror the order of the day."[35] In the coming months the Thermidorian leadership put key functionaries in the apparatus of the Terror on trial and provided various forms of redress to its victims.[36] The public sphere, which was enjoying a sustained revival after the relaxation of censorship, resounded with descriptions of the atrocities and brutalities committed by the Jacobin terrorists, who were described as "drinkers of blood" and "ferocious tigers" and likened to such historical figures as Nero or Caligula.[37]

Such allusions to mad tyrants run amok were only one part of the Thermidorian discussion of the Terror; the other was its conceptualization as a distinct political system. According to Tallien, the Terror was a system of government based on the principle of fear, particularly the fear of death. The art of terror consisted in knowing how to "set a trap under each step, a spy in every home, a traitor in every family," and in using the public death of the few to terrify the many. The Terror divided French society into two classes: "those who are afraid, and those who make others afraid."[38]

The description of the Terror as a system gave rise to a veritable debate on the use and abuse of political power. All governments must rely on fear to a certain extent in order to rule, noted Tallien. What makes government by terror unique and—this is the key point—illegitimate is its arbitrary nature. When terror becomes the principle that defines the regime, fear becomes a chronic condition hanging over the heads of citizens regardless of their actions. This is not a salutary fear of the law but rather an irrational fear of everyone and everything.

A government by terror, noted some commentators, tends to reproduce the threats that it purports to overcome. As the liberal author Benjamin Constant put it, "The Terror gave rise to the revolt in Lyon, to the insurrection in the departments, to the war in the Vendée; and, in order to subdue Lyon, in order to disperse the insurrection in the

departments, in order to crush the Vendée, the Terror was necessary."[39] In other words, the system of terror tended to perpetuate itself, escaping the intention of its authors. For men and women in the late 1790s, looking back on how quickly the executioners had become the executed, this must have made quite a bit of sense.[40]

The third element in the Thermidorian discussion of the system of terror was an emphasis on its effects on individuals and on society. Tallien described these effects in words that bring to mind modern definitions of post-traumatic stress disorder:

> Terror is a habitual trembling, an external trembling that affects the most hidden fibers; that degrades man and likens him to a beast. It is the disturbance of all physical forces, the derangement of all ideas, the overturning of all feelings. [Terror] is a real disorganization of the mind … [it] breaks all ties and extinguishes all affections. It defraternizes, desocializes, and demoralizes.[41]

The Terror, in other words, was simultaneously a political and a medical event. The visceral tone of the Thermidorian analysis of the Terror is noteworthy. Robespierre's alignment of terror and virtue might have been theoretically astute, even groundbreaking, but it remained remarkably abstract, devoid of any reference to the guillotine, to the prisons, to bodies, of any reference to the realities of the repression. In contrast, the Thermidorian discussion of the system of terror resounded with the sights, smells, and sounds of massive violence: it was intensely corporeal.[42]

The Practice of Terror during the French Revolution

To what extent did the various meanings of terror during the revolutionary era correspond to the realities of the French Terror as it was practiced on the ground? There are two main problems in writing about the practice of terror during the French Revolution. The first is that violence stands at the heart of the Reign of Terror, yet the Reign of Terror cannot be reduced to violence. The same regime that instituted the guillotine and incarcerated hundreds of thousands of citizens also abolished slavery throughout the French colonies and experimented with forms of direct democracy. The second is that the revolutionary decade saw many instances of mass violence, and it is quite difficult to determine which among them belonged to the Reign of Terror proper and which among them formed part of other, distinct yet related processes of contention. So quickly does the Reign of Terror threaten to dissolve when one looks closely at its details that Jean-Clément Martin has suggested, somewhat provocatively, that it is little more than a myth. Where others see a unified policy of state repression, Martin sees a series of chaotic, bumbling actions on the ground that derived from the weakness of state power rather than from its directives and that were given the appearance of a unified phenomenon after the fact.[43]

Be that as it may, from the winter of 1793 onward one can see a clear escalation in the dynamic of repression. A brief, selective chronology will suffice to make the point: March 1793, creation of the revolutionary tribunal and the adoption of a decree declaring the rebels in the Vendée to be *hors la loi*, that is, outside of the law; June 1793, purge of the moderate Girondin faction from the National Convention; September 1793, the call to "make terror the order of the day" and the passing of the Law of Suspects, which mandated the arrest of anyone who, "by their conduct, associations, comments or writings have shown themselves partisans of tyranny or federalism and enemies of liberty";[44] October 1793, establishment of revolutionary government, that is, rule by state of exception, and suspension of the constitution; and June 1794, the Law of 22 Prairial, which expedited the proceedings of the revolutionary tribunal, which in turn led to a dramatic increase in the number of executions, the so-called Great Terror of the summer of 1794.

This repressive policy was carried out by a complex institutional apparatus. At the basis of this structure, described admirably by Colin Lucas, stood the *sociétés populaires*, local civil associations created in the course of the Revolution.[45] These were bodies composed of citizens who met regularly to discuss the matters of the hour, but in addition to functioning as an apprenticeship of sorts in the forms of participatory democracy, they also served as a source of local knowledge and supervision for the authorities. Then came the *comités de surveillance*, local bodies created specifically to implement the Law of Suspects and endowed with certain executive powers, such as the right to arrest citizens. Ordinary local authorities, such as municipalities or regional administrations, also played a significant role in the repression. Finally, there were the *armées révolutionnaires*, regiments of armed citizens that were sent from the urban centers to enforce the decrees of the revolutionary government in the countryside.[46]

The two highest authorities in the edifice of the Terror were the Committee of Public Safety in Paris and its delegates to the provinces, the *représentants en mission*. The Committee of Public Safety began as one of several governmental committees made up of elected members of the National Convention. But once the Convention suspended the constitution, the Committee of Public Safety became in effect its executive arm, assuming increasingly centralized and dictatorial powers. The Committee comprised twelve Jacobin members, chief among them Robespierre, and its sessions were held behind closed doors, whence emanated many of the measures identified with the Terror.[47]

In order to enforce its decrees in the provinces and to report back to Paris, the Committee relied on delegates, the *représentants en mission*, who were themselves deputies in the National Convention. More than anyone else, it was these representatives that became the face of the Terror on the local level. As Colin Lucas put it, they were seen as "repositories of the will of the sovereign people…to resist a *représentant en mission* was to resist the will of the people."[48] The power of these representatives in their locality was virtually unlimited, and some of them achieved a certain degree of autonomy.

This kind of power cut both ways. In areas where the local representatives were either fervent Jacobins or were personally close to a member of the Committee of Public Safety, the implementation of the policies of the Terror tended to be stricter. In other areas,

where the representatives were of more moderate leanings, their considerable autonomy could prove to be a mitigating factor. A change in the political winds in Paris—something that occurred frequently during the radical phases of the Revolution—was usually accompanied by a purge of the *représentants* and their replacement with men more in tune with the new powers that be.[49]

One of the most important duties of the *représentants* was to oversee the functioning of the complex web of judicial institutions that meted out revolutionary justice during the Terror. Revolutionary justice evolved piecemeal through a series of measures designed to bring the judicial system under the control of the revolutionary government. Under its provisions, jurors were handpicked by revolutionary authorities, the rights of the accused were increasingly curtailed, the right of appeal was denied, "moral proof" was sufficient for a conviction, and there was an increasing application of the death penalty. In other words, revolutionary justice violated many of the principles of liberal jurisprudence that the revolutionaries themselves enshrined during the earlier, more moderate phases of the Revolution. In this sense, the abuse of judicial norms for the purposes of political repression stood at the heart of the Terror.

This was carried out by different kinds of judicial institutions that operated side by side. They included ordinary criminal tribunals on the local level, ad hoc tribunals, and popular and military commissions. At the center of this juridical network stood the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris, which was established in March 1793. A handful of revolutionary tribunals were set up in the provinces modeled on the one in Paris. These bodies were under the direct control of the local *représentant en mission*, who screened the staff regularly to ensure its political commitments. Consequently, the revolutionary tribunals were responsible for many of the death sentences imposed or enacted during the Terror.

This apparatus of revolutionary repression has led many scholars to identify the Reign of Terror with modern totalitarian regimes, yet this impression is problematic for three reasons. First, the many courts, tribunals, and commissions that meted out revolutionary justice may have been less repressive than they seem. Recent research has shown that juries often acquitted the accused, especially once the laws of the Terror mandated the death penalty as the only possible sentence in cases of conviction. Civic participation by relatives and friends of suspects, carried out in the form of petitions, statements of innocence, and testimonials of character, often had real influence on a trial's outcome. Moreover, a number of the professionals on whom the revolutionary government relied for carrying out its decrees in the provinces—magistrates, lawyers, municipal authorities, and other legal personnel—were men of the old regime and were attached to juridical norms that predated the Revolution. Many of them obstructed the implementation of the laws of the Terror as best they could. Put simply, the state in revolutionary France lacked the coercive capacities that would come to characterize modern totalitarian regimes.[50]

Second, the geographic incidence of the Terror was highly uneven, complicating the impression that it constituted a systematic, nationwide campaign of repression. Bernard Bodinier has studied the patterns of repression in the department of the Eure in the

north of France and found that there it suffered little. The same can be said for many other provinces.[51] The places that saw particularly harsh repression were either areas closest to the border zones or cities that had strong federalist leanings, most notably Lyon and Marseille. The geography of the Terror suggests that its ebbs and flows were intimately tied to the war.

Finally, there were many instances of violence and massacre during the revolutionary decade, and it is unclear which among them should be seen as part of the Terror and which formed part of other processes of contention. Such was the case of the September Massacres in 1792, when a crowd of Parisian militants, incensed by rumors of an imminent Prussian invasion, began the wholesale slaughter of prisoners; the revolutionary leadership proved powerless to stop the killing. For some scholars the September Massacres formed part of a continuum of destruction unleashed by the Revolution and leading toward the Terror, while for others the Terror was instituted precisely in order to take violence out of the hands of the people, to establish the state's monopoly over the use of force.[52] "Let us be terrible, to save the people from being so," said the Jacobin leader Georges Danton, one of the founders of the revolutionary tribunal.[53] Similar questions pertain to the repression of the counterrevolutionary uprising in the Vendée. It claimed more lives than the revolutionary tribunals, but was it part of the Terror? Perhaps one should speak of many terrors rather than a single Reign of Terror.

No discussion of the Reign of Terror would be complete without reference to the machine that, for better or worse, has become its most enduring symbol: the guillotine. The physician Joseph Guillotin, a Parisian deputy in the National Assembly, first proposed the idea of a decapitation machine in December 1789, well before the Terror. The reason he gave for it was that this strange method of execution would be more egalitarian and humane. Under the old regime, the methods of execution varied according to one's social status, and they were sometimes accompanied by torture, the display of bodies, and other forms of cruelty. In contrast, Guillotin's machine would apply the same method of punishment to all those who were condemned to die, and it would reduce the spectacle of execution to a simple, instantaneous, and mechanical death. The new machine was used for the first time in April 1792 for the execution of Nicholas Pelletier, a common robber. During the Reign of Terror several guillotines were built and sent to the French provinces. The revolutionary armies even made use at times of ambulatory guillotines, which they brought with them into the villages, most often to punish hoarders of foodstuffs.[54]

An object of horror and fascination, the guillotine encapsulates some essential truths about the practice of terror during the French Revolution. First, it draws attention to its performative aspects. Public executions during the Terror were carefully staged events, designed to educate the spectators in the forms of popular sovereignty. The transport of the condemned to the execution site in tumbrels dragged through the streets of the city, the focused attention of the crowds on the conduct of the victims as they walked up to the scaffold (would they buckle down in fear or would they remain composed? would they die well?), the recurring shouts of *vive la République*, *vive la Nation* when the blade

of the guillotine fell, the executioner lifting the severed head to show it to the people gathered in the square—all of these constituted a pedagogic ritual of sorts. Saint-Just remarked tellingly that such spectacles served to "forge a new public conscience."[55] The guillotine reminds us that the French Terror was in no small measure theater.[56]

More important, the guillotine reveals the ambiguous nature of the Terror. On the one hand, it was a quintessentially modern machine, embodying the main principles of the Enlightenment: reason, science, humanitarianism, egalitarianism, and the law.[57] On the other hand, the guillotine stood at the center of a bloody spectacle, barbaric in its connotations and anarchic in its potential, a throwback to the archaic custom of displaying severed heads in order to pacify rebellious populations.[58] Modern and archaic, civilized and savage, reasonable and nightmarish—the guillotine derived from and reproduced these internal tensions of the Reign of Terror.

Conclusion

In the mainstream historiography of terrorism, the Reign of Terror holds a foundational place, marking the emergence of modern ideas and practices of political violence. Yet the ideas and practices of terror during the revolutionary era were broader and more open-ended than the definitions that currently dominate the field. In the period leading up to the Revolution, the term *terror* referred to a particularly intense experience of fear. The physicians and *philosophes* of the Enlightenment saw this experience as simultaneously destructive and creative, pernicious and beneficial. The potentially constructive dimensions of terror found echoes in its revolutionary elaboration as a way of doing politics, an elaboration that had popular roots. The Jacobins in particular developed a conception of revolutionary terror as a transformative experience—an ordeal, to be sure, but one that would result in a better, more just social order. The actual term *terrorism*, which referred to a distinct political system, emerged out of the effort to distance the Revolution from the Terror, which was now seen as a massive crime though it nevertheless retained its earlier connotations as a visceral, corporeal experience. As for its practice, the French Terror was less systematic and less repressive than it may seem, characteristics that reflect the weakness of state power rather than its force, or at least that belong to a moment when state power and the monopoly over its use of violence were being challenged.

What, then, do we learn from this about the history of terrorism? First, the history of terrorism might benefit from considering political violence not only as a distinct form of action, but also as an experience. This would mean broadening the scope of the inquiry so that beyond the ideas, intentions, and deeds of terrorists, it also includes their victims' experiences and the long-term effects of the terrorists' actions on the societies and individuals affected by them. Second, the historiography of terrorism makes a clear distinction between subversive forms of political violence and state terror, yet the Reign of Terror challenges this distinction. It suggests that the relationship between terrorism

and modern state power might be closer than it seems. As a liminal moment revealing of that which is usually hidden under the structures of everyday life, the Reign of Terror invites us to consider the proposition that underneath the surface of modern state power, terror always lurks.[59]

Notes

1. I will be using three interchangeable terms: the Reign of Terror, the French Terror, and, simply, the Terror. These are to be distinguished from "terror" in the lowercase, referring to the emotion, and from the term terrorism. There is considerable debate among historians about the nomenclature used to describe this aspect of the French Revolution. For a recent overview of this debate, see Michel Biard, "Remplacer la Terreur par la 'terreur' pour mieux comprendre l'une et l'autre?", *H-France Salon*, vol. 11, no. 16 (2019), accessed June 2, 2020, at https://h-france.net/Salon/SalonVol11no16.2.Biard.pdf.
2. See Donald Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror during the French Revolution: a Statistical Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935).
3. See Albert Mathiez, *The French Revolution* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962); Albert Soboul, *The Sans-Culottes: The Popular Movement and Revolutionary Government, 1793–1794* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972); D. M. G. Sutherland, *France 1789–1815: Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Arno Meyer, *The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).
4. See François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Keith M. Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Carol Blum, *Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue: The Language of Politics in the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986); Patrice Gueniffey, *La politique de la Terreur: Essai sur la violence révolutionnaire, 1789–1794* (Paris: Fayard, 2000); and Dan Edelstein, *The Terror of Natural Right: Republicanism, the Cult of Nature, and the French Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
5. For recent studies that combine insights from these two approaches to the Terror, see Timothy Tackett, "Conspiracy Obsession in a Time of Revolution: French Elites and the Origins of the Terror, 1789–1792," *American Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (2000): 691–713; and David Andress, *The Terror: Civil War in the French Revolution* (London: Little, Brown, 2005).
6. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (DAF), s.v. "Terreur," The ARTFL Project at the University of Chicago, accessed August 11, 2013, http://artflsrv01.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdic01look.pl?strippedhw=terreur.
7. See Walter Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2001); Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); and Randall D. Law, *Terrorism: A History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009).
8. See Martin A. Miller, "The Intellectual Origins of Modern Terrorism in Europe," in *Terrorism in Context*, ed. Martha Crenshaw (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 27–62.
9. Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, *The History of Terrorism, from Antiquity to Al Qaeda* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 95.

10. See Jeffrey A. Sluka, ed., *Death Squad: The Anthropology of State Terror* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).
11. DAF, s.v. "Terreur," accessed May 14, 2013, http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=terreur.
12. DAF, s.v. "Terreur," accessed May 14, 2013, http://artflx.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=terreur.
13. See Annie Jourdan, "Les discours de la Terreur à l'époque révolutionnaire (1776–1798): Étude comparative sur une notion ambiguë," *French Historical Studies* 36, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 51–82. See also Rudolf Walther, "Terror, Terrrorismus," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon Zur Politisch-Sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1990), part 3, 323–444. Thanks to Carola Dietze for bringing this text to my attention.
14. See Walther, "Terror, Terrrorismus," part 2.
15. Chevalier de Jaucourt, "Peur, frayeur, terreur," in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc* (University of Chicago ARTFL Encyclopédie Project), ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond D'Alembert, 12:480, accessed May 15, 2013, http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/getobject.pl?c.11:1090.encyclopedie0513. (Henceforth cited as *Encyclopédie*.)
16. Buffon, *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière: Avec la description du Cabinet du Roy*, (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1749–1789), 2:532, http://www.buffon.cnrs.fr/ice/ice_page_detail.php?lang=fr&type=text&bdd=koyre_buffon&table=buffon_hn&bookId=2&search=no&typeofbookDes=hn&facsimile=off&pageOrder=532.
17. Chevalier de Jaucourt, "Panique, terreur," in *Encyclopédie* (University of Chicago ARTFL Encyclopédie Project), accessed May 15, 2013, http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/getobject.pl?c.11:1090.encyclopedie0513.
18. See Roseleyne Rey, *The History of Pain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); and Antonie Luyendijk-Elshout, "Of Masks and Mills: The Enlightened Doctor and His Frightened Patient," in *The Languages of Psyche: Mind and Body in Enlightenment Thought*, ed. G. S. Rousseau (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 186–230.
19. Marc-Antoine Petit, "Discours sur l'influence de la Révolution française sur la santé publique," in *Essai sur la médecine du coeur* (Lyon, 1806), 116.
20. Sophie Wahnich, *In Defence of the Terror: Liberty or Death in the French Revolution*, trans. David Fernbach (London: Verso, 2012), 97.
21. See Nina Rattner Gelbart, "Death in the Bathtub: Charlotte Corday and Jean-Paul Marat," in *The Human Tradition in Modern France*, ed. Steven K. Vincent and Alison Klairmont Lingo (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 17–32.
22. See Antoine de Baecque, *Glory and Terror: Seven Deaths under the French Revolution* (New York: Routledge, 2002); and Guillaume Mazeau, *Le bain de l'histoire: Charlotte Corday et l'attentat contre Marat (1793–2009)* (Seysell: Champ Vallon, 2009).
23. Quoted in *Dictionnaire des usages socio-politiques (1770–1815)*, vol. 2, *Notions-concepts* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1987), 129–130.
24. "Make Terror the Order of the Day," in *University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization*, ed. John W. Boyer and Julius Kirshner, vol. 7, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, ed. Keith Michael Baker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 342–353.
25. See Jean-Clément Martin, *Violence et Révolution: Essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national* (Paris: Seuil, 2006).

26. See Peter McPhee, *Robespierre: A Revolutionary Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).
27. Maximilien Robespierre, "Sur les principes de morale politique qui doivent guider la Convention nationale dans l'administration intèrieure de la République," in *Oeuvres de Maximilien Robespierre*, vol. 10 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1910–1967), 353.
28. Ibid., 357.
29. Charles de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws* (1748; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 12–13. See also Corey Robin, *Fear: The History of a Political Idea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). It should be noted that Montesquieu spoke of fear rather than terror as the principle of despotic regimes, yet the historical examples of despotism that he provided referred explicitly to terror.
30. See Marisa Linton, *Choosing Terror: Virtue, Friendship, and Authenticity in the French Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
31. Adrien de Lezay-Marnèsia, *Des causes de la Révolution et de ses résultats* (Paris: L'imprimerie du journal d'Économie publique, 1797), 29.
32. See Claudia Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakazov: Imperial Russia, Modernity, and the Birth of Modern Terrorism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011).
33. See Howard Brown, "Robespierre's Tail: The Possibilities of Justice after the Terror," *Canadian Journal of History* 45, no. 3 (2010): 303–335; Howard Brown, *Ending the French Revolution: Violence, Justice and Repression from the Terror to Napoleon* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006); and Bronislaw Baczko, *Ending the Terror: The French Revolution after Robespierre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
34. See Mona Ozouf, "The Terror after the Terror: An Immediate History," in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, 4 vols., ed. Keith M. Baker (New York: Pergamon Press, 1994), 4:3–19.
35. *Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur, seule histoire authentique et inaltérée de la révolution française depuis la réunion des États-généraux jusqu'au Consulat (mai 1789–novembre 1799)*, 32 vols. (Paris: Plon, 1858–70), 21:612, 615. (Hereafter cited as *Moniteur*).
36. See Ronen Steinberg, "Transitional Justice in the Age of the French Revolution," *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 7, no. 2 (2013): 267–285.
37. See Françoise Brunel, "Bridging the Gulf of the Terror," in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, 4 vols., ed. Keith Michael Baker (New York: Pergamon Press, 1994), 4:327–346.
38. *Moniteur*, 21:613.
39. Benjamin Constant, "Des effets de la Terreur," in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Jean-Daniel Canduax et al., 33 vols. (Tubingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1998), 1:523. For a recent interpretation of the Terror that owes much to Constant's analysis, see François Furet, "Terror," in *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 137–150.
40. Interestingly, the Catholic interpretation of the Terror made similar points. See Jesse Goldhammer, *The Headless Republic: Sacrificial Violence in Modern French Thought* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).
41. *Moniteur*, 21:613, 615.
42. See Ronen Steinberg, "Trauma before Trauma: Imagining the Effects of the Terror in Post-Revolutionary France," in *Experiencing the French Revolution*, ed. David Andress (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013), 177–199.

43. Martin, *Violence et Révolution*; see also Guillaume Mazeau, "La 'Terreur,' laboratoire de la modernité," in *Pour quoi faire la Révolution*, ed. Jean-Luc Chappey et al. (Paris: Agone, 2012), 87–118.
44. "The Law of Suspects," *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité: Exploring the French Revolution*, accessed February 28, 2013, http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/417/.
45. See Colin Lucas, *The Structure of the Terror: The Example of Javogue and the Loire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).
46. See Richard Cobb, *The People's Armies: The Armées Révolutionnaires, Instruments of the Terror in the Departments, April 1793 to Floréal Year II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987).
47. The classic study of the Committee remains Robert R. Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled: The Year of the Terror in the French Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969).
48. Lucas, *The Structure of the Terror*, 259.
49. See Michel Biard, *Missionaires de la République: Les représentants du peuple en mission, 1793–1795* (Paris: CTHS, 2002).
50. For recent research that revises our view of revolutionary justice, see Robert Allen, *Les tribunaux criminels sous la Révolution et l'Empire, 1792–1811* (Rennes: Presses universitaries de Rennes, 2005); and Alex Fairfax-Cholmely, "Reassessing Revolutionary Justice: Suspects, the Paris Revolutionary Tribunal and the Terror in France, 1793–1794" (Ph.D. diss., Queen Mary University of London, 2012).
51. Bernard Bodinier, "Un département sans Terreur sanguinaire: L'Eure en l'an II," in *Les politiques de la Terreur, 1793–1794*, ed. Michel Biard (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2008), 111–126.
52. See Colin Lucas, "Revolutionary Violence, the People, and the Terror," in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, 4 vols., ed. Keith Michael Baker (New York: Pergamon Press, 1994), 4:57–80.
53. Quoted in Wahnich, *In Defense of the Terror*, 59.
54. See Paul Hanson, *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004). See also Daniel Arasse, *The Guillotine and the Terror* (London: Penguin, 1991); and Alistair Kershaw, *A History of the Guillotine* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1993).
55. Quoted in Arasse, *The Guillotine and the Terror*, 5.
56. According to Bruce Hoffman, terrorism in general is theater. See Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 132.
57. Enzo Traverso sees it as foreshadowing the industrial death of the twentieth century. See Enzo Traverso, *The Origins of Nazi Violence* (New York: New Press, 2003).
58. See Regina Janes, "Beheadings," *Representations* 35 (Summer 1991): 21–51.
59. See Terry Eagleton, *Holy Terror* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); see also Michael Taussig, "Maleficium: State Fetishism," in *The Nervous System* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 111–140.

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CHAPTER 8

MAKING TERRORISM THINKABLE

The Philosophy of the Act and its European Reception

KLAUS RIES

We are accustomed to regarding the French Revolution as the beginning of the history of modern terrorism. Yet we do not view the French Revolution itself as the first case of terrorist action, because it was "state terrorism" as opposed to the type of terrorism generally understood to be "systematically planned, shocking violent attacks from the underground against a political order."[1] According to this definition, the French Revolution, or, more precisely, the radical, Jacobin phase of the Revolution from 1792 to 1794, only represents the state model of non- or antistate actions, because it was those in power, not the underground, who used violence to stabilize that power rather than to overthrow a regime. However, the French Revolution nonetheless marked a watershed in the use of political violence because it "uncoupled" violence "from its traditional religious or other conditions," demonstrating "only too well" to nineteenth-century terrorists how this weapon could be used.[2] To be sure, assassination attempts and attacks had been occurring ever since antiquity,[3] but, as David Rapoport argues, it was the French Revolution that made it possible to choose "the extreme means of a terrorist attack" for "something other than religious motives."[4] Thus, historical research stylizes the French Revolution as a secular break in the history of terrorist actions, which marks it as the beginning of terrorism (albeit in its state form) as a modern phenomenon.

At the same time, most research dates modern terrorism (of the nonstate variety, or "terrorism from below") to the mid-nineteenth century. The anarchistic, socialist, and/or Left Hegelian milieu in Germany, France, and Russia are seen as laying the theoretical tracks for modern terrorist attacks.[5] Within this historical framework, men such as the

French socialist Pierre Proudhon and the Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, as well as German Left Hegelians associated with Moses Heß, Arnold Ruge, and Bruno Bauer, are alleged to be the first theoreticians. The group of Left Hegelians, above all, in which Bakunin too took a leading role, is regarded as the decisive environment for the development of these ideas because this group anticipated and modeled the "propaganda of the deed," which gave shape to "the strategic calculation of all the terrorist groups" in the last third of the nineteenth century.[6] The Left Hegelians distinguished themselves from Hegel in many ways: some, like Ruge, bemoaned Hegel as a political opportunist who had curried favor with the Prussian state of the restoration, above all with his introduction to "legal philosophy," and so had to be brought back to his revolutionary philosophy; others, like Bakunin, principally criticized the cumbersome nature of Hegelian philosophy and wished to right this—very much in the sense of the early Karl Marx—by turning it upside down, "from its head onto its feet."[7] However, all of the Left Hegelians found a common denominator in the "drive of the 'thought' of the 'deed,'" as Gustav Mayer called it.[8] They wanted, at long last, to take action and not just talk about it.

Both Marx and Bakunin criticized philosophical idealism for its lack of action, giving rise to the "philosophy of the deed." In his *Theses on Feuerbach* (1845), for example, Marx had noted that philosophers had "only interpreted the world in various ways," but the point was "to change it."[9] Bakunin, for his part, wrote after staying in Germany in 1851 that the country "cured" him of the "philosophical disease" it suffered from: "As I became more familiar with metaphysical questions, I rather swiftly convinced myself of the nothingness and vanity of all of metaphysics; I sought life in it, but it is boring, [and] has a deadly effect; I sought acts, but it is absolute inaction."[10] In current terrorism research, this "philosophy of the deed"—so-called already on the eve of the German Revolution of 1848, or the *Vormärz* period—is considered the earliest theoretical underpinning and, therefore, also a model for the later "propaganda of the deed," which in turn can be traced to the anarchistic journalist Paul Brousse in the 1870s.[11]

But these traditional views can be countered in two ways: First, I aim to unearth theoretical roots of modern terrorism from a much earlier period than the scholarship up to now has done, and specifically, to the early revolutionary period and the liberal-democratic milieu. Within this framework, this text assumes that there is a link between the terror of the French Revolution and "terror from below," not least because one cannot simply classify the terror of the French Revolution as state terrorism, effectively conjuring it right out of the terrorism debate, as happens in the majority of research. This view, essentially based on the older research assumption of the *dérapage de la révolution*, holds that the Revolution slipped unexpectedly into terror in 1792, after which terror came to be utilized as an instrument of power for stabilizing domestic and foreign politics.[12] More recent research, by contrast, has increasingly departed from this thesis, asserting instead that the degeneration of the Revolution into political violence and the politics of *terreur* were already present in the "ideas of 1789."[13] With this shift in perspective, it is no longer possible to regard the French Revolution as a case of state terror because the ideas of 1789 derived from social discourse. Moreover, we must acknowledge that the theoretical debates (from which the ideas of 1789, after all,

developed) extend back at least into the late Enlightenment and need to be investigated accordingly for their anti-state potential.

Secondly, if it is the secular nature of the French Revolution that made it the first modern manifestation of (state) terrorism, to what extent did the Revolution truly begin to secularize the legitimation of violent social actions? There can be no doubt that it did trigger an enormous secular impulse, especially in the transformation of mentalities.[14] Yet, at the same time, it also influenced and appealed to religious tendencies, reanimating them in a new form even as it accelerated de-Christianization. Under Robespierre, in particular, the Revolution gave rise to the "cult of the highest being" to meet the moral and emotional needs of the people. This cult turned intentionally against the atheistic convictions of the "cult of reason" favored by the majority of Jacobins, thus contributing to a "transfer of the sacred."[15] Consequently, the Revolution did not dispel the religious moment but rather launched a "new view of the sacred," namely, "the very lay religion" that largely defined the nineteenth century.[16] Therefore, it seems rather pointless to selectively distinguish religious terror from its political counterpart and to assume it underwent a process of strict rationalization and secularization during and after the French Revolution.[17] Rather, political and religious motives can indeed be reconciled, and they even complement one another.

On tracing the theoretical roots of modern terrorism to the intellectual debates concerning the French Revolution, it can be demonstrated, more specifically, that the early democratic philosophy of Johann Gottlieb Fichte provided fertile ground for their development. In addition, it elucidates the effects of Fichte's philosophy, showing how they reached to the first concrete assassination plans of the early nineteenth century through the theoretical extensions of the philosopher Jakob Friedrich Fries in Heidelberg and later Jena, and the private lecturer Karl Follen in Giessen. Illustrating these links, the current research assumption that German middle-class intellectuals were "poor in deeds and full of ideas" and that they always shied away from political practice can be regarded as obsolete.[18] Not only did the French Revolution put *terreur* on the political agenda, thus shaping later terrorist activities; it also had a revolutionary effect on the political and philosophical debates around 1800, generating an "intellectual revolution" in the German context.[19] The majority of intellectuals and publishers regarded the Revolution as the enactment of the ideas of the Enlightenment. The drive to political action that had long been neglected in Enlightenment discussions suddenly seemed to have become reality.

Hardly any thinker recognized this as early and clearly as Fichte, who translated this insight into a philosophy of the deed. In the summer semester of 1794, Fichte came to the University of Jena, where he immediately held five public lectures titled "The Vocation of the Scholar" in which he elaborated this philosophy, or anti-philosophy.[20] One could even consider it a "militant anti-metaphysics," just like that of Bakunin in the 1840s and 1870s,[21] for Fichte's aim was not to spread a philosophy, however natural, practical, or theoretical, but to establish a philosophically grounded directive for action.

Following Kant exactly, Fichte's "philosophy" begins with the autonomous, self-determining individual with free will—the absolute I—guided primarily by individual

reason.[22] However, this I forms itself exclusively in interaction with society by means of its "drive toward identity" and "toward oneness of everything outside of the self."[23] Society's purpose, within this framework, becomes the "perfection of the human race,"[24] with a special role for the scholarly class:[25] For Fichte, the scholar is "the most outstanding human being of his or her time" who "has to represent by his or her life the highest possible education of the then current age."[26] As such, the scholarly class is the most appropriate for leading society by mediating learning so that "a new equality," or "a uniform advancement of culture in all individuals,"[27] can be achieved, overcoming the seemingly immoral "inequality of the classes."[28] This is because the scholar, "more than any other type of person," exists "through and for society" and possesses "a feeling for truth" that he constantly tests and develops through his scholarship. The scholar is to use no force or deception—to wit, nothing but "moral means"—to move individuals to action. In other words, they should be taught to act out of conviction, as the scholar does, and to regard themselves "as ends, not just means" and expect to be treated as such by others.[29]

What is decisive and completely new here is the manner in which the scholar is to affect society, using nothing but his conviction of the truth to persuade others. This constitutes the first formulation of an idea that would later become the theoretical foundation for terrorist acts. Fichte's philosophy can be characterized as an early "philosophy of the deed" because he primarily intended to call his listeners to action,[30] ending the lectures by admonishing them to stop "standing around complaining about the decline of humanity" and begin to do something about it: "Act! Act! That is what we are here for."[31]

There are several ways in which Fichte's philosophy, as expressed in these lectures, can be read as a point of departure for later radical, if not terrorist, acts, even if these did not lie in his intention. First of all, Fichte positions the "I" as the absolute authority, secularizing and demystifying old ideas influenced and dominated by religion that had increasingly shaped discourse in response to Kant's philosophy in the 1790s.[32] In this radical orientation to subjectivity, something like a "commitment of the deed" is already present in that the ego determines and must determine its own existence and knowledge of objects, that is, its empirical consciousness.[33] Fichte then charges this "subjective idealism" with political, social, and moral valuations, links it to the class of intellectuals, and finally adds a direct call to action.[34]

In the 1790s this sort of ethical rigor not only comes up in philosophical debates but runs rampant everywhere—a circumstance that can obviously only be explained with reference to the French Revolution and its terrorist phase. For example, Friedrich Schiller writes in the fifth of his *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man* of 1793/95:

> Men have awoken from their long lethargy and self-deception, and by an impressive majority they are demanding the restitution of their inalienable rights. Nor are they merely demanding them: on every side they are bestirring themselves to seize by force what has, in their opinion, been wrongfully withheld from them. The fabric of the natural State is tottering, its rotten foundations are yielding, and there seems to

> be a *physical* possibility of setting Law upon the throne, of honouring Man at last as an end in himself and making true freedom the basis of political association.[35]

However, Fichte adds other essential elements to this subjectivized and already action-oriented radicalism, which allow his philosophy of the deed to be interpreted as an ideology in the modern sense.[36] First, he radicalizes the typical concept of truth that humanists oriented toward ethics and moral philosophy by demanding that he and his intellectual audience serve the truth unto death.[37] Furthermore, he maintains that the scholar only has to act in accordance with his moral conviction and guide the members of society also to act out of conviction. In this, the basis of the "philosophy of ethical action out of conviction," which would subsequently resound in the discourse of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and function as a guide for terrorist actions, can already be discerned.[38] Fichte's *Vocation of the Scholar* also goes beyond a mere ethics of conviction to constitute an ideology because it contains a forceful call to action. And finally, these early lectures of 1794 already possess the idea of ends justifying means that would be so decisive for modern terrorism, because Fichte emphasizes that his academic listeners are to subordinate their own lives to the *effects* of their lives. Viewed in this light, Fichte's lectures become a hidden call to selfless action based in conviction and oriented to ethical law.

In 1811 Fichte gave these lectures again in Berlin, even honing his position in some points.[39] In these later lectures, Fichte uses the call to action throughout as a leitmotif, charging it with quasi-religious overtones: it is now "the will of God" that should be translated into action, with the scholar appearing to be a sort of "messenger of God."[40] This sanctifies the thought to action and makes the act itself seem to be legitimate beyond challenge.

In sum, Fichte's fundamental tenets—the ideas of the perfection of the human race, which the scholar can best effect, and of ends justifying means, along with his orientation to action—comprised a radical new sort of thought at roughly the same time as the terroristic phase of the French Revolution. In other words, as terror rose to become a state instrument for stabilizing the system, Fichte, in a neighboring country, clearly took the Revolution as a model for developing a theory of social action that, in the final analysis, could also be directed against the state. Because they tend to separate politics and philosophy, scholars have hardly acknowledged this connection between Fichte's political views and the early development of his philosophy of the act, yet these must be seen as influencing each other.

Like his mentor Kant, Fichte belonged to the small circle of Germans who sympathized with the Revolution and remained true to the "ideas" or "principles of 1789" even after the French king was executed.[41] A year before he presented his theoretical considerations, Fichte had published two works on the Revolution, which left no doubt that he regarded the Jacobinic approach as viable.[42] His infamous and widely read second work, *Beitrag zur Berichtigung der Urtheile des Publicums über die französische Revolution* (Contribution to the Correction of the Public Judgment of the French Revolution) made clear that he believed—in contrast to Kant—that the

two-sided contract between power and submission could be dissolved not only by mutual understanding, but also from one side if those in power did not govern properly or failed to follow the "ethical law." In such a case, any subject had "the perfect right to leave the state as soon as he wishe[d]";[43] consequently, a revolution was also legitimate: "Part of every revolution is the breaking away from a former contract and unification by means of a new one. Both are justifiable, and so is any revolution in which both occur in a lawful manner, that is, out of free will."[44]

As a partisan for the Revolution, Fichte developed a philosophy based in the ethics of conviction that called for action, a philosophy of the deed—perhaps the first modern ideological conception in the German-speaking world. And although he initially aimed his new philosophy only at scholars, he did intend for it to affect all of society.[45] Yet historical research thus far has not recognized the importance, nor the effects, of Fichte's philosophy, instead falsely ascribing the emergence of this sort of thought to Jakob Friedrich Fries (1773–1843), a philosopher in Heidelberg, as well as to the student organization called the "Blacks" surrounding Karl Follen (1796–1840) in Giessen in the late 1810s—which is to say, "25 years after the *terreur* of Robespierre."[46] But in fact, Fries and, by extension, Follen were merely continuing and refining the ideas that Fichte had already advanced.

The impact of Fichte's philosophy of the deed disappeared from view because it did not manifest itself for about twenty to twenty-five years, and it can be demonstrated only with difficulty even on this later period. In the 1790s, while Fichte was working out his ideas, suspicion and an almost frantic fear pervaded Germany that prevented any revolutionary development rooted in his philosophy from emerging.[47] This same climate of fear also contributed to Fichte's being dismissed from the University of Jena in 1799, accused of "atheism"—a trait he himself had always regarded as "Jacobinic."[48] History then conspired to make Fichte's ideas of action sink into oblivion: the old regime fell, Prussia was defeated, and the Napoleonic Confederation of the Rhine was founded. Only after Napoleon had been conquered in the so-called Wars of Liberation (1814, the year of Fichte's death) was there once again an atmosphere in which these ideas could thrive and perhaps even be translated into action. This was when Fries's continuation of Fichte's ideas began to take root.[49]

In the war year of 1814, Fries published two works that firmly established his Fichtean ethics of conviction: his novel *Julius and Evagoras* and a political pamphlet called "Bekehrt Euch!" (Convert!). To be sure, Fries had already emphasized the concept of conviction in his earlier work, *Wissen, Glaube und Ahndung* (1805),[50] which shows that his philosophy began to emerge in even greater temporal proximity to Fichte's than his later works suggest.[51] In the earlier work, Fries elevated subjective conviction to the "exclusive authority on knowledge" and presented belief as "spring[ing] immediately from the most inward essence of reason."[52] Then, when Fries returned to this Fichtean path in his novel, as Huber analyzes it, he transformed this previously developed metaphysics of conviction "completely into the ethics of conviction," further elaborating its "subjective-emotional" component.[53] In the novel, "belief and feeling" outweigh

"knowledge," giving rise to a system based not in "empiricism and realism" but in a "heightened emotional idealism."[54]

His political pamphlet carried forth these ideas, combining a call to action and self-sacrifice with an ethical rigor based in conviction. Appealing to Germans' purity of custom, honesty, and chastity, he called upon them to "steel themselves for the deed" and "sacrifice" themselves for the fatherland.[55] Moreover, Fries tinged this ethics of conviction with religious connotations. Conviction itself, "the most secular and subjective manifestation of the concept of belief," lent Fries's ideas religious legitimacy because "the possibility of recourse to a claim to certainty that was religiously colored and objectively maintained remained constantly open to it," making it a powerful and dangerous concept.[56] Fries also explicitly borrowed from the Bible, declaring, for example, that without the return of the above-mentioned virtues, "Verily, verily, I say to you…no salvation for your people will be found,"[57] thus profiling himself as a sort of savior.

Three years later, on October 18, 1817, a year after assuming a professorship in philosophy in Jena, Fries gave a speech addressed "to the German youth" at the Wartburg Festival in which he reiterated and sharpened some of the ideas from the 1814 works. This speech was religiously colored through and through, and also Protestant, hailing the "spirit of truth" Martin Luther had brought to the same fortress nearly three hundred years before when he translated the New Testament into German and criticized the Catholic Church from within its walls. At the same time, Fries radicalized the concept of truth that Fichte had inaugurated in the 1790s by promoting this "spirit of truth" as appeaser, avenger, and savior and combining it with what appears to be a call to commit a violent act of vengeance embellished with Christian traits.[58] Alluding to the New Testament's parable of Christ pressing the wine and dispensing it as his blood for the Eucharist, Fries told the students at the fortress: "I press the grapes alone, and no one among the people is with me. I have pressed them in my wrath and stomped on them in my fierceness. As a result, their richness has sprayed on my clothes and I have defiled my whole garment. For I have planned a day of vengeance; the year for delivering my people has come."[59] Fries then spurred the students to send a signal right there at the fortress by carrying out the book burning planned for the evening. In another reference to the Bible, he called for action once again, exhorting the students to "bear witness to the truth of [Christ's] teaching" when he called out to his disciples as he was being nailed to the cross: "I came so that I could ignite a fire on earth—what could I want more because it was already burning!"[60]

Later Fries was, not wholly unjustly, accused before the court of being partly responsible for the book burning that took place that same day at Wartenberg, the hill not far from Wartburg Castle. This event triggered tremendous excitement in all of the German Federation and gave the states a decisive push toward reactionary retaliation before the Kotzebue assassination on March 18, 1819.[61] Even such a staunch liberal as the Weimar reform official Ernst Christian August Freiherr von Gersdorff spoke of Fries's Wartburg speech as having a "bloody part."[62] The great Prussian reformer Karl Freiherr vom Stein also immediately censured Fries because nothing could justify "a public

teacher appointed by the state preaching murder and revolt and destruction of everything that is old and customary."[63] It may seem a bit exaggerated to interpret Fries's Wartburg speech as a veiled call to murder in this way, but there can be no doubt that Fries had experienced a radicalization from Kant through Fichte that could no longer be dismissed. Because these ideas had also begun to infiltrate his teaching, they directly affected the students as well.

A year to the day after the Wartburg Festival, Fries drafted a policy statement for the General Students' Union on the occasion of its founding. Tellingly, he named this programmatic text "Glaubensbekenntnis" (Profession of Faith),[64] intending it as a manifesto for times of peace. In it, Fries delineated a host of liberal-democratic aims and hardened his secularized ethics of conviction completely into a question of religious belief while retaining the thought of the deed. For example, he asked how the group could "remain bound for doing the deed" if all its members did not hold the same belief.[65] He also advanced intolerant and immutable doctrines, such as holding "the chaste custom and purity of family life" sacred while hating the priesthood, ancestral pride, and the Jews.[66] Fries ended this manifesto, after demanding "death to lurker(s)," with the poem "Das Volk ist das Heer und der Herr" (The People are the Army and the God),[67] in which he conveyed Rousseau's idea of the sovereignty of the people and, at the same time, made clear that he meant for this appeal to students—quite similar to Fichte's—to affect all of society through them. The "Glaubensbekenntnis" was soon well-known, not only among an inner circle of students in Jena but also in Berlin, Giessen, Darmstadt, and Bonn, where similar circles began to form around its idealistic basis.[68]

Also in 1818, Fries published his large *Tugendlehre* (Doctrine of Virtue), a compilation of lectures he had delivered in Heidelberg that quickly became a fundamental text in the student movement in Jena.[69] The entire work, in principle, modeled the emotions that students should preserve and offered guidance for civilizing student customs and lifestyles.[70] "Conviction" and "conscience" played a decisive role in the work. In essence, the *Tugendlehre* amounted to an individualization and introspective examination of all the relevant values, such as honor, fairness, freedom, and patriotism.[71]As in the "Glaubensbekenntnis," Fries did not use "conviction" primarily as a secular concept of reason but still as a religious and somewhat Romantic idea. He even wrote of "religious convictions" as "one's own life in feeling separate from the deed."[72]

Yet at the same time, as Gerald Hubmann notes, Fries increasingly used conviction as a "concept of moral action" and over the course of his writings developed a philosophy of acting according to one's ethical disposition. The "imperative of acting in accordance with one's convictions" comes through at several points in this text.[73] In the foreword, for example, which Fries composed only fourteen days after the Wartburg Festival, he called it Germans' "holy duty…to learn to believe in the spirit of the German people and to trust it" and for his countrymen to sacrifice themselves to the fatherland if their convictions made it necessary.[74] Later in the text he again called for action and self-sacrifice: "We can name no higher examples of ethical deeds than the deeds of sacrifice for some noble goal; not following one's inclination but willingly choosing death over disgrace, sacrificing oneself in a hero's death for the fatherland."[75] For Fries, thus, the

highest guiding principle for action was the "ideal of the purity of the soul"—a purity that emerged in such heroic acts of selflessness.[76] Fries even exaggeratedly described the imperative to action in terms of laws:[77] "1. Law of character: you should act in accordance with your conviction of the necessity of the acts. 2. Law of choice: you may follow any purpose in life provided it does not conflict with your conviction of your sense of duty."[78]

Fries borrowed a great deal from Fichte (and, by extension, Immanuel Kant) in his philosophy as presented in these texts. For example, the important role of conviction and conscience in Fries's *Tugendlehre* mirrors Fichte's *System of Ethics* (1798), in which Fichte had contrasted two laws of action (like Fries's laws of action) in his categorical, moral imperative: acting "according to the best conviction of your duty" or "according to your conscience," and acting "without conscience" under authority.[79] At the same time, Fries radicalized some of Fichte's concepts, such as the concept of truth as the appeaser and avenger, as we saw above. However, Fries had a different view from Fichte or Kant of how this truth was to be found. For Fichte and Kant, the correctness of ethical values for behavior was to be determined by means of an intersubjective and generalizable negotiation. For Fries, by contrast, correct values were not negotiated with others but were derived in a quasi-natural manner from introspection, "self-observation," and "spiritual self-recognition," a method he had tried out on himself early on.[80] Hiding behind this romanticizing individualization of Fries's, in principle, was an even greater radicalism that placed the acting subject entirely in the center of all of his thinking and, in a way, in direct relation to God. In short, everything that Fichte had begun to think about—like the selfless deed to purify and express the ego—found expression in Fries, though often in a more radical form.

In the context of interpreting Fries's philosophy as a radical extension of Fichte's "philosophy of the deed," one other man needs to be mentioned who carried the ideas yet further, specifically relating them to praxis: Karl (later Charles) Follen, a private lecturer and lawyer in Giessen.[81] In October 1818 Follen had come to Jena to participate in the student conference to found the Universal Students' Union and fell immediately into Fries's circle. Many of its members even surmised that Fries and others had enticed Follen to come to Jena.[82]

Follen's contribution to the memorial albums of student organizations in Jena was a "testament to the penetrating influence of Fichte's subjectivism."[83] Follen founded a small circle of like-minded people, which he named the Mountain Party, alluding to the Montagnards of Robespierre and thus displaying the direct influence of the terroristic phase of the French Revolution on his thought.[84] However, Follen had already cultivated his radicalism in Giessen as a figurehead of the Unconditionals, a tight circle within the Alliance of the Blacks. It was in this context that Follen had developed his "axiom of the Unconditionals," that is, that the "ends justify the means," because he held that moral necessity justified any means. As his close associate Friedrich Münch later reported, Follen believed that

> in the end, it is mere cowardice or even the sissification of feelings to talk about just means for achieving the freedom of the people because no one can have the right to

> withhold it: we must achieve it by any means whatsoever that presents itself to us. Revolt, murdering tyrants, and anything that, in normal life, would be considered a crime and would be justly punished must be counted among the means to be used to win the people's freedom when other means are lacking; [they must be counted] among the only weapons that remain for us [to use] against tyrants.[85]

With this Follen conveyed a much greater readiness to use violence than Fries, as well as a sort of terroristic theory. Later these characteristics became even stronger in his ideas and in the end led to a breaking test among his followers. Some Jena students objected early on that they were averse to "this sort of terrorism [*sic!*]" and accused Follen of applying "the Jesuit axiom…that the ends justify the means," to which he "calmly" retorted that "a moral necessity is not an end, and all means are equal in relation to it."[86]

In 1816 Follen, together with his brother Adolf, wrote the notorious "Mirror of Honor of the Student League of Giessen,"[87] which introduced a new, combative element to the philosophy of the deed. Intending the text as the basis of student philosophy and action, they exalted "honor" as the most important individual virtue and explained that it can only be achieved by acting in accordance with one's inner "conviction":

> The honorable person must be prepared to defend his conviction even to the limit, or to sacrifice it to the truth if he is convinced of its opposite. Only when conviction stands against conviction, [each] incommensurate and backed up by the word of honor of both disputants, need there be combat, because otherwise an inextinguishable doubt will darken the honor of the disputants. The combatant seeks by means of combat to procure the conviction for the public as well as for himself that he has tried every last means to assert the truth and what is right against lies and injustice.[88]

This presents a further radicalization of Fichte's (and Fries's) thought in that combat, and specifically the "combat of swords,"[89] becomes the method for determining the "true, right conviction," whereas Fichte had propagated intersubjective negotiation and Fries had advanced individual introspection. Karl Follen repeats this combative element in his "Grand Song," which circulated in student circles at the time and openly called for revolution and acts of violence:

> If, in the struggle for freedom, your heart remains frosty,
> in its sheath your sword will then become rusty,
> The will of men, sword of all swords;
> if, in the battle of princes at all swung,
> soon it is scrap, soon sprung.[90]

With the introduction of this combative element, the moment of violence and, consequently, the idea of achieving one's aims at any cost increasingly played a role in Follen's—and his followers'—thought.

Tied to this violent turn, and to a certain extent legitimizing it, was the religious element, which Follen also radicalized in relation to Fichte and Fries. In Giessen, Follen formed a sort of Last Supper society, which the modern Follen biographer Frank

Mehring characterized as something like "a band of brothers to the death."[91] In this Mehring echoes the description of Follen's friend and contemporary biographer Münch, who noted Follen's invocation of Christ's Last Supper in his plan to induct "the youths enthusiastic about freedom" by a solemn act into their careers of martyrdom, "and so to form an indissoluble bond of brothers to the death."[92] This band of martyrs focused above all on religious motives. Münch recalled: "The idea of a Christ, as Follen conceived of it, the unblemished one standing at the pinnacle of humankind who sacrifices his life out of loyalty to his own convictions and abandons himself lovingly for the sake of humanity, had a deep influence on the whole development of his being early on."[93] Only with this background can we interpret the following verse of the "Grand Song":

> To you, man, you have fled;
> A Christ you should become, -
> As you [are] a child of the earth
> The Son of Man was also.[94]

The essence of Follen's ideology was the religiously motivated deed of conviction, or—as Münch called it—the "acting out of conviction with trust in God."[95]

This sort of ideology of the "unconditional" led to a test of loyalty among Follen's followers. A "peculiar" connection" of rational "untouchability" and emotional "endangeredness" underlies the concept of conviction, creating a tension that can be resolved only by means of an "act of conviction."[96] Thus, Follen's followers felt pressured to commit deeds that would prove their "loyalty to conviction." In December 1818 Follen's Mountain Party actually discussed whether murdering the Russian Tsar Alexander I during his visit to Weimar would be possible and instrumental to their aims.[97] They even went so far as to hatch a plan to stab him to death that would pose no "difficulty or danger to the individuals" by creating a disturbance while he was at the theater.[98]

Nonetheless, such deeds were carried out a short while later (in the spring and summer of 1819) with the murder of August von Kotzebue and the attempted assassination of Privy Counselor Carl Friedrich Ibell of Nassau-Usingen. Follen was subsequently accused of having known about the attacks beforehand, so he fled, winding up first of all in exile in Switzerland, where he assumed a professorship at the University of Basel. There he wrote a treatise, "On the Vocation of Man," published in 1824 in the *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*.[99] A circle began to form around these ideas, much as one had around Fichte's "On the Vocation of the Scholar" in the 1790s. And, indeed, Follen reproduced Fichte's philosophy almost word for word in this text. Like Fichte, he emphasized the role of "conscience," "self-determination," and "conviction." For example, he wrote that "man has no vocation except his own"; "conscience" demands nothing but "complete self-activity" and "free self-determination"; "conviction" was "the very insight from which…the conscience testifies that [the insight] was wrought from all the possible effort of man."[100]

It was no accident that Follen composed this treatise, which has not been sufficiently studied, in exile: since the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819–1820, Germany had definitively entered a restorative phase that made the dissemination of his philosophy impossible.

This crackdown probably also contributed to fading from historical memory of the early radical theories of Fichte, Fries, and Follen. Yet these theories form the basis for the later social-revolutionary and anarchistic ideas of the Left Hegelians, who are regarded as the real trailblazers for terroristic actions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Bakunin, as mentioned, is always cited in the context of discussing the theory behind the assassinations and attempted assassinations of Russian politicians and military leaders and, finally, the assassination of Tsar Alexander II by the group Narodnaia Volia in 1881.[101] Significantly, Bakunin was clearly familiar with Fichte's philosophy, for he translated Fichte's "Vocation of the Scholar" into Russian in the 1850s.[102] Others seem to have picked up on these ideas as well, perhaps via Bakunin's translation or through Bakunin himself. Fyodor Dostoevsky, who belonged to the revolutionary group of socialists called the Petrashevists at the end of the 1840s, incorporated some Fichtean ideas in his novel *Crime and Punishment* (1866). In the conversation between the protagonist, Raskolnikov; his university friend, Razumikhin; and his investigator, Porfiry, Raskolnikov, who has just committed two murders, makes a distinction between "ordinary" and "extraordinary" people in order to explain why an "extraordinary" person does not necessarily have to adhere to the law, even if this makes him a "criminal" in the eyes of society:

> An "extraordinary" person has the right…that is not an official right, but an inner right to decide in his own conscience to overstep…certain obstacles, and only in case it is essential for the practical fulfilment of his idea (sometimes, perhaps, of benefit to the whole of humanity).[103]

This recalls Fichte's scholar who likewise, as an extraordinary person, acts in accordance with his beliefs and should only have to answer to God. This was also exactly Follen's line of argument in his "Axiom of the Unconditionals," as we saw above, when he counted "revolt" and "murdering tyrants" among the means justified by the ends, which, again, only a few select people can know because of their moral maturity.[104]

In sum, the "philosophy of the deed" as a possible theory of terroristic action and an early form of the "propaganda of the deed" that terrorists later explicitly alluded to is no child of the *Vormärz* nor an original product of anarchistic and/or socialist discourse. Rather, it was born during the French Revolution, when *terreur* was raised to a state- and power-stabilizing principle and derives primarily from liberal-democratic lines of thought as represented by Fichte as early as the 1790s. Surprisingly, Germany—that is, the country commonly thought of as praxis-averse and slow to action—played an estimable role in the genesis of this idea, and even in its transformation into practice. In conclusion, the question presents itself of whether and to what extent Left Hegelianism is a fitting characterization of the discussions of the 1840s, or whether Left Hegelians were not rather Neo- or Late Fichteans because they carried forth Fichte's philosophy of the deed, whereas Hegel turned it on its head.[105] The clear- and far-sighted Heinrich Heine recognized this connection early on when, from his exile in Paris in 1834–1835, he warned in his *History of Religion and Philosophy in Germany* that "armed Fichteans will

come onto the scene, who, with fanatic will, will be untamable by self-interest or fear; for they live in the spirit; they defy matter just like the first Christians, who also could not be defeated either through bodily torment or bodily enjoyment."[106]

Translated from the German by Patricia Casey Sutcliffe.

Notes

1. For the most well-established definition, see the standard work by Peter Waldmann, *Terrorismus: Provokation der Macht*, 2nd ext. rev. ed. (Hamburg: Murmann, 2005), 12–17 n. 12. For an overview in English of Waldmann's ideas concerning terrorist group-identity formation from the sociological perspective, see Peter Waldmann, "The Radical Community: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Background of ETA, IRA, and Hezbollah," in *Tangled Roots: Social and Psychological Factors in the Genesis of Terrorism*, ed. Jeff Victoroff (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2006), 133–146. For a critical perspective on this sort of definition, see Charles Townshend, *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 22–27.
2. Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 49.
3. See Alexander Demandt, ed., *Das Attentat in der Geschichte* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996), as well as Michael Sommer, ed., *Politische Morde: Vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005).
4. Quoted in Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 47; translation mine.
5. Ibid., 51–59.
6. Ibid., 55.
7. On this group, with extracts of the original texts, see Karl Löwith, ed., *Die Hegelsche Linke* (Stuttgart–Bad Canstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1988). Rainer Beer, "Einleitung," in *Michail Bakunin: Die Philosophie der Tat*, ed. Karl Löwith (Cologne: Hegner, 1968), esp. 21–58, is very instructive for the context of the history of ideas.
8. Gustav Mayer, *Radikalismus, Sozialismus und bürgerliche Demokratie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1969), 11–18, at 11.
9. Karl Marx, "Thesen über Feuerbach," in *Marx-Engels-Werke* (Berlin: Dietz, 1969), 3:7. For an English-language version, see www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/theses.htm.
10. Mikhail Bakunin, *Beichte aus der Peter-Pauls-Festung an Zar Nikolaus I.* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1973), 55; translation mine. For English excerpts, see Sam Dolgoff, ed., *Bakunin on Anarchism* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2002), 69–70, www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/works/1851/confession.htm.
11. Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 51–55, traces this continuity.
12. For an overview of the research about the French Revolution, see Elisabeth Fehrenbach, *Vom Ancien Régime zum Wiener Kongress*, 4th ext. rev. ed. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001), 162–186. For an English-language source, see Donald M. G. Sutherland, *The French Revolution and the Empire: The Quest for a Civic Order* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/book/10.1002/9780470758410.
13. For an overview, see Hans-Ulrich Thamer, *Die Französische Revolution*, 2nd rev. ed. (Munich: Beck, 2006), 11; Ernst Schulin, *Die Französische Revolution*, 4th rev. ed. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2004), 50–52.
14. Michel Vovelle, *Die Französische Revolution: Soziale Bewegung und Umbruch der Mentalitäten* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1982).

15. Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).
16. Vovelle, *Die Französische Revolution*, 132.
17. For example, Townshend, *Terrorism*, 96–113.
18. Ute Frevert, "'Tatenarm und gedankenvoll?' Bürgertum in Deutschland, 1780–1820," in *Deutschland und Frankreich im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution*, eds. Helmut Berding, Étienne François, and Hans-Peter Ullmann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989), 263–292.
19. Fehrenbach, *Vom Ancien Régime zum Wiener Kongress*, 62–63.
20. Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Einige Vorlesungen über die Bestimmung des Gelehrten*, 1st ed. (1794), in *Fichtes Werke*, ed. Immanuel Hermann Fichte (repr., Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971), 6:291–346. For an English translation, see Fichte, *On the Vocation of the Scholar*, trans. William Smith (London: J. Chapman, 1847). For a new interpretation of Fichtean philosophy as a theoretical foundation for the politicization of scholars, see Klaus Ries, *Wort und Tat: Das politische Professorentum der Universität Jena im frühen 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007), 120–131.
21. Beer, "Einleitung," 39–53, 48.
22. See esp. the first lecture, "Ueber die Bestimmung des Menschen an sich," in Fichte, *Einige Vorlesungen*, 293–301.
23. See the second lecture, "Ueber die Bestimmung des Menschen in der Gesellschaft," in ibid., 301–311, at 304. This is comparable to the well-known notion of Kant's "unsocial sociability." In the English-language version, see the second lecture, "Human Beings in Society," in Johann G. Fichte, *The Purpose of Higher Education (The Vocation of the Scholar)*,trans. Jorn K. Bramann (Mt. Savage, MD: Nightsun Books, 1988), 28–38, 30.
24. Fichte, *Einige Vorlesungen*, 307, 311; Fichte, *The Purpose of Higher Education*, 34.
25. See the fourth lecture, "Ueber die Bestimmung des Gelehrten," in *Einige Vorlesungen*, 323–334; for the English-language version, see the fourth lecture, "The Vocation of the Scholar," in Fichte, *The Purpose of Higher Education*, 50–61.
26. Fichte, *Einige Vorlesungen*, 333; Fichte, *The Purpose of Higher Education*, 60.
27. Fichte, *Einige Vorlesungen*, 321.
28. Fichte, *Einige Vorlesungen*, 312; Fichte, "Justification of Social Classes," in *The Purpose of Higher Education*, 39.
29. Fichte, *Einige Vorlesungen*, 328–332; Fichte, "Justification of Social Classes," in *The Purpose of Higher Education*, 56–59.
30. This notion is generally reserved for Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*. For a critical view, see Dieter Korsch, "Tat und Grund des Bewußtseins: Variationen des Subjektivitätsparadigmas," in *Subjektivität im Kontext*, eds. Dieter Korsch and Jörg Dieken (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 2004), 97–102.
31. Fichte, *Vorlesungen über die Bestimmung des Gelehrten*, 345.
32. Cf. Dieter Henrich, *Grundlegung aus dem Ich: Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte des Idealismus* (Tübingen-Jena, 1790–1914), 2 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004).
33. Cf. Wolfgang Röd's conclusion in his *Der Weg der Philosophie*, vol. 2 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000), 215–220. Fichte would elaborate on this in his ego philosophy and his *Wissenschaftslehre*.
34. On "subjective idealism," see Richard Saage, "Nachwort: Zur neueren Rezeption der politischen Philosophie Johann Gottlieb Fichtes," in *Johann Gottlieb Fichte: Ausgewählte politische Schriften*, eds. Zwi Batscha and Richard Saage (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977), 357–363.

35. Norbert Oellers, ed., *Schillers Werke*, Nationalausgabe, vol. 20 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1962), 319. For the English translation, see Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2004), 34–35.
36. Ideology should not be understood here in the Marxist sense as a philosophical system for disguising actual power relations (= the superstructure) but rather as a neutral term that describes a concise and effective theorem with a claim to universal validity and in this sense can be characterized as "modern" (as opposed to diffuse notions that come up in certain situations without any recognizable interconnectedness). On the term "ideology," see Karl Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie*, 8th ed. (1929; Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1995), which is still an important text on this point. In the above-mentioned sense, "nationalism," for example, became an ideology in the modern sense around 1800 in Germany because it became the highest "justification and meaning-giving authority." See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Nationalismus: Geschichte, Formen, Folgen*, 3rd ed. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2007), 36.
37. On Fichte's concept of truth compared to that of others associated with German idealism, see Rainer Schäfer, "Das holistisch-systemische Wahrheitskonzept im deutschen Idealismus (Fichte-Hegel)," in *Die Geschichte des philosophischen Begriffs der Wahrheit*, eds. Markus Enders and Jan Szaif (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 251–274. See also Sabrina Ebbersmeyer, "Varietas veritatis: Perspektiven des Wahrheitsbegriffs in der Philosophie der Renaissance," in ibid., 211–230.
38. In reference to Jakob Friedrich Fries, see n. 49 below.
39. Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Fünf Vorlesungen über die Bestimmung des Gelehrten: Gehalten zu Berlin im Jahre 1811*, in *Fichtes Werke*, ed. Immanuel Hermann Fichte (repr., Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971), 11:145–208.
40. Ibid., 162, 168.
41. Fehrenbach, *Vom Ancien Régime zum Wiener Kongress*, 62–63.
42. On the appreciation of Fichte's writings on the French Revolution, see Manfred Buhr, *Revolution und Philosophie: Die ursprüngliche Philosophie Johann Gottlieb Fichtes und die Französische Revolution* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1965).
43. Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Beiträge zur Berichtigung der Urtheile des Publicums über die französische Revolution* [1793], in *Fichtes Werke*, ed. Immanuel Hermann Fichte (repr., Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971), 6:36–286, at 147.
44. Ibid., 6:148.
45. Tellingly, just after Fichte's early lectures, the Weimar government got wind of the rumor "that Prof. Fichte publicly taught [that] 'in 20–30 years, there would no longer be kings or princes anywhere!'" This was written in a letter cited in August Diezmann, ed., *Aus Weimars Glanzzeit: Ungedruckte Briefe von und über Goethe und Schiller* (Leipzig: H. Hartung, 1855), 69.
46. Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1800–1866*, 5th rev. ed. (Munich: Beck, 1991), 281; see also, even earlier, Ernst Rudolf Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte: Seit 1789*, vol. 1, *Reform und Restauration 1789 bis 1830* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1957), 713–717.
47. See the contributions in Karl Ottmar Freiherr von Aretin and Karl Härter, eds., *Revolution und konservatives Beharren: Das Alte Reich und die Französische Revolution* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1990).
48. The documents of Fichte's dismissal are reprinted in Werner Röhr, *Appellation an das Publikum…Dokumente zum Atheismusstreit um Fichte, Forberg, Niethammer, Jena, 1798/99* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1987), esp. 84–126.

49. On Jakob Friedrich Fries and for a historical-philosophical derivation of the idea of *Gesinnungsethik*, see Gerald Hubmann, *Ethische Überzeugung und politisches Handeln: Jakob Friedrich Fries und die deutsche Tradition der Gesinnungsethik* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1997), 98–124.
50. An English translation by Frederick Gregory appeared in 1989 under the title *Knowledge, Belief, and Aesthetic Sense* (Cologne: Juergen Dinter, Verlag für Philosophie, 1989).
51. Fries also wrote a book entitled *Reinhold, Fichte und Schelling* (Leipzig: August Lebrecht Reinicke, 1803), in which he addressed these philosophers' views in relation to Kant.
52. Hubmann, *Ethische Überzeugung*, 108. Jakob Friedrich Fries, *Wissen, Glaube und Ahndung* (Jena, 1805), in *Jakob Friedrich Fries: Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 3, eds. Gert König and Lutz Geldsetzer (Aalen: Scientia, 1968), 64.
53. Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, 1:714.
54. Ibid.
55. Jakob Friedrich Fries, "Bekehrt Euch!" (1814), in *Jakob Friedrich Fries: Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 26, eds. Gert König and Lutz Geldsetzer (Aalen: Scientia, 2004), 23–26.
56. Huber, "Polemische Schriften Rezensionen, politische Flugschriften, Ansprachen, Erklärungen, Aussagen und Schreiben, Reden, Nachträge und Miszellen, Briefe" *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, 1:715.
57. Fries, "Bekehrt Euch," 23.
58. Jakob Friedrich Fries, "An die deutschen Burschen: Zum 18. October 1817," in *Jakob Friedrich Fries: Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 26, eds. Gert König and Lutz Geldsetzer (Aalen: Scientia, 2004), 74–77, at 74.
59. Ibid., 75.
60. Ibid., 74.
61. Eberhard Büssem, *Die Karlsbader Beschlüsse von 1819: Die endgültige Stabilisierung der restaurativen Politik im Deutschen Bund nach dem Wiener Kongreß von 1814/15* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1974); Ries, *Wort und Tat*, 332–373.
62. Letter from Gersdorff to Stein, December 3, 1817, in *Freiherr vom Stein: Briefe und amtliche Schriften*, vol. 5, *Der Wiener Kongress: Rücktritt ins Privatleben; Stein und die Ständischen Bestrebungen des Westfälischen Adels (Juni 1814–Dezember 1818)*, ed. Erich Botzenhart (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1964), 420–421.
63. Letter from Stein to Gersdorff, December 10, 1817, in ibid., 423.
64. Jakob Friedrich Fries, "Schreiben zur Abmahnung gegen alle geheimen Verbindungen und gegen die Phantasie einer andern als wissenschaftlichen Wirksamkeit durch das Studentenleben (sog. 'Glaubensbekennntnis') (1818)," in *Jakob Friedrich Fries. Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 26, eds. Gert König and Lutz Geldsetzer (Aalen: Scientia, 2004), 187–191.
65. Ibid., 188.
66. Ibid.
67. Fries, "Schreiben zur Abmahnung," 188, 191.
68. Hauptbericht der Zentral-Untersuchungskommission zu Mainz vom 14. Dezember 1827, §§184–188, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden Abt. 210/7483.
69. Jakob Friedrich Fries, *Ethik oder die Lehren der Lebensweisheit*, vol. 1, *Die allgemeinen Lehren der Lebensweisheit und die Tugendlehre*, in *Jakob Friedrich Fries: Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 10, eds. Gert König and Lutz Geldsetzer (Aalen: Scientia, 1970), 1–394.
70. On this civilizing aspect, see Wolfgang Wardtwig, "Zivilisierung und Politisierung: Die studentische Reformbewegung, 1750–1818," in *175 Jahre Wartburgfest: 18. Oktober 1817–18;*

Oktober 1992; Studien zur politischen Bedeutung und zum Zeithintergrund der Wartburgfeier, ed. Klaus Malettke (Heidelberg: Winter, 1992), 31–60.

71. Hubmann, *Ethische Überzeugung*, 112–116.
72. Fries, *Ethik oder die Lehren der Lebensweisheit*, 383.
73. Hubmann, *Ethische Überzeugung*, 110–116, at 114.
74. Fries, *Ethik oder die Lehren der Lebensweisheit*, xii.
75. Ibid., 76.
76. Ibid., 243.
77. Hubmann, *Ethische Überzeugung*, 114.
78. Fries, *Ethik oder die Lehren der Lebensweisheit*, 158.
79. See Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Das System der Sittenlehre nach den Principien der Wissenschaftslehre*, in *Fichtes Werke*, vol. 4, ed. Immanuel Hermann Fichte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971), 156, 175.
80. Hubmann, *Ethische Überzeugung*, 112–116.
81. Frank Mehring, *Karl/Charles Follen: Deutsch-Amerikanischer Freiheitskämpfer: Eine Biographie* (Giessen: Ferber, 2004); Edmund Spevack, *Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom: Germany and America, 1796–1840* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).
82. Friedrich Münch, ed., *Erinnerungen aus Deutschlands trübster Zeit: Dargestellt in den Lebensbildern von Karl Follen, Paul Follen und Friedrich Münch; Mit Münch's und Karl Follen's Bildnissen* (St. Louis, MO, and Neustadt an der Haardt: Witter, 1873), 20.
83. Hermann Haupt, "Karl Follen," in *Hundert Jahre deutscher Burschenschaft: Burschenschaftliche Lebensläufe*, eds. Hermann Haupt and Paul Wentzcke (Heidelberg: Verlag der Deutschen Burschenschaften, 1921), 30–31.
84. For a political assessment of Follen, see Ries, *Wort und Tat*, 419.
85. Münch, *Erinnerungen*, 13.
86. Robert Wesselhöft, *Teutsche Jugend in weiland Burschenschaften und Turngemeinden* (Magdeburg: Heinrichshofen, 1828), 88.
87. Karl Follen and Adolf Follen, *Ehrenspiegel der Burschenschaft zu Giessen* (1816); see Mehring, *Follen*, 49–54.
88. Follen, *Ehrenspiegel*, 64–65.
89. Ibid., 65.
90. *Staatsrath von Kotzebue verübter Mord: Eine psychologisch-criminalistische Erörterung aus der Geschichte unserer Zeit* (Berlin: F. Dümmler, 1831), 268.
91. Mehring, *Follen*, 73.
92. Münch, *Erinnerungen*, 17.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid., 10. Münch's German phrase is "das gottgetroste Überzeugungshandeln."
96. Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, 1:716; see also Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1800–1866*, 281.
97. Hauptbericht der Zentral-Untersuchungskommission zu Mainz (1827), 89. The tsar would be returning from the Prince's Congress in Aachen when he stopped over in Weimar.
98. Ibid.
99. Karl Follen, "Über die Bestimmung des Menschen," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* 1, no. 1 (1824): 93–94. For an English-language version, see Charles Follen, "On the Future State

of Man," in *The Works of Charles Follen, with a Memoir of His Life*, vol. 5, ed. Eliza Lee Cabot Follen (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, 1841), 3–98.

100. Ibid.
101. Carola Dietze and Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, "Traditionelle Herrscher in moderner Gefahr: Soldatisch-aristokratische Tugendhaftigkeit und das Konzept der Sicherheit im späten 19. Jahrhundert," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 35 (2009): 368–401.
102. Beer, *Michail Bakunin*, 13–14.
103. Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Crime and Punishment*, trans. Constance Garnett (Charleston, SC: Forgotten Books, 2008), 270; ellipses in original.
104. See again Münch, *Erinnerungen*, 13.
105. On this note, see, from a philosophical perspective, Stefan Walter, *Demokratisches Denken zwischen Hegel und Marx: Die politische Philosophie Arnold Ruges; Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Demokratie in Deutschland* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1995), 170–187.
106. Heinrich Heine, *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* (1834), in Heinrich Heine, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, vol. 8 pt. 1, ed. Manfred Windfuhr (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1979), 117. English quotation from an English-language edition: Heinrich Heine, *On the History of Religion and Philosophy in Germany and Other Writings*, ed. Terry Pinkard, trans. Howard Pollack-Milgate (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 115.

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CHAPTER 9

THE INVENTION OF TERRORISM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE, RUSSIA, AND THE UNITED STATES

CAROLA DIETZE

Terrorism as a specific tactic of political violence was invented when spectacular violence was combined with mass media reporting to address a mass public.[1] The process of this invention happened within a very short period of time—it began in 1858 and was completed in 1866—but it spanned a fairly large geographical space: Europe, the United States, and Russia.

Five men can be identified as the decisive inventors of terrorism. They participated in this process in varying roles and to different degrees. The first two were Felice Orsini, who tried to assassinate the French emperor Napoleon III in Paris in 1858; and John Brown, who raided Harpers Ferry in 1859. They committed acts of violence, which, first, meet all the criteria for terrorism, and secondly, were the result of original thought and action (and not predominantly a copy of previous acts). Thirdly, their violent acts inspired others, namely Oskar Wilhelm Becker, who attacked the Prussian King William I in 1861; John Wilkes Booth, who shot the American President Abraham Lincoln in 1865; and Dmitrii Vladimirovich Karakozov, who tried to kill the Russian Tsar Alexander II in 1866. These three were the first imitators: it has been possible to show that they directly or indirectly received the news of Orsini's and Brown's deeds, imitated them, and in so doing developed the tactic further.

With their violent acts the invention of the fundamental terrorist tactic was completed. This pertains to its "sociopolitical logic" and its functioning, as well as to three political orientations that would remain significant throughout most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: ethnic-nationalist, social-revolutionary, and radically right-wing. Thus,

since 1866, the tactic of terrorism has been part of the repertoire of violent political struggle; later imitators only needed to adapt it to societal and technical changes and new developments in the field of the media.[2]

How is it possible to identify the first influential acts of terrorism? This fundamental methodological question is important, not least because contemporaries of the nineteenth century did not use the term *terrorism* in the way it is used today. The term has its own history, and for a long time that history was not congruent with the history of the phenomenon as it is understood now.[3]

Because the term cannot help us to identify the first acts of terrorism, it is necessary to turn to the phenomenon itself. Analyzing different acts of political violence, one has to employ a uniform social-scientific definition in order to spot the first acts of terrorism among the many violent acts that have or have not been called terrorism in one context or another. Such an approach, in combination with empirical research, allows us to determine whether the criteria of the definition are fulfilled.

Once the cases are identified that can be shown to fulfill the criteria of the definition, one needs to compare their conditions, contexts, and dynamics and analyze possible connections between them. In this way, instead of looking at isolated episodes of political violence, it is possible to examine the first acts of terrorism and their perpetrators in their relation and interaction with one another and situate them in larger historical contexts. Thus, the history of terrorism becomes part of societal, social, and media history as well as of the history of ideas; it turns into a "transnational history of society," which illustrates that the invention of terrorism must be understood as an early example of the developing internationalism of the nineteenth century.[4]

Usually, the term *invention* refers to innovations in the field of science and technology. Whether one thinks of the steam engine and cotton gin, the electric light bulb, chemical fertilizers, or television—the term *invention* indisputably applies to each of these artifacts. But it is not only technological and scientific inventions that have shaped and continue to influence the development of humankind; cultural, social, and psychological inventions have done so as well. This observation can be found in the writings of sociologists inspired by philosophical anthropology as well as in Talcott Parsons's works.[5] Sociologists usually deal with large-scale cultural and social inventions, which are considered crucial for the progress of humanity and societal evolution. They also allow for "simple 'inventions' of particular societies," however, as Parsons writes.[6] The tactic of terrorism has to be considered a social invention in this sense.

In the process of the invention of terrorism, media played a dual role. It was essential for the emergence of the first successful acts of terrorism, because coverage in the national and international mass media provided the sounding board that terrorism needs. First of all, it enabled the necessary public reception of and political reaction to these acts. These receptions and reactions were of decisive importance for the political success of this new type of violence, and the perception also determined how attractive the terrorist tactic became for other potential actors. Secondly, it was coverage in the mass media that spread the news of the first successful act of terrorism to an international

and transatlantic public. In this way, the news also reached other potential actors living elsewhere in the European-Russian-American communicative space who were searching for ways to challenge the political and social order they lived in. These individuals received the news of the first successful act(s) of terrorism, understood the sociopolitical logic of the tactic, adopted the idea, and tried to put it into practice themselves—with varying success.

Terrorism's Sociopolitical Logic

What is the sociopolitical logic of terrorism? How does it function? According to the German sociologist Peter Waldmann's succinct definition, terrorism is "violence against a political order from below which is planned and prepared (*planmäßig vorbereitet*) and meant to be shocking. Such acts of violence are supposed to spread feelings of insecurity and intense fear, but they are also meant to generate sympathy and support."[7] Since the term *political order* in German can include the social and economic order of a society, Waldmann's definition also covers these aspects of societal order as objects of violence (for example, aimed at by right-wing or social-revolutionary terrorists, such as anarchists). Waldmann stresses that, for a terrorist act to be successful, the symbolic effect of the violence (its message) is more important than its instrumental effect (the carnage and destruction it wreaks): "Terrorism […] is primarily a communication strategy."[8] The most important elements of other carefully crafted definitions by social and political scientists across the world correspond with Waldmann's terminology.

The American political scientist Bruce Hoffman, for example, defines terrorism "as the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change."[9] Just like Waldmann, Hoffman states that terrorist acts are usually "perpetrated by a subnational group or nonstate entity."[10] And just like Waldmann, he emphasizes that terrorism "is specifically designed to have far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victim(s) or object of the terrorist attack. It is meant to instill fear within, and thereby intimidate, a wider 'target audience,'" such as "a national government or political party, or public opinion in general."[11] Finally, both Waldmann and Hoffman point out that "through the publicity generated by their violence, terrorists seek to obtain the leverage, influence, and power they otherwise lack to effect political change."[12]

There are only two significant differences between the definitions. The first is that in Waldmann's definition, and also in his further conceptualization of terrorism, the political order includes the social and economic order. Therefore, Waldmann pays more attention to terrorists that aim at changing the social and economic order of society, such as anarchists. The second difference is that Waldmann explicitly includes the existence of target groups, who sympathize with the perpetrators of terrorism and their violent act. These differences notwithstanding, the definitions agree that terrorism is

the use of spectacular, symbolic violence with the primary aim of conveying a political message to target audiences and—through their reactions—effecting political and social change.

From today's perspective, the functioning of terrorism's sociopolitical logic may seem trivial enough. It was no triviality, however, for political actors in the nineteenth century to first comprehend and successfully exploit the possible interrelations between (a) an act of spectacular violence against (b) victims with (c) high symbolic value, (d) the political messages conveyed to (e) different parts of the public mainly through (f) the mass media, their (g) psychological effects, and (h) the political effects that these psychological effects produced. The complex nature of these interrelations and the new phenomena involved (the mass media and the mass public, for instance, which were new, at least on this scale), explain why terrorism was not invented by one actor alone through a single act of violence, but resulted from a collective serial learning process that took eight years and spanned Europe, the United States, and Russia.

Common Preconditions: Ideals, Political Blockades, Media, and the Public

Why was the terrorist tactic invented in a transnational and transatlantic serial learning process in Europe, the United States, and Russia around the middle of the nineteenth century, and not in an earlier epoch—or, for that matter, in India, China, or Japan? What were the necessary preconditions enabling the invention of this political tactic, which today is called *terrorism*? The five inventors of terrorism illustrate that their deeds had common presuppositions and causes that—in this way and at this very moment in history—were specific to Europe, the United States, and Russia.

First, there were ideological preconditions: the five inventors of terrorism were all inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment and certain ideals of religious reform movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which manifested themselves in the American and French Revolutions, particularly the ideas of political and personal liberty. The idea of political liberty implied nationhood, state sovereignty, and democracy—"a major issue in the period between the 1848/49 Revolution and the 1870s," as Friedrich Lenger emphasizes with regard to the German states. His observation is also valid for other regions in Europe, such as Poland, Hungary, and the Italian states.[13] The ideal of personal liberty implied the demand for the abolition of institutions of bondage—the emancipation from slavery and serfdom—as well as the bestowal of social and political rights (or the denial of these rights to people previously enslaved, as John Wilkes Booth believed).[14] The inventors of terrorism either tried to put these revolutionary ideas (as they understood them) into practice or defended them against perceived threats (as in the case of Booth).

Besides these ideals of political and personal liberty, there were other ideological preconditions. One such precondition was the idea of the heroic deed; another was a certain mode of historical thinking, such as can be found in orthodox Calvinism or in the collective singular of the terms *history* and *revolution*.[15] The concept inherent in these collective singulars developed through a semantic shift, in the course of which "philosophy conceived history in the singular and as a unitary whole and transposed it in this form into Progress";[16] it entailed the idea that progress was largely driven by revolutions and that it was possible to *make* history as well as revolutions, for example with the help of heroic deeds.[17]

Secondly, there were sociopolitical preconditions. The five inventors of terrorism were all part of larger social movements facing political barriers. Since the 1770s, social movements had fought for the (further) implementation of personal and political liberty in Europe and the United States; in Russia, with regard to the invention of terrorism, the intelligentsia was a functional equivalent of such movements. In the United Kingdom and the United States, the abolitionist movement was prominent; in regions all over Continental Europe, revolutionary movements predominantly fought for democratic nation-states and for the abolition of serfdom.[18]

Some of these movements were successful because they could get the political institutions in their respective countries behind them. The British Parliament, for instance, abolished slavery, and sovereigns all over Continental Europe emancipated the serfs with the help of laws and decrees. Other movements were successful because they used collective violence effectively. For example, serfdom was abolished during the French Revolution, and the revolution in Belgium led to the founding of a nation-state.[19]

In contrast, terrorism as a specific form of political violence perpetrated by individuals or small groups was first invented and imitated in those places where (a) the ideas of the Enlightenment and religious reform movements, which manifested themselves in the promises of the American and French Revolutions (especially political and personal liberty), and a revolutionary tradition were strong, but where (b) these ideals were not yet sufficiently fulfilled, where (c) the fulfillment sought by large social movements was blocked by social forces inside and/or outside these societies, and where (d) it seemed impossible to overcome the political obstacles resulting from this either with the help of political solutions or through collective violence.

Thirdly, there are preconditions with respect to transportation, communication, and the media. The five inventors of terrorism were all dependent on the amplification and explanation of their symbolic acts of violence through the mass media. Therefore, the invention of terrorism (as a transregional phenomenon) required the existence of mass media and a mass public—a mass public that logistically and technically was able to receive news on a regular basis and at short intervals and that cared enough about it to actually do so.

Moreover, a dense network of media communications between Europe, Russia, and the United States and thus a regular transnational and transatlantic media coverage of political events were preconditions for the serial learning processes that resulted in the invention of terrorism. They were enabled by the global transportation and

communication revolutions, with the emergence of railways, canals, and steamship travel on rivers and across the Atlantic; telegraphy; news agencies; and the popular press. The development of these transportation and communication technologies affected large parts of the nineteenth-century world, but it occurred with particular speed between the United States and Europe, including Russia, even though conditions in Russia were different in some respects.[20]

All of this explains why the tactic of terrorism was invented in those regions of the world where transportation and communication technologies, the media landscape, and a public interested in national and international political questions had become particularly pronounced, where memories and legacies of the American and French Revolutions were vivid and influential, but where crucial ideas guiding these revolutions had not yet or only partially materialized, and, last but not least, where large social movements fought for the implementation of these ideals but could not succeed because they faced political blockages: in Europe, Russia, and the United States.

Initiators of Invention: Felice Orsini and Napoleon III

What exactly initiated the invention of terrorism? What were the first decisive steps in this process? Curiously enough, the invention of terrorism began with cooperation between an assassin and his intended victim.

On January 14, 1858, the Italian nobleman Felice Orsini tried to kill the French Emperor Napoleon III. This was not the first attempt on the emperor's life. Ever since Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte crushed the Roman Republic in 1849, overthrew the French Second Republic in 1851, erected the Second Empire, and employed state terror to suppress any opposition that might challenge his coup d'état, several Frenchmen and Italians had attempted to kill him.[21] In terms of a typology of violence, these attempts to assassinate Napoleon III belong to the category of political murder—but not to the category of terrorism. These assassins simply tried to kill the emperor in an instrumental fashion (as opposed to a primarily symbolic deed): They took revenge and expected that the Second Empire would fall with its creator.

Felice Orsini's attempt to kill Napoleon III differed from these previous attempts in two respects. First, Orsini tried to outdo earlier assassins by staging an especially spectacular assassination.[22] This is reflected in his choice of weapons: while previous assassins had used knives and pistols, attempted to derail a train, and maybe (if police reports can be trusted) also built an "infernal machine" of a type that had been employed more than fifty years earlier against Napoleon I,[23] Orsini mainly relied on the latest weapons technology: grenades "as large as a Dutch cheese,"[24] which would detonate the very moment they hit the ground.[25] After the attack, these formidable weapons attracted considerable interest owing to their technical sophistication.

Second, Orsini did not intend to kill Napoleon III only in an instrumental fashion out of a desire for revenge. Instead, Napoleon was to be a symbolic victim, and Orsini and his co-conspirators mainly intended to convey a political message to target audiences in order to effect political change. An experienced conspirator, Orsini did not leave behind any notes about his intentions before he perpetrated the assassination attempt. Afterward, however, he explained his main motives. For one, he pointed out, "We [Orsini and one of his co-conspirators] were convinced the best way to start a revolution in Italy would be to incite one in France, and the best way to start such a revolution in France would be to kill the emperor."[26] Orsini and his co-conspirators believed that the assassination of Napoleon would be a signal to the French people to start a revolution, which in turn would be a signal to Italians and other Europeans to start a revolution as well—just as it had happened in 1830–1831 and 1848–1849. Moreover, Orsini said, he had analyzed "the political conditions of all governments in Europe."[27] In his mind, when he considered France's place in the European balance of power, it was Napoleon III alone who blocked all progressive development, not just in the Italian states, but in the whole of Europe. Once this obstacle was removed via Napoleon's assassination, Orsini believed it would trigger a chain reaction and open the path for the liberation of the whole of Europe.

Orsini's plan to assassinate Napoleon III contains all the elements of terrorism as it is defined today. He and his co-conspirators meant to perpetrate "violence against a political order" (the Second Empire and the restorative order established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815),[28] and they acted "from below,"[29] that is, as a "subnational group or nonstate entity."[30] The violence was "planned and prepared," "meant to be shocking," and "supposed to spread feelings of insecurity and intense fear" among Napoleon III and his supporters as well as other European sovereigns,[31] but it was "also meant to generate sympathy and support" among revolutionaries in France, the Italian states, and across Europe.[32] Therefore, Orsini's attempt to assassinate Napoleon III is an example of a "deliberate creation and exploitation of fear [and, we can add, also sympathy and support] through violence […] in the pursuit of political change."[33] Furthermore, it was "specifically designed to have far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victim(s) or object of the terrorist attack,"[34] and it was "meant to instill fear [or sympathy and support] within, and thereby intimidate [or encourage], a wider 'target audience,'" such as "a national government or political party, or public opinion in general."[35] Finally, "through the publicity generated by their violence," Orsini and his co-conspirators sought "to obtain the leverage, influence, and power" they otherwise lacked "to effect political change."[36] Orsini's attempt to assassinate Napoleon III was thus a plan to exert terrorist violence.[37] Success depended not only on him and his co-conspirators, but at least as much on the media and on public and political reactions.

Significantly, Orsini's plan to use spectacular, symbolic violence with the primary aim of conveying a political message to target audiences and, through their reactions, to effect political change was only partly realized initially. Just two aspects of this plan worked out immediately. First, the attempt to stage a spectacularly shocking

assassination succeeded, although Napoleon III was not killed in the event. But even if the emperor escaped unscathed, Orsini's bombs wounded 156 people, eight or possibly as many as fourteen of whom ultimately died. This was the bloodiest terrorist act of the nineteenth century.[38] Secondly, Orsini also succeeded in transforming the national and international mass media into a sounding board, which enabled him to reach his target audiences in France, the Italian states, and other European countries.

All over Europe and in Russia, the assassination attempt was immediately considered headline news, and within days the public throughout Europe and in the Russian capitals was informed about this violent act. For instance, the *Times* of London reported the very next day: "Attempt to Assassinate the Emperor Napoleon. (By Submarine and British Telegraph.) We have received the following telegram from our Paris correspondent dated Paris, Thursday, Jan. 14, 10 p.m.—The Emperor was fired at this evening at half-past 9 o'clock while he was entering the Italian Opera in the rue Lepelletier."[39] The *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* wrote on the same evening: "An attack on the emperor took place as the emperor was about to enter the opera. His Majesty was fortunately saved. Some of the guards in his escort were wounded."[40] In the following weeks and months, further information about the deed, the perpetrators, their weapons, and everything related to them continued to hold a prominent place in the European and in the Russian press. The symbolic violence unleashed by Orsini and his co-conspirators had indeed become a media event in Europe and Russia.[41]

Orsini and his co-conspirators failed politically, however, because they were unable to convey a clear political message to target audiences and through their reactions effect political change. They had planned "to spread feelings of insecurity and intense fear" among Napoleon III and his supporters as well as other European sovereigns.[42] But for their plan to succeed, they needed "to generate sympathy and support" for their cause.[43] This was the prerequisite "to obtain the leverage, influence, and power" that they otherwise lacked in order "to effect political change":[44] a revolution in France and then throughout Europe, including the Italian states.

Why did the target audiences fail to react in the way Orsini and his co-conspirators had anticipated? One reason is that the coverage in the European and the Russian press collectively condemned the attempt to murder the French emperor. Moreover, they refrained from explicitly conveying any political message. Therefore, while the amplification of the violent deed through the media succeeded, explanations of Orsini's political intentions were rare and restricted to marginal newspapers with revolutionary sympathies. Another reason for the political failure is that—in contrast to Napoleon III—it was impossible for Orsini and his co-conspirators to exercise any further influence on public receptions and political reactions, at least initially. Before the next morning dawned, the police had already found and arrested each of them.[45] They were put into prison, unable to communicate with anybody except police investigators, lawyers, and some close relatives.[46] Unlike them, Napoleon III and his government had every means of power and influence at their disposal. They reacted with drastic counterrevolutionary measures in France, and they exerted pressure on other European governments to take similar steps. But this is only part of the explanation: Orsini and his

co-conspirators did not succeed politically because in 1858 neither in France nor in other European countries were conditions ripe for revolution. Looking at the past, they had misjudged the current historical situation.

If the usual procedures had prevailed, Orsini's assassination attempt would not have had any further political consequences. He and his co-conspirators would have been tried in court, condemned to death, and executed, and that would have been the end of the story. Their attempt to assassinate Napoleon III might have been remembered for some time as an especially spectacular failure to kill the French emperor, but then it would have been forgotten—just like all the other futile attempts on the life of Napoleon III. In this case, however, events took a different turn, and as a result of this the transatlantic collective learning process of the invention of terrorism set in. The reason for this unlikely, unforeseen, and unpredictable change of luck (from Orsini's perspective) was that Napoleon decided to cooperate with his would-be assassin.

After the carnage in front of the Italian Opera, politicians immediately started to hijack the event for their own purposes.[47] For example, they used the fact that Orsini had received political asylum in the United Kingdom to publicly pillory the country and demand that the United Kingdom change its laws concerning political asylum. The British press, however, refused to tolerate any French interference into domestic issues. France and Britain were on the brink of war until Napoleon III returned to conciliatory tones in mid-March.[48] The European press outside France and Britain observed the rapid and incalculable deterioration of British-French relations with disbelief. It is entirely possible that the psychological and political effects attendant upon this initiative inspired the French emperor to instrumentalize Orsini and his assassination attempt for his own political purposes.

Napoleon III began to plan a military intervention in order to effect the unification of northern Italy. There was probably nobody in Europe at the time who was better prepared than Napoleon III and his entourage to comprehend and successfully exploit the possible interrelations between an act of spectacular and symbolic violence, political messages conveyed to the public through the mass media, their psychological effects, and the political effects these psychological effects produce. Because Napoleon III did not leave any written documents explaining why he chose this course, his precise reasoning remains unknown. According to the French jurist and historian Adrien Dansette, however, a mixture of personal and political motives may explain this decision. In his youth, it had been Napoleon's dream to help liberate Italy; since then, he had been waiting for a political moment permitting him to do so. Besides, a war in Italy gave him the opportunity to revise the political order of Europe established by the Congress of Vienna, which restricted France's power. Thus, after the initial shock had passed, Orsini's assassination attempt stimulated the French emperor to put political plans and ideas into practice that he had cherished for a long time already.[49]

The French emperor thus crowned his assassin's failed attempt to kill him with public and political success. The exact nature of their cooperation remains largely unclear except for three letters from Orsini to Napoleon and Orsini's contact with Paris's prefect of police, Pierre Marie Pietri, an intimate of Napoleon III and a Corsican interested in

the Italian question himself.[50] Moreover, the republican jurist Jules Favre—one of the best and most eloquent lawyers in France, who had voted to come to the aid of the Roman Republic as a member of the French National Assembly in 1849—became Orsini's counsel for the defense and received Orsini's autobiography from Pietri for the preparation of his plea, while Orsini obtained elegant new clothes for his appearance in court. Most important, Orsini wrote a letter to Napoleon on February 11 and five days later another one asking for permission for Favre to use this letter in his defense.[51] Napoleon III generously granted his request.

The trial, which opened on February 25, 1858, was a European media event in its own right. Approximately six thousand persons had solicited for tickets permitting access to the courtroom, which was filled with journalists reporting for major French and European newspapers, diplomats, influential French politicians, and ladies from the best society of Paris and beyond. In Orsini the spectators beheld a handsome man: with his tall and stately figure, his black curly hair, black beard, black clothes and gloves, good manners, and his quick mind, he was perceived as the very incarnation of an Italian aristocrat and Romantic revolutionary.[52] Orsini expected to receive the death penalty no matter what he did or said; he could therefore freely explain his deed and express his admiration for the principles of the French Revolution and Napoleon I, whom his father had served.[53] In this way, Orsini managed to make a positive impression on his audience in the courtroom.

This positive impression was reinforced the next day when Orsini's advocate Jules Favre gave his speech, a rhetorical masterpiece.[54] Favre opened his defense by saying that he didn't intend to exculpate the deed, but to explain it, because he wanted to do Orsini justice with view to posterity. Most important was his assertion that Orsini's political goals were legitimate: they originated in the French Revolution and had first been implemented in Italy by Napoleon I. But while Orsini had kept faith with these revolutionary principles, later French policies had broken with them, for instance, when it crushed the Roman Republic in 1849. Much to everybody's surprise, Favre began to read Orsini's letter to Napoleon III in which the would-be assassin laid out why the founding of an Italian nation-state would be in the French and European interest, and in which he predicted a dark future for Europe if the unification of Italy were further inhibited. Favre closed with Orsini's appeal to Napoleon to finally act in accordance with his own convictions and liberate Italy.[55] This was a surprisingly courageous speech for the defense of somebody who had tried to murder the French emperor. The audience considered it especially striking and unheard-of that Favre read out Orsini's—the culprit's!—letter to the emperor and that Napoleon had given his consent to this procedure.

Just as unheard-of was the fact that the court proceedings were published. On the day after each court session, the official newspaper of the French government, *Le moniteur universel*, printed the minutes of the court sessions and included parts of Orsini's and Favre's defense speeches and Orsini's letter to Napoleon III verbatim.[56] These minutes, as well as the accounts of journalists who had been present in the courtroom, successfully spread Orsini's political message to his target audiences all over Europe—

including Russia, but with some exception for Austria-Hungary. The public explanation of Orsini's deed quickly produced visible results: when Orsini was executed in mid-March, many in France, the Italian states, and the United Kingdom celebrated him as a martyr.[57]

After Orsini's death, the political dimensions of his plan entirely lay in the hands of others, and primarily in those of Napoleon III. The French emperor continued to pursue his new policies concerning the unification of Italy: in July 1858 he met with the count of Cavour, prime minister of the Italian kingdom of Sardinia. Just as Orsini had hoped, Napoleon III promised Cavour French military aid in a war against the Habsburg Empire with the aim to drive the Habsburg sovereigns out of northern Italy and to unify their states under the rule of the Sardinian king. The plan of this military intervention could only partially be put into practice,[58] but the Second War of Independence (as it came to be called) triggered a process that could no longer be stopped. The Italian national movement ousted the Habsburg sovereigns from their states and unified them with the kingdom of Sardinia. Britain intervened to protect the new status quo. In February 1861 Italy was officially united under the rule of the Sardinian king.[59] Orsini's main political objective—the unification of Italy (although as a kingdom instead of the republic he wanted)—was realized.

Transatlantic Communications

Orsini's political effectiveness made the tactic he employed attractive to others searching for ways to reverse the social and/or political order in their countries. New means of transportation and communication, as well as new media, enabled these radicals to learn of the event and the political upheaval it caused in an expeditious, continuous, and extensive manner.

The news of Orsini's deed first reached North America on the paddle steamer *Canada*, run by Cunard. The boat left Liverpool on January 16, 1858, at 10.20 A.M.—the first day of in-depth coverage of Orsini's deed—and stopped just outside Cork the next morning to take on more passengers, mail, and newspapers; it entered the port of Halifax in British North America on January 28 at 4 A.M. En route, ninety miles off Cape Race (Newfoundland's southeasternmost peninsula), the crew of the steamer had thrown overboard a parcel with newspapers from Europe—wrapped in waterproof cloth and furnished with a burgee—so that the crew of a small yacht could fish it out of the water and sail it to St. John's. The American news agency Associated Press had operated a telegraph station there, complete with yacht, for the past year and a half in order to pick up packages with the latest newspapers from Europe as soon as the steamers came upon the North American shore and transmit their highly important content to New York City.[60]

The route of this parcel, which contained papers reporting on Orsini's deed, epitomizes the revolution in the fields of transportation, communications, and the

media that had been taking place in the preceding two decades. In 1838 the first two steamships crossed the Atlantic. Two years later the Cunard Line was founded; other lines followed in the 1850s. In that decade, competition between shipping lines, technological inventions for ocean steamers, and a rise in transatlantic trade resulted in ever more and ever faster steamers crossing the Atlantic.[61] There was a similar development in the field of communications: in 1837 Samuel F. B. Morse had patented the electric telegraph. A few years later a group of newspaper editors founded the Magnetic Telegraph Company, which built a rapidly growing network of telegraph lines across the United States. In 1846, after the outbreak of the war between the United States and Mexico, six large New York newspapers jointly organized a news express from the battlefields to the southernmost telegraph post in the United States. This was the beginning of the New York Associated Press, which became a national news agency, supplying almost every newspaper in the country.[62] Such developments in transportation and communication in turn affected the news media and its reception: in 1833 Benjamin H. Day founded the first successful penny newspaper, which was based on a new marketing concept and selling outlets. Similar newspapers addressing a rapidly growing audience soon followed.[63] With respect to media and communication technology, the nation was well prepared to receive the news of Orsini's violent act.

And indeed, in the following days and weeks, American newspapers reported on Orsini's attempt to kill Napoleon III with as much interest and in as much detail as the European press, and the American public followed the events as closely as the European. Many "Forty-Eighters," revolutionaries exiled from Europe after 1849 and native-born Americans alike—especially those that were also active in the abolitionist movement—openly sympathized with Orsini.[64] William Lloyd Garrison, for instance, had received an invitation to the meeting "in honor of Orsini and Pierri, the noble martyrs of Liberty" in Boston, but was not able to attend in person.[65] He wrote a letter explaining that he felt honored to have received this invitation, because Garrison did not regard himself "only an abolitionist for the chatelized slave, but an emancipationist for the whole human race. […] Therefore it is that I deeply sympathize with your gathering, this evening, because it is a heartfelt protest against the cowardly, perfidious, bloodstained usurper who has crushed the liberties of France, perpetrated innumerable crimes and atrocities, and is seeking to aid every form of European despotism."[66] While Garrison stressed what he saw as a congruence in content, he also addressed the difference in means, distancing himself from Orsini's use of violence. Still, he defended Orsini and his deed by comparing it to the French and American Revolutions, as well as medieval Scottish and ancient Greek history. Judging it "from the stand-point of patriotism displayed in these events, […] I am bound to say, […] that Orsini was no assassin in spirit or purpose, but a brave man, true to his convictions of duty, his hatred of oppression, and his desire for the reign of freedom throughout Europe, and that it was the wholesale murderer Louis Napoleon who deserved to be beheaded, rather than Orsini."[67] According to the *Liberator*, Garrison's vindication of Orsini's use of violence met with the approval of

those present at the meeting,[68] and it was afterward published, reprinted, and debated in the national press.[69]

A conservative proslavery newspaper, the *New York Herald*, observed and addressed this coalition between radical democratic and socialist immigrants ("red republicans") and abolitionists ("black republicans") disparagingly but clearly: "Those unfortunate martyrs to liberty, Orsini and Pierri, […] are getting a very liberal share of glory on this side of the Atlantic from both red and black republicans. The funeral pageant of Orsini and company in this city was more imposing than anything of the kind in honor of any other vagabond […]. The Parisian tyrannicides have since had an ovation in Boston, in which there was no lack of sympathy from Lloyd Garrison and the abolitionists. Now we perceive that the contagion has spread to Chicago […]. It is, in this connection, a singular fact, that in these ferocious Orsini demonstrations, our slavery hating nigger worshippers should be foremost among the apologists of deliberate and indiscriminate murder in view of the death of an offensive ruler. It is, therefore, a good thing that Garrison and all his ungodly abolition crew are arrant cowards, mere barking dogs that never bite, or we might next expect to hear of the explosion of some infernal machine among a group of men, women and children in the streets of Washington."[70] One of the abolitionists, who in all likelihood paid close attention to the reporting on Orsini's assassination attempt and the political and public reactions in Europe and the United States was John Brown.

There is no direct evidence, such as an explicit note in his notebook or a letter, that definitely proves Brown knew of Orsini's attempt to assassinate Napoleon III. This is not surprising, however, because in 1858 John Brown already was a hardened and careful conspirator. Therefore, it is unlikely that he would put down in writing any thoughts he had on Orsini's violent act, and the more important this act was for him, the less he could have been expected to leave anything in writing. But it is just as unlikely that John Brown was unaware of Orsini's attempt. He was a regular reader of the large East Coast papers as well as the abolitionist press. Moreover, when the news of Orsini's attack on Napoleon III broke in the East Coast papers, Brown was living in the home of Frederick Douglass, who, as a newspaper editor, had all the major newspapers at his disposal thanks to the Post Office Act of 1792. Finally, there is plenty of indirect evidence that John Brown and his co-conspirators knew of Orsini's assassination attempt and that it influenced them in their own use of violence.[71] For example, after the raid on Harpers Ferry, John Brown's co-conspirators and their friends made plans for Brown to be kidnapped from the jail or gallows; the liberation was then to fall to German Forty-Eighters, who were to be armed with "Orsini bombs." This was no empty threat: more-or-less adequate detailed descriptions of their construction complete with the necessary chemicals and a drawing had been published in U.S. newspapers right after Orsini's assassination attempt.[72] John Brown, however, rejected all plans to free him.[73] One of the first to point to the congruence of tactics was Abraham Lincoln, who observed in February 1860 that "Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon, and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were, in their philosophy, precisely the same."[74]

Another Inventor: John Brown

It was John Brown who first succeeded in assembling all parts of the tactic of terrorism of his own accord. He thus plays a central role in its invention.

On Sunday, October 16, 1859, Brown, who came from a New England family and had grown up on the Ohio frontier, set out together with some twenty volunteers to take Harpers Ferry.[75] This small town in northern Virginia (now West Virginia), at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains and the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers, housed rifle factories and a U.S. military arsenal. Attacking the only rifle factory and arsenal in the South would hit a very raw nerve, given prevailing Southern fears, especially the fear that Brown might use the weapons seized to arm a slave rebellion.

Born in 1800, John Brown had fought for the abolition of slavery and helped slaves on their way to freedom ever since he was an adolescent. There is evidence that Brown, a strict Calvinist, was convinced since at least 1839 that he had been predestined by God to abolish slavery in the United States. He actively participated in the abolitionist movement, gave speeches, wrote petitions to Congress, supported radical abolition parties, played an active role in the Underground Railroad, and went to the Kansas Territory, where, after several antislavery settlers had been killed by proslavery men, he decided it was time for retribution. Together with a small group of men, he murdered an equivalent number of proslavery neighbors, starting a regional civil war.

Moreover, beginning in the mid-1840s Brown conceived of a plan to bring about the abolition of slavery in the United States—the so-called Subterranean-Pass-Way scheme. Based on his experience in the Underground Railroad, he intended to move into the Alleghenies with a small group of volunteers and from their natural hideouts go down to the fields of plantations in order to invite slaves to return with them into the mountains and fight with the group or make their way to freedom in Canada. Basically, this was an offensive version of the Underground Railroad, including guerilla tactics.

Right after the first detailed reports on Orsini's deeds and the political reactions it provoked had appeared in major U.S. newspapers, Brown modified his long-cherished Subterranean-Pass-Way plan.[76] The modified plan now incorporated the decisive elements of terrorist tactics: the use of spectacular, symbolic violence with the primary aim of conveying a political message to target audiences and through their reactions effect political and social change. Brown's "procrastination" at Harpers Ferry can be explained in this way.

After the raid, Brown was extraordinarily successful in spreading his message to target audiences in both the northern and the southern states. And just as he had expected and most certainly learned from Orsini's example, his raid on Harpers Ferry further polarized and radicalized the American public with breathtaking speed. Soon a large number of Northerners sympathized with Brown, while almost every free Southerner reacted with indignation and fear, some even with terror.

This radicalization and polarization of American society prepared the ground for secession, which led to the Civil War and to the abolition of slavery—a development

entirely in correspondence with Brown's analysis of the political situation and future developments. Just like Felice Orsini and his assassination attempt, John Brown and his raid on Harpers Ferry triggered political developments that in the end led to a realization of his political objectives. And just as in Orsini's case, Brown and his raid became the focal point for a transatlantic media event in the United States, Europe, and Russia.

Finalizing and Universalizing the Invention: The First Imitators

At least three radicals in Europe and the United States were inspired by Felice Orsini's and John Brown's effective use of the terrorist tactic for the achievement of their political aims and decided to imitate them. The contagion effect, "the theoretical influence of media exposure on the future behavior of other like-minded extremists,"[77] has thus been part of the story of terrorism right from the beginning; it is part of the process of the invention of terrorism. It has been possible to show that the first imitators received the news of Orsini's and Brown's deeds and acted upon their example; yet they were no mere imitators—they went on to develop the tactic further. First, they finalized it by inventing the *Bekennerschreiben* (written claim of responsibility), which would become typical of terrorism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and secondly, they universalized the tactic by using it for counterrevolutionary goals. With the development of the *Bekennerschreiben* and what is called right-wing terrorism, the invention of terrorism was complete.

The first of the three imitators was Oskar Wilhelm Becker in Germany. Becker—born in Odessa in the Russian Empire to parents of German descent—was a law student at the University of Leipzig. He had few conspiratorial tendencies: he left piles of notes and essays telling us much about the effect Orsini's deed and the political reactions to it had on him. After his attempt to assassinate the Prussian King Wilhelm I had failed, he explained to the examining magistrate and the jury the terrorist tactics that he had tried to put into practice and asserted that his role model was Felice Orsini: just as Orsini's assassination attempt had contributed to the unification of Italy, he had intended to contribute to the unification of Germany. According to the minutes of the interrogations, he already used the term *to terrorize* as a transitive verb—similar to today's usage—for the effect his violent act was supposed to have on the sovereigns in the German states.[78] His deed became the starting point for a European and—to some degree—also a transatlantic media event. Still, it failed. One important reason was that the government and the public consciously tried to prevent the instrumentalization of Becker's assassination attempt by politicians and the media and in this way avert the radicalization and polarization of the public in German lands.

In the United States, both Orsini and Brown served as reference points for John Wilkes Booth, the second of the three imitators.[79] Booth eagerly read the news about

Felice Orsini's assassination attempt, bragging that were he to undertake such a deed, he would get the job done. While in Montreal he also engaged in intensive conversations with George Nicholas Sanders, a Confederate. Sanders had known Felice Orsini personally and had himself taken part in a conspiracy against Napoleon III in 1853, while he was serving as an American diplomat in London. Booth was impressed by Sanders as well as by John Brown and his act, even though Booth held political opinions contrary to Brown's. After the raid on Harpers Ferry, Booth, in a spontaneous reaction, decided to become a soldier of the local militia for a few weeks and (among other duties) guarded the prison where Brown and his volunteers were held captive. He visited the old abolitionist in his prison cell and was present at Brown's execution.

When the Civil War drew to a close, Booth began to plan to abduct Abraham Lincoln in order to exchange the president of the Union for Confederate prisoners of war. For a variety of reasons, it proved impossible to put this scheme into practice. When, after the surrender of the Confederate General Robert E. Lee, Lincoln announced that he would grant former slaves the right to vote, at least "the very intelligent, and […] those who serve our cause as soldiers,"[80] Booth decided to kill the president, whom he deemed to be an illegitimate officeholder who would make himself king—just like Napoleon III in France.

Booth expected that Confederates and their sympathizers would celebrate him for his deed, just as Orsini and Brown had been celebrated by those who advocated the founding of an Italian republic or the abolition of slavery in the United States. His high hopes came to naught: Southerners, who held a more realistic judgment of the political situation, extended a cold hand to him, and his *Bekennerschreiben* to the editors of a Washington newspaper was not published. "The little, the very little I left behind to clear my name, the Govmt will not allow to be printed. So ends all," Booth almost correctly noted in his diary while he was hiding in the Zekiah swamp in southern Maryland.[81] Even though the instrumental effect of the violence Booth had wreaked proved successful—Lincoln died of his injuries early the next morning—the symbolic effect of the violence Booth had intended, its message, was transmitted to his target audiences in only a rudimentary fashion. The communication strategy failed, and with it, the intended act of terrorism.

For the third imitator, Dmitrii Vladimirovich Karakozov in Russia, there is evidence that Orsini, Brown, and Booth all served as reference points. The way in which Karakozov received news of John Brown is especially interesting. The Russian revolutionary journalist and writer Nikolay G. Chernyshevsky was a close, sympathetic, and well-informed observer of the democratic experiment in the United States, on which he regularly reported. When Chernyshevsky read the news about John Brown and his raid on Harpers Ferry in European and possibly also American newspapers (he obtained the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald* on an irregular basis), he was deeply impressed and reported on Brown fairly extensively in the journal he published. After Chernyshevsky was imprisoned, he still managed to write and publish a novel, called *What Is To Be Done?* In this book, which was to become enormously influential on future generations of radicals, he modeled the hero, Rakhmetov, the epitome of the

"new man," on John Brown (or rather, on what he had read on John Brown). Rakhmetov in turn became a role model for Karakozov,[82] who like Orsini, through his attempt to assassinate Tsar Alexander II, tried to trigger a revolution, which was to lead to "real freedom" (*nastoiashchaia volia*), a fair distribution of land and capital among the population, and democratic self-rule, not least in order to better living conditions for the newly emancipated serfs in Russia.[83]

Political Murder, Terrorist Assassination, and the History of Terrorism

The violent acts of Felice Orsini and John Brown and of the three imitators conform to Waldmann's and Hoffman's definitions of terrorism. Not only Orsini but in fact all five of them perpetrated "violence against a political order from below" that was more or less "planned and prepared," "meant to be shocking," and "supposed to spread feelings of insecurity and intense fear" as well as "to generate sympathy and support."[84] For all of them, "the symbolic effect of the violence (its message)" was "more important than its instrumental effect (the carnage and destruction it wreaks)." The violence was thus "primarily a communication strategy."[85] And it is precisely this that differentiates their violence from earlier acts of political murder.

A traditional political assassination, such as Brutus and other Roman senators stabbing Julius Caesar, has reached its main aim as soon as the intended victim is dead. The reason is that Brutus and the senators intended to reestablish the republic, while Caesar was the agent of political and social change, and the people of the Roman Empire were addressed by Brutus and the senators with the intention that it would accept and approve of their act, not because it was expected to rise and actively take part in reestablishing the republic. In short, they did not intend to terrify the Roman people into behaving in a particular way. In comparison, Orsini, Brown, and their three imitators specifically designed their violence "to have far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victim(s) or object of the terrorist attack" and reach "a wider 'target audience'" in order "to obtain the leverage, influence, and power" they otherwise lacked "to effect political change."[86] Therefore, a terrorist assassin such as Orsini, by bombing Napoleon III could achieve his aim, even though the intended victim survived.

The terrorist tactic is demanding and ridden with prerequisites in other ways, as the cases of Becker, Booth, and Karakozov show. In contrast to Orsini and Brown, the three imitators were unable to convey their political message to their respective target audiences and to effect the intended political change by provoking the necessary public and political reactions—at least for the short term. This is the reason their deeds have usually been categorized as political murder, and not as failed terrorism. Taken as such, however, the three imitators and their deeds can function as a cross-check in an

analytical sense, because they confirm that the absence of some of the preconditions for successful terrorist acts—a curbed media and public in the former Confederate states at the close of the Civil War, for instance—indeed correlates with the acts' failure. Thus, the imitators' deeds prove the relevance of said preconditions. Still, two of the three imitators—Booth and Karakozov—became heroes for later terrorist groups, the Ku Klux Klan in the United States and the social-revolutionary group Narodnaia Volia in Russia.

But hadn't Karl Ludwig Sand, who killed the playwright August von Kotzebue in one of the German states in 1819, invented terrorism forty years earlier? Indeed, Sand's case is an example of "violence against a political order from below which is planned and prepared and meant to be shocking," to cite the definition by Waldmann once again: "such acts of violence are supposed to spread feelings of insecurity and intense fear, but they are also meant to generate sympathy and support."[87] Moreover, many of the preconditions are met here, and the reception of Sand's violent deed meets the requirements defined for a successful terrorist act: large parts of the German population in favor of a unified German nation sympathized with Sand, a member of a student fraternity, and celebrated him as a martyr, while fear spread among many members of the state governments; Clement Prince of Metternich, chancellor of the Austrian government and one of the fathers of the restorative order established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, coined the verb *sandisieren* for this new kind of assassination and reacted with laws repressing the national movement at the universities and beyond.[88] Moreover, there are many good reasons to include other candidates for the title of first terrorist, besides Karl Ludwig Sand: Charlotte Corday, for example, who murdered the Jacobin Jean-Paul Marat on July 13, 1793, or the person responsible for the failed attempt to assassinate Simón Bolívar in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1828.[89]

So why are these perpetrators of violent acts not the decisive inventors of terrorism? Sand, to take his example, may well have been the first terrorist, but his assassination of August von Kotzebue was not the decisive point of departure for the history of terrorism. He indeed committed an act of violence that meets all the criteria for terrorism and is the result of (more or less) original thought and action and not predominantly a copy of previous acts. But—according to the current state of research—his violent act did not inspire others (apart from one attempt on the life of Carl von Ibell, president of the government of the German state of Nassau, by another fraternity member).

The reasons that Sand's deed did not trigger a reception process comparable to Orsini's violent act can be explained by taking into account the preconditions developed at the beginning of this chapter. First, in the German Confederation of 1819, the means of transportation, communication, and media coverage existed for Sand's deed to provoke the necessary reactions inside the Confederation, but they were not developed well enough, yet, to trigger an international resonance and reception. But even if radicals in other countries should have learned of Sand's deed and the political upheaval it caused, his tactic, second, could not seem very attractive to them, because it failed politically in disastrous ways and because the political circumstances were different: In and around the year 1820, most radicals striving for political and personal liberty in

those countries, which would become the European-Russian-American communicative space, still believed in the power of collective violence, and in the United States, it still seemed that political institutions were able to solve the slavery question: through the Missouri Compromise. Still, the example of Sand's case indicates that a social invention, "rather than emerging only once, […] is likely to be 'hit upon' by various systems operating under different conditions"[90] as Talcott Parsons states.

Conclusion

By the late 1860s, the invention of terrorism was complete. This outcome confirms some commonly held assumptions and interpretations in the historiography of terrorism but modifies others. It confirms that terrorism is a product of what is usually called modernity,[91] but it places the emergence of the terrorist tactic in a new chronology, a new geography, and different historical contexts.

Regarding the chronology, terrorism emerged twenty years earlier than has generally been assumed. The tactic was invented in a transnational process starting in 1858, when Felice Orsini attempted to kill Napoleon III, and not in the years commonly found in the literature on the history of terrorism: 1876, when the tactic of the "propaganda by the deed" was suggested at a meeting of the Anarchist International; 1879, when the Russian terrorist organization Narodnaia Volia was founded; or 1881, when Irish nationalists perpetrated a spectacular terrorist act. Felice Orsini, John Brown, Oskar Wilhelm Becker, John Wilkes Booth, and Dmitrii Vladimirovich Karakozov precede and thus replace the anarchists, nihilists, and Irish nationalists whom most historians up to now have regarded as having invented terrorism.

As far as the geography is concerned, the transnational invention of terrorism has to be situated mainly in the history of Western Europe and the United States, instead of Eastern European or Russian history. It was in Western Europe and the United States that the transportation, communication, and media revolutions, as well as social movements and revolutionary ideals and traditions, were the furthest advanced. Moreover, the invention of terrorism was a transnational process. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the revolutions in the field of transportation, communication, and the media had already forged a common communicative space between Europe, Russia, and the United States. This communicative space is also the reason Felice Orsini must be viewed not just within the context of Western European but also of American history, while John Brown is part of not only American but also Russian history.

When it comes to historical contexts, the terrorist tactic is a postrevolutionary form of violence invented in a nonrevolutionary situation. Terrorism is a product of modernity not simply because it depends on the existence of modern technology and mass media; of equal importance are political and religious ideas, as well as sociopolitical formations and dynamics. Thus, the invention of terrorism needs to be placed in the context of modern social movements fighting for the further implementation of political

ideas proposed by Enlightenment thinkers and religious reform movements: personal and political liberty. These ideas had been partly—but only partly—realized either by sovereign laws and decrees or in the course of revolutions and could not be implemented any further with the help of political institutions or collective violence, because of political obstacles and the absence of a revolutionary condition. The tactic of terrorism was invented to overcome these political deadlocks in order to achieve a more comprehensive implementation of national and emancipatory ideas. Not long afterward, however, it was also used to prevent the implementation of emancipatory ideas, as in the case of John Wilkes Booth.

Ever since Orsini and Brown, and their imitators Becker, Booth, and Karakozov, the central goals of terrorists have remained personal and political liberty as well as social equality, and either their further implementation or the prevention thereof—as the terrorists understood them based on their interpretation of the political situation relevant to them. In other words, these concerns continued to form three political dimensions of the terrorist tactic. The adherence to such ideas certainly does not preclude brutal behavior against other people and terrorists' own—to the contrary. Nationalist-ethnic groups and individuals have continued to use terrorist tactics in their effort to gain independence: For instance, Polish nationalists already committed another attempt on Tsar Alexander II in 1867, while Irishmen, who had fought in the American Civil War, brought the tactic back home and, also in 1867, attempted to raid a British arsenal in order to start an uprising in Ireland, an enterprise reminiscent of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. Social-revolutionary terrorism has continued as well: after slaves and serfs had been emancipated in Europe, Russia, and in the United States, the idea of emancipation was extended to include social and political rights in the first and third worlds. The reasoning behind Karakozov's attempt to assassinate Alexander II was an early indication of this trend. It is easily forgotten, however, that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, terrorist tactics just as often—if not overwhelmingly—served counterrevolutionary aims, in an effort to preserve political and personal freedom as well as political and social rights only for certain clearly circumscribed groups.

Notes

1. I wrote most of this chapter while I was a Heisenberg Fellow of the German Research Foundation (DFG), and I would like to express my gratitude to the German Research Foundation for its support of my work. Moreover, I am indebted to Martin H. Geyer, Richard Bach Jensen, and Franziska Schedewie, whose critical comments on earlier versions of this text were extremely valuable. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.
2. The argument presented here is fully developed in Carola Dietze, *The Invention of Terrorism in Europe, Russia an the United States*, trans. David Antal, James Bell and Zachary Murphy King, revised and expanded from the German edition (London and New York: Verso 2021); originally published in German as *Die Erfindung des Terrorismus in Europa, Russland und den USA, 1858–1866* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2016). A translation into Russian by Marianna Holub is published by Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie in Moscow in 2022.

3. For systematic histories of the term *terrorism*, see Rudolf Walther, "Art. Terror, Terrorismus," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, eds. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck, 323–444 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1990); Andreas Musolff, *Krieg gegen die Öffentlichkeit: Terrorismus und politischer Sprachgebrauch* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1996). There are no equivalent titles on this topic available in English. For an important case study, see Richard Bach Jensen, "The 1904 Assassination of Governor General Bobrikov: Tyrannicide, Anarchism, and the Expanding Scope of 'Terrorism'," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 30, no. 5 (2018): 828–843. On "social crime" as a competing term and concept in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Richard Bach Jensen, "The Rise and Fall of the 'Social Crime' in Legal Theory and International Law: The Failure to Create a New Normative Order to Regularize Terrorism, 1880–1930s," *Max Planck Institute for European Legal History Research Paper Series* No. 2018-02 (January 2018), accessed January 1, 2021, https://ssrn.com/abstract=3100744.
4. On internationalism and its consequences for historical research, see Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann, "Introduction: The Mechanics of Internationalism," in *The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War*, eds. Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann, 1–25 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). On the concept of a "transnational history of society," see the discussion forum in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27, no. 3 (2001).
5. See Joachim Fischer, "Von archaischen Menschengruppen zur Moderne: Philosophisch-anthropologische Konzepte zur Menschheitsgeschichte (Gehlen, Claessens, Dux, Popitz)," in *Vom Ursprung der Kultur*, eds. Volker Steenblock and Hans-Ulrich Lessing (Freiburg: Karl Alber, 2014), 289–335, esp. 327–331; Uta Gerhardt, *The Social Thought of Talcott Parsons: Methodology and American Ethos* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).
6. Talcott Parsons, "Evolutionary Universals in Society," *American Sociological Review* 29, no. 3 (1964): 339–357, at 356.
7. Peter Waldmann, *Terrorismus: Provokation der Macht* (Munich: Gerling-Akademie-Verlag, 1998), 10. For the most part, the translation follows Carola Dietze and Claudia Verhoeven, "Introduction," paper presented at the Terrorism and Modernity: Global Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Political Violence conference, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA, October 23–26, 2008, 6.
8. Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 12f., at 13.
9. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, rev. and expanded ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 40.
10. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 40.
11. Ibid., 40–41.
12. Ibid., 41. This last aspect of Hoffman's definition can also be found in Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 10–11, 13.
13. Friedrich Lenger, *Industrielle Revolution und Nationalstaatsgründung (1849–1870er Jahre)* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2003), §1, 26. For a global perspective on the emergence and the dissemination of the ideal of political sovereignty and the idea of the nation and nation-states, see Christopher Alan Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 96–114, chap. 6; Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), chap. 8.
14. On the origins of the idea of personal liberty, see esp. Hans Joas, *The Sacredness of the Person: A New Genealogy of Human Rights* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2013).

15. On the first version see Carola Dietze, "Religious Teleologies, Modernity and Violence: The Case of John Brown," in *Historical Teleologies in the Modern World*, eds. Henning Trüper, Dipesh Chakrabarty, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 253–273; for the second see Reinhart Koselleck, "Historia Magistra Vitae: The Dissolution of the Topos into the Perspective of a Modernized Historical Process," and Koselleck, "Historical Criteria of the Modern Concept of Revolution," in Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. and with an introduction by Keith Tribe (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 26–42, 43–57.
16. Koselleck "Historia Magistra Vitae," 37.
17. See Koselleck, "Historical Criteria of the Modern Concept of Revolution," esp. 54f.
18. On Great Britain and the United States, see esp. Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768–2004* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2004), chap. 2; Sidney G. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 3rd rev. and updated ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), part 1. On the European continent, see mainly Joachim Raschke, *Soziale Bewegungen: Ein historisch-systematischer Grundriß*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt: Campus, 1988), chap. 2. On the Russian intelligentsia, see the classic Philip Pomper, *The Russian Revolutionary Intelligentsia*, 2nd ed. (1970; Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1993).
19. See the chapter titled "Contours of a history of terrorism: freedom, nation, and violence," in Dietze, *The Invention of Terrorism*, 73–81.
20. For a global perspective on the transportation and communication revolutions, see Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World*, e.g., 19f., 315. For a comparative perspective on Russia, see the sub-chapters "The political blockage in Russia" and "The radicalization of the Russian intelligentsia" in Dietze, *The Invention of Terrorism*, 395–416.
21. On Louis-Napoleon's coup d'état, see esp. Sylvie Aprile, *La IIe République et le Second Empire, 1848–1870: Du prince président à Napoléon III* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2000), chaps. 3 and 4. On the terror he unleashed, see 199–218. On the Roman Republic and its demise, see Lucy Riall, *Risorgimento: The History of Italy from Napoleon to Nation-State* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 20–25.
22. See Alessandro Luzio, *Felice Orsini: Saggio biografico* (Milan: Casa Editrice L.F. Cogliati, 1914), 269–279; Michael St John Packe, *Orsini: The Story of a Conspirator* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1958), 227.
23. See Aprile, *La IIe République*, 282–283; Adrien Dansette, *L' attentat d'Orsini* (Paris: Del Duca, 1964), 26–33.
24. See the letter ordering the bombs at a metallurgist's workshop, reprinted in C.-A. Dandraut, ed., *Textuel: Procès Orsini contenant par entier les débats judiciaires devant la Cour d'Assises de la Seine et la Cour de Cassation, le récit de l'exécution, de la commutation de peine, les lettres de Rudio et d'Orsini; Avec une lettre d'Orsini à M. Jules Favre* (Turin: Imprimerie nationale de G. Biancardi, 1858), 59.
25. See Dansette, *L' attentat d'Orsini*, 17f.
26. Dandraut, *Textuel*, 29.
27. Ibid., 28.
28. Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 10.
29. Ibid., 10.
30. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 40.
31. Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 10.
32. Ibid., 10.
33. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 40.

34. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 40.
35. Ibid., 40f.
36. Ibid., 41.
37. The analysis here corresponds with Martin Miller's judgment: "The quantum leap into the modern age of terrorist theory made by Heinzen in his essay 'Murder' was matched in deed by the daring attempt on the life of Napoleon III by Felice Orsini nine years later. Although there had been earlier assassination attempts on European rulers, Orsini's was the first to be carried out for explicitly political reasons as part of a secret and transnational conspiracy in the context of simultaneously creating an atmosphere of intimidation and fear in the general society." Martin A. Miller, "The Intellectual Origins of Modern Terrorism in Europe," in *Terrorism in Context*, ed. Martha Crenshaw (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 27–62, at 36–37. Applying a different definition of terrorism, Marco Pinfari comes to the same conclusion: that Orsini's assassination attempt constituted terrorism by virtue of what he calls the "indiscriminate means with which it was undertaken"; see Pinfari, "Exploring the Terrorist Nature of Political Assassinations: A Reinterpretation of the Orsini Attentat," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21, no. 4 (2009): 580–594, at 581.
38. For the number of dead and injured, see the statements made by the medical experts at the trial as reprinted in Dandraut, *Textuel*, 45–46. The article "Foreign Intelligence: France; Execution of Orsini and Pierri [*sic*]," *Times* (London), March 15, 1858, 9, reports fourteen dead in mid-March. See also Dansette, *L'attentat d'Orsini*, 18.
39. "Attempt to Assassinate the Emperor Napoleon. (By Submarine and British Telegraph)," *Times* (London), January 15, 1858, 7.
40. "Telegraphische Depeschen. Paris, 14. Januar. (W.T.B.)," *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, evening ed., January 15, 1858, 1.
41. For the concept of "media event" and its transfer to the media coverage of terrorist events, see Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz, *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992); Gabriel Weimann and Conrad Winn, *The Theater of Terror: Mass Media and International Terrorism* (White Plains, NY: Longman, 1994). Both books deal with the mass media of the twentieth century, but their concepts can be applied just as well to the mass media of the nineteenth century.
42. Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 10.
43. Ibid.
44. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 41.
45. See Dandraut, *Textuel*, 47–49; Packe, *Orsini*, 261–264; Dansette, *L' attentat d'Orsini*, 15–17, 73.
46. Packe, *Orsini*, 279–280.
47. For current examples of this phenomenon, see George Kassimeris, *Playing Politics with Terrorism: A User's Guide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).
48. For an analysis of this escalation, see Dansette, *L' attentat d'Orsini*, 94–109.
49. See Dansette, *L' attentat d'Orsini*, 147–156; Louis Girard, *Napoléon III* (Paris: Fayard, 1986).
50. See Packe, *Orsini*, 268–269; and esp. Dansette, *L' attentat d'Orsini*, 122, 150–153.
51. See letters 211 and 212 by Felice Orsini to Napoleon III, dated February 11 and February 16; printed in Alberto Maria Ghisalberti, ed., *Lettere di Felice Orsini* (Rome: Vittoriano, 1936), 254–255.
52. For the best description and analysis of the trial, see Dansette, *L' attentat d'Orsini*, 121; Packe, *Orsini*, 269–271.

53. See the interrogation of Orsini in Dandraut, *Textuel*, 27–35.
54. See also Dansette, *L'attentat d'Orsini*, 129; Packe, *Orsini*, 271–273.
55. See Dandraut, *Textuel*, 67–76.
56. See "Cour d'assises de la Seine. Audience du 25 février 1858" and "Cour d'assises de la Seine. Audience du 26 février 1858," *Le moniteur universel*, February 26 and 27, 1858, 245–249, 254–256.
57. On Orsini's execution and the reverence for him as a martyr, see, e.g., letter no. 154 from Salvatore Pes di Villamarina to Camillo Benso di Cavour, dated March 7, 1858, in Paris; printed in Camillo Benso di Cavour, *Epistolario*, Vol. XV-1, *Gennaio-Luglio 1858*, ed. Carlo Pischedda (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1998), 221–223, esp. 222. In the literature see, e.g., Packe, *Orsini*, chap. 5.
58. See Arnold Blumberg, *A Carefully Planned Accident: The Italian War of 1859* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1990); Frank J. Coppa, *The Origins of the Italian Wars of Independence* (London: Longman, 1992), 80–100.
59. See Riall, *Risorgimento*, 32–33; Coppa, *The Origins*, 101–109.
60. On the transportation of the news, see "Three Days Later from Europe: Arrival of the Canada at Halifax.…Attempt to Assassinate the Emperor Napoleon" and "News of the Day," *New York Times*, January 29, 1858, 1, 4. On the *Canada* and the British and North American Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company, see Stephen Fox, *Transatlantic: Samuel Cunard, Isambard Brunel, and the Great Atlantic Steamships* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
61. See the classic work by George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860* (New York: Rinehart, 1951), 112–122; Fox, *Transatlantic*; and the introduction in Peter Pigott, *Sailing Seven Seas: A History of the Canadian Pacific Line* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010).
62. See Kenneth Silverman, *Lightning Man: The Accursed Life of Samuel F. B. Morse* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003); Menahem Blondheim, *News over the Wires: The Telegraph and the Flow of Public Information in America, 1844–1897* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), esp. chaps. 2–4.
63. See James L. Crouthamel, *Bennett's New York Herald and the Rise of the Popular Press* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1989), 4; William Huntzicker, *The Popular Press, 1833–1865* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), chaps. 1 and 2; Susan Thompson, *The Penny Press* (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2004), prologue and chaps. 1 and 2.
64. On the interest for Orsini in the United States, see esp. Howard Rosario Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846–1861* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 215–218; Mischa Honeck, "'Freemen of All Nations, Bestir Yourselves': Felice Orsini's Transnational Afterlife and the Radicalization of America," *Journal of the Early Republic* 30, no. 4 (2010): 587–615, 591f.
65. "Orsini and Pierri Meeting," *Liberator*, May 7, 1858, 74.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid. The entire letter was also printed in *The Anti-Slavery Bugle* (New-Lisbon, OH), May 15, 1858. An excerpt of it (without the passage, in which Garrison critically discusses Orsini's use of violence) was published in "Garrison Letter to the Orsini and Pierri Demonstration in Boston," *New York Herald*, May 4, 1858, 3; "Garrison a Fanatic All Over," *Wheeling (WV) Daily Intelligencer*, May 5, 1858. Another excerpt is printed in "Personal," *New York Times*, May 3, 1858, 1. For reports and commentaries on the letter, see, e.g., "Anti

Slavery and Assassination," *New York Herald*, May 3, 1858, 4; "Orsini and Pierri Meeting in Boston," *Daily Exchange* (Baltimore), May 3, 1858; "Orsini and Pierri Meeting," *Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), May 3, 1858; "The Trial of Bernard Came Off," *Randolph County Journal* (Winchester, IN), May 6, 1858; "Behold How Brethern Love One Another," *Weekly American* (Washington, DC), May 22, 1858.

70. The article "Honors to Orsini in Chicago" (*New York Herald*, May 5, 1858, 4) is also quoted in part in Honeck, "Freemen of All Nations, Bestir Yourselves," 603.
71. For the entire argument, see the relevant sections in Dietze, *The Invention of Terrorism*, esp. 244–275.
72. See, e.g., "The Projectiles Employed in the Attempt to Assassinate the French Emperor," *New York Herald*, February 9, 1858, 2; "The Attempted Assassination of Napoleon. (From Our Own Correspondent. Paris, Jan. 21, 1858)," *New-York Daily Tribune*, February 9, 1858, 6; "Trial of Orsini and His Accomplices," *National Era* (Washington, DC), April 1, 1858, 1.
73. See Irving H. Bartlett, *Wendell Phillips: Brahmin Radical* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), chap. 12; James Brewer Stewart, *Wendell Phillips: Liberty's Hero* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 201–208; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Cheerful Yesterdays* (Boston: Houghton, 1898), 226–228; Tilden G. Edelstein, *Strange Enthusiasm: A Life of Thomas Wentworth Higginson* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968), 227–230; Tony Horwitz, *Midnight Rising: John Brown and the Raid That Sparked the Civil War*, 1st ed. (New York: Henry Holt, 2011), 228.
74. Abraham Lincoln, "Address at Cooper Institute, New York City, February 27, 1860," in Abraham Lincoln, *Collected Works*, eds. Roy P. Basler, Marion Dolores Pratt, and Lloyd A. Dunlap (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), vol. 3, 541. The analysis here corresponds with Mischa Honeck's suggestion, based on this observation as well as one by the German radical Karl Heinzen, that John Brown was in all likelihood influenced by the news of Orsini's assassination attempt. See Honeck, "Freemen of All Nations, Bestir Yourselves," esp. 587–588, 598, 611–612; Mischa Honeck, *We Are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants and American Abolitionists after 1848* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 148.
75. Out of the large literature on John Brown, see esp. Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970); Robert McGlone, *John Brown's War against Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
76. See the chapters "From guerrilla war to terrorist tactics" and "Orsini as a role model?" in Dietze, *The Invention of Terrorism*, 244–275.
77. On this see the relevant chapter in Gus Martin, *Essentials of Terrorism: Concepts and Controversies*, 4th ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2017), 71.
78. On Becker and his assassination attempt, see Reiner Haehling von Lanzenauer, *Das Baden-Badener Attentat* (Baden-Baden: Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichte, 1995); as well as the relevant parts in Dietze, *The Invention of Terrorism*, chap. 6.
79. Out of the large literature on John Wilkes Booth and his assassination of Abraham Lincoln, see esp. Thomas Reed Turner, *The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Malabar, FL: Krieger, 1999); Terry Alford, *Fortune's Fool: The Life of John Wilkes Booth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); and the relevant parts in Dietze, *The Invention of Terrorism*, chap. 6.
80. Abraham Lincoln, "Last Public Address, April 11, 1865," in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, eds. Roy P. Basler, Lloyd A. Dunlap, and Marion Dolores Pratt (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), vol. 8, 399–405, esp. 403.

81. John Wilkes Booth, "Diary, Zekiah Swamp and Nanjemoy Creek, Charles County Maryland, 17 and 22 April 1865," in *Right or Wrong, God Judge Me: The Writings of John Wilkes Booth*, eds. John H. Rhodehamel and Louise Taper (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 154–155, at 154.
82. On Karakozov and his attempt to assassinate Alexander II, see the introduction, the source edition, and the commentaries in *Pokushenie Karakozova: Stenograficheskii otchet po delu D. Karakozova, Kh. Khudiakova, N. Ishutina i dr.*, eds. Mitrofan Mikhailovich Klevenskii and K. G. Kotel'nikov, 2 vols. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Tsentrarkhiva R.S.F.S.R., 1928–1930); N. P. Eroshkin, "Vystrel u Letnego sada," *Voprosy istorii* 7 (1993): 170–173; Claudia Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakosov: Imperial Russia, Modernity and the Birth of Terrorism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009); and the relevant parts in Dietze, *The Invention of Terrorism*, chap. 6.
83. Aleksei Alekseevich Shilov, "Iz istorii revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia 1860-kh godov," *Golos minuvshego* no. 10–12 (1918): 159–168, at 161–162, at 161.
84. Peter Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 10, trans. Carola Dietze and Claudia Verhoeven, "Introduction," 6.
85. Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 12f., at 13.
86. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 41. This last aspect from Hoffman's definition can also be found in Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 10f., 13.
87. Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 10.
88. On Sand and the political reactions to his murder, see George S. Williamson, "What Killed August von Kotzebue? The Temptations of Virtue and the Political Theology of German Nationalism, 1789–1819," *Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 4 (2000): 890–943; Sylvia Schraut, "'Wie der Hass gegen den Staatsrath von Kotzebue, und der Gedanke, ihn zu ermorden, in Sand entstand': Ein politischer Mord und seine Nachwirkungen," in *Terrorismus und Geschlecht: Politische Gewalt in Europa seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Christine Hikel and Sylvia Schraut (Frankfurt: Campus, 2012), 145–166; George S. Williamson, "'Thought Is in Itself a Dangerous Operation': The Campaign against 'Revolutionary Machinations' in Germany, 1819–1828," *German Studies Review* 38, no. 2 (2015): 285–306. For the verb *sandisieren*, see Wolfram Siemann, *Metternich: Staatsmann zwischen Restauration und Moderne*, 2nd rev. ed. (Munich: Beck, 2010), 66.
89. For Charlotte Corday, see Sylvia Schraut, "Terrorismus—Geschlecht—Erinnerung: Eine Einführung," in *Terrorismus und Geschlecht: Politische Gewalt in Europa seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Christine Hikel and Sylvia Schraut, 7–33 (Frankfurt: Campus, 2012), 7. For both Charlotte Corday and Karl Ludwig Sand as "early forms of terrorism," see Sylvia Schraut, *Terrorismus und politische Gewalt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), chap. 5.
90. Parsons, "Evolutionary Universals in Society," 339.
91. For my critique of the concept of modernity, see Carola Dietze, "Toward a History on Equal Terms: A Discussion of *Provincializing Europe*," *History and Theory* 47, no. 1 (2008): 69–84.

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CHAPTER 10

TIME BOMBS

Terrorism as a Political Modernism in Europe and Russia

CLAUDIA VERHOEVEN

Terrorism, at least during the long nineteenth century in Europe and Russia, may be understood as a political modernism. This is to say that terrorism is not only modern, but self-consciously so: it is perpetrated by people who are historically hyperconscious, and who seek, via violence, either to move history forward faster, to interrupt it, or to break free of it entirely. Terrorism is thus principally a temporalized violence, and the best way to see this is to place terrorism alongside aesthetic modernism, to recognize, in effect, that Tsar Alexander II's assassins and Filippo Marinetti's futurism share one and the same *Zeitgeist*—that term here meaning not "the spirit of the age," however, but rather, if a quasi-literalization be allowed for the purposes of this chapter, "a mind for time" ("time-spirit" or "time-mind," *Zeit-Geist*).[1]

Terrorism, Modernity, and Temporality

There is actually no agreed-upon definition of terrorism among scholars, nor does a consensus exist as to whether terrorism is ageless, old, or new.[2] This chapter, however, builds on the argument that what was at stake in the emergence of this violence was a new, modern political subject; that this is a subject that seeks, via violence, to generate fear and advance change; and that in doing so this subject desires to act in a historically meaningful manner, and does so without delay and without mediation.[3] All that stands, though this chapter defines terrorism normatively, and more simply, as illegal and irregular violence committed by illegitimate political actors for the sake of intervening

in the historical process and heroizing the present.[4] On this reading, because it posits as a prerequisite the idea of history as a "general concept" and as something that can be "made," terrorism is a decidedly modern form of political violence.[5]

Other scholars who think that terrorism is modern have listed as prerequisites for its historical emergence such phenomena as the nation-state, the public sphere, political ideology, print capitalism, and technoscientific progress.[6] What has not been considered, however, and the importance of which this chapter underlines, is something that has increasingly come to dominate studies on the nature of modernity: the existence of a new regime of time.

The temporal turn in historical studies has been discernible for at least three decades, and this estimate even brackets what are by now classic articles on the topic of historical time by scholars such as Jacques LeGoff (1960), Arnaldo Momigliano (1966), and E. P. Thompson (1967).[7] Among the more important texts that place time at the center of investigation and are specifically concerned with the temporal changes that "make" modernity are Reinhart Koselleck's *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (1979), Stephen Kern's *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (1983), and, more recently, Peter Fritzsche's *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (2004) and Lynn Hunt's *Measuring Time, Making History* (2008).[8] The postulate of most of these texts is that modernity is characterized by a regime of time that is shared, simultaneous, measured, secular, and open-ended, and that moderns, correspondingly, experience their being in the world as being thrown—contingently, but at least self-consciously—into a history of their own making.[9]

This way of being in time is a prerequisite for the emergence of terrorism: all terrorists are involved in making history and assume they can be thus involved because of their understanding of time and agency. It is certainly true for the first official terrorists, the Russian social-revolutionary terrorists of the 1860s–1880s, who were among the most temporally sensitive creatures of their age.[10] This is not to say, however, that terrorists make history the way they thought they would, nor that all terrorists share a uniform understanding of history (although, again, history as a "general concept" is a prerequisite for terrorism's emergence). The argument is simply that that historicity—meaning here contingent, self-conscious being in time—is their primary modus.

Still the question remains: why does this temporalized violence emerge in the nineteenth century rather than, say, during the Renaissance, which is probably the earliest moment in European history for which a modern regime of time has been postulated?[11]

The Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century was fundamentally out of sync with itself. It was, to quote Walter Benjamin, "incapable of responding to its new technological possibilities with a new social order"—in other words, it was a century whose sociopolitical culture lagged

behind the potential implied by its techno-scientific base.[12] This may sound a bit teleological, but it is not to suggest that there was some single way for the nineteenth century to have been in sync with itself; just that it was especially marked by uneven development and what Koselleck has called the "contemporaneity of the noncontemporaneous, or perhaps, rather, the nonsimultaneous occurring simultaneously."[13] On Koselleck's reading, it was the French Revolution that transformed awareness of this constant collision of the old and the new from the intellectual knowledge of the few into "the lived experience of the everyday."[14] In other words, only the nineteenth century established asynchrony as a general rule and, as such, it was also only during the nineteenth century that one could imagine taking exception to said rule.

In general, we might think of the century's modernisms—aesthetic and, as this chapter argues, political—as various attempts to align the century with itself, as part of a quest for properly modern forms of life. We can posit as a point of departure for this quest Charles Baudelaire's 1863 staging of "Monsieur G." (Constantin Guys) in his essay "The Painter of Modern Life," where that painter—unlike his contemporaries, who are content to "dress all their subjects in the garments of the past"—rushes about the capital of the nineteenth century looking for "that quality which you must allow me to call 'modernity.'"[15] It is important to note that Baudelaire sees Monsieur G. as being engaged in a double task: he must both find modernity, defined as "the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent," and distill "the eternal from the transitory"; only if he accomplishes both can his modernity one day "[take] its place as antiquity."[16] For this reason, Michel Foucault insisted that for Baudelaire modernity is not "a phenomenon of sensitivity to the present time; it is the will to 'heroize' the present."[17] It is, in other words, an animating principle or ethos, which is why Baudelaire's "modernity" may well be rendered as modern*ism*.[18] Below, we will see how this modernism—in art and politics—clashes especially with the temporal hegemony of the dominant culture of modernity.

Indeed, although modernity is in truth characterized by "a coexisting plurality of times," the principal disjuncture during the nineteenth century has been framed through the positing of two main cultures, one splitting off from the other.[19] First, there is bourgeois modernity, which, ever faster and further removed from the past, is no longer able to root its values in eternity or even tradition, and which replaces reliance on the past with faith in the future ("progress").[20] Second, there is the aesthetic concept of modernity, increasingly ambivalent toward bourgeois modernity and constantly pushing off against the traditions of both the deep past and the dominant culture of the present. These two cultures, in turn, correspond to two temporalities: first, the objective, measurable "clock time" of capitalist civilization and, second, subjective, interior duration.[21] The regularity of the first is the precondition for the irregularity of the second, which is the time that has been posited as the root of modernism and worked out, in literature for example, by authors such as Gustave Flaubert, Marcel Proust, and Virginia Woolf.[22] Note, for example, Jacques Rancière's formulation: "The idea of modernity would like there to be only one meaning and direction in history, whereas the temporality specific to the aesthetic regime of the arts is a co-presence of heterogeneous temporalities."[23] A slightly different framing—more elitist, less democratic—suggested

by Clement Greenberg in "Avant-Garde and Kitsch" (1931) posits "a superior consciousness of history" as the midwife of modern art, but this can still be associated with the second type of temporality.[24] "Aesthetic modernity," Jürgen Habermas sums up, "is characterized by attitudes which find a common focus in a changed consciousness of time."[25] The chapter here proposes that we see terrorism, on account of its experience and expectation of history and historical time, as properly belonging to the culture of aesthetic modernity, and that the best way to understand its emergence is to see it as analogous to and thus alongside modernism.

In staging the relationship between these two phenomena as such, this chapter also enters into dialogue with the work of Roger Griffin, who has written about the links between political and aesthetic modernism (in the context of comparative fascist studies) and has likewise recently drawn terrorism and modernism into a shared orbit, albeit in a different manner: for Griffin, terrorism is a phenomenon that dates back to antiquity and manifests as incarnations of two ideal types or species (plus a hybrid of the two in the late twentieth century): Zealotic (after the first century Zealots-Sicarii) and Modernist.[26] By contrast, this chapter understands terrorism—again, because of its experience and expectation of history and historical time—as essentially modernist.

Modernism: Political and Aesthetic

The point is not that either terrorism or modernism caused the other. The argument is not, for example, that terrorism influenced aesthetic modernism, though that no doubt is true, not to mention highly interesting, and has in fact been repeatedly suggested. Already in *The Banquet Years: The Origins of the Avant-Garde in France, 1885–World War I* (1968), Roger Shattuck claimed that the most important impetus for European modernism came from anarchist attacks, and Benedict Anderson recently developed this idea in *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (2006). The influence is also clear from the writings of modernists themselves. Andrei Bely's *Petersburg* (1913), for example, centers on a terrorist bombing and contains motifs inspired by the Azef Affair, which refers to the scandalous unmasking of Evno Azef, leader of the terrorist wing of the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries (Partiia sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov, or PSR), as an agent of the czarist secret police. Or take a comment by the Russian futurist Vasily Kamensky. During the Revolution of 1905 Kamensky had been a member of the PSR, and this is what he said about the first publication of the Russian futurists, *A Trap for Judges* (*Sadok sudei*, 1910): the group had wanted "to throw a bombshell into the joyless, provincial street of the generally joyless existence."[27] Meanwhile Stéphane Mallarmé said, apropos of the 1894 bombing of the Chamber of Deputies in Paris, "I know of no other bomb than a book," and the Dadaist Francis Picabia believed that "every page must explode."[28] Quite possibly a case could also be made for Filippo Marinetti, considering that his spectacularly provocative *Founding and Manifesto of Futurism* (*Manifesto Futurista*, 1909) was published about a year after

the trial of Vsevolod Lebedintsev, a Russian terrorist who had posed as an Italian journalist named Mario Calvino, for which reason his trial was sensationalized in Italy.[29]

Boris Groys, in any case, has staged futurism (Italian as well as Russian) as "a kind of artistic reenactment of terrorism . . . a kind of nostalgic reenactment of nineteenth-century terrorism."[30] More generally, we also know that the term "avant-garde" made its way from the revolutionary armies into the arts via revolutionary politics.[31] For Greenberg, indeed, revolutionary political ideas and attitudes were the very precondition for modern art—even if modern art separated itself from politics once it came into its own.[32] Case in point: James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), whose famous date of June 16, 1904, was the date of the assassination of the governor-general of Finland, Nikolai Ivanovich Bobrikov, but whose Stephen, when asked if he and Mr. O'Madden Burke had perhaps "shot the lord lieutenant of Finland between you?," replies, "We were only thinking about it."[33]

The possibility that modernism influenced terrorism has never been seriously suggested, as far as I know. There seems to be no example of someone who was politically radicalized to the point of committing a terrorist act after coming into contact with a modernist work of literature or art, unless, perhaps, we consider the influence of Friedrich Nietzsche, a man who once self-identified as "dynamite" and worried that with his writings he was perhaps "shooting the history of mankind into two halves."[34] In *Revolutionaries* (1973), for example, Eric Hobsbawm noted that "pre-1914 anarchists often tended to admire Nietzsche."[35] This admiration has been confirmed for individual countries—Spain, for one, and also France—though scholars have stressed that it was restricted to artists and intellectuals.[36] In the Russian case, there does exist some evidence of Nietzsche's influence on PSR terrorists, though it is still rather scant: *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* scrawled across a page of Maria Spiridonova's papers; someone's recollection that Ivan "the poet" Kaliaev once publicly defended Nietzsche; echoes of Nietzsche's doctrine of eternal recurrence in Boris Savinkov's novel *Pale Horse* (*Kon' blednyi*, 1909); and so on.[37]

Tellingly, terrorists' literary efforts are far more traditional than those of "antiterrorist" authors such as Fyodor Dostoevsky and Joseph Conrad, who, when depicting terrorism in *Demons* (*Besy*, 1873) and *Under Western Eyes* (1911), at least created unreliable narrators. Take, for example, the writings of Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinsky. In 1878 Stepniak assassinated St. Petersburg's chief of the secret police, Nikolai Mezentsev. After fleeing to Europe, he first wrote *Underground Russia* (*La Rossia Sotterranea*, 1882), a hagiographic history of what Europeans knew as "Russian nihilism," and then went on to pen *The Career of a Nihilist* (1883), a conventional adventure/romance novel written in a realist/melodramatic form that can be described as "terroristic" only because the work's author and narrator were terrorists.[38] Savinkov's *Pale Horse*, which chronicles a terrorist attack through the diary of its narrator, is more experimental, but it is far from Bely's notoriously difficult *Petersburg*. The literary production of the political avant-garde is thus marked by a real inertia of form.[39]

In any case, the point is that, rather than one influencing the other, there is a deeper kinship between terrorism and modernism. What connects them is their *Zeitgeist*—again,

"a mind for time," not "the spirit of the age"—and, thence, a common orientation toward the past, the present, and the future. This orientation—which Kern has analyzed comprehensively for nineteenth-century culture, including its modernist strand—has been rendered, in the next three section headings, through short quotations from the Russian futurist manifesto "A Slap in the Face of Public Taste" ("Poshchechina obshchestvennomu vkusu," 1912).[40] Taken together, these three sections reveal modernists and terrorists to have been highly self-conscious historical actors.

"The Past Is Too Tight"

Aesthetic modernism emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, at roughly the same time as terrorism, and, importantly, both emerged in revolt not just against history, that is, against the persistence of what was seen as anachronistic remnants of what should have been past, but also against historicism, "the cult of the past," as Italian futurists called it.[41] The first—the persistence of the past—was the target of Baudelaire's "The Painter of Modern Life": "modern pictures . . . dress all their subjects in the garments of the past."[42] This framing still echoes in Kazimir Malevich's 1916 "From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism": the aesthetic ideal of the Renaissance "diverts young forces from the contemporary stream of life. . . . Their bodies fly in airplanes, but art and life are covered with the old robes of Neros and Titians."[43] The protest against inertia of form and the demand for synchronization thus resounded across a whole continent for at least half a century.

As for modernism's second target, the radical historicity inaugurated by the French Revolution and its aftermath produced a knee-jerk reaction—or, perhaps better, a symptom—in the form of historicism, a veritable flight from the present into the past, whether in fashion, architecture, art, literature, or scholarship. It probably suffices to present one example from fashion, specifically from an article in an 1866 issue of the popular Russian *Illustrated Newspaper* (*Illiustrirovannaia Gazeta*): the paper despaired of "such chaos in fashion that it is impossible to say *what* exactly to wear or *what* is new, for one meets fashions from the Directory and the First Empire, the epoch of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, and Greek and Roman hairdressings, Egyptian friseurs, and Asian adornments besides."[44] The age suffered, as Nietzsche diagnosed it, from a "surfeit" or "excess of history," from what he called the nineteenth century's "debilitating historical fever," which came to be experienced as an action-inhibiting tyranny of tradition and induced a sort of historical claustrophobia.[45]

This—both the persistence and the cult of the past—is history's double "burden," what modernism reacted to and from which it sought to break out in order to drag the present, violently if need be, into the future: "out of the catacombs into the speed of our time," as Malevich put it.[46] An illustrative moment may be found in Carl Schorske's analysis of the historicism of Vienna's Ringstraße—"Each building was executed in the historical style felt to be appropriate to its function," that is, Parliament's was

classical Greek; that of the Rathaus, Gothic; the University, Renaissance style; and so on—and how Otto Wagner's architectural designs were slowly stripped of all their historicoreferential decoration until the modern form stood alone.[47] Or think of Marinetti's 1909 *Manifesto*—"We will destroy the museums, libraries, academies of every kind"—and his "Words-in-Freedom" (1919), where words are liberated from the constraints of their traditional page and paragraph formatting, flying, floating, roaming, and roaring freely.[48] Likewise, the Russian futurists' manifesto *A Trap for Judges II* (1912) announced: "We have shaken syntax loose. [. . .] We have smashed rhythms."[49] An aggressive attack on artistic traditions thus broke apart the old to make room for the new.

Such phenomena may be aligned with terrorists' anti-*passéism*. This attitude manifested itself most viscerally whenever terrorists assassinated representatives of the old order to make way for the new—Alexander II of Russia (1881), Umberto I of Italy (1900), Carlos I of Portugal (1908)—but it was just as conspicuous on a discursive level. The Russians are exemplary here, probably because they experienced their autocracy as the most blatant anachronism in the late nineteenth century. And thus, members of the socialist revolutionary organization Land and Freedom (Zemlia i Volia) framed all of their late 1870s acts of terrorism as the people's judgment of the past and could write: "The indictment: all of Russian history."[50] As if for too long the past had been "too tight"; only a violent break with history could create a path to freedom. In this respect, revolutionary print design from the same period is very striking: in the writings of Petr Tkachev, whenever the author uses either temporal expressions ("at the present time," "now," "never," etc.) or terror terminology ("terrorize," "disorganize," etc.), these words, as if they conceptually require more space to breathe, spread out on the page, or, if you will, explode on the page.[51]

"We Alone Are the Face of Our Time"

Beyond this assault on the past, there emerged a revolt against the present, or rather, a particular kind of present, namely, the dominant culture of bourgeois modernity. As mentioned, it has been shown that the use of the term and the idea of the avant-garde were carried over into the realm of the arts from revolutionary politics, in the sense that the latter's critique of social forms and insistence that life be changed became a critique of artistic forms and an intensification of the adversary relationship between art and its public. This was the moment of artists' turn against the public, a moment of scandal and shock: *épater la bourgeoisie*, "A Slap in the Face of Public Taste"; or just: "Dada."

First and foremost in fin-de-siècle France, this artistic assault on the bourgeois present corresponded to a series of explosions that expanded the terrorist target range far beyond the traditional crowned heads. First, Ravachol (François Claudius Koenigstein) avenged a group of working-class demonstrators by exploding the homes of the trial judge and prosecuting attorney responsible for their conviction; then August Vaillant avenged the entire working class by exploding the Chamber of Deputies; then

Émile Henry avenged Vaillant by exploding Café Terminus; and then Santo Caserio avenged Ravachol, Vaillant, and Henry by assassinating President Sadi Carnot.[52]

The borders between art and anarchy being porous, these actions in turn provoked responses from poets, painters, and the like: Ravachol got *La Ravachole*, a song set to the "sound of explosions" of "all the bourgeois"; Henry's police photograph became the basis of a heroic portrait by Charles Maurin; and Vaillant's bombing was defended by the poet Laurent Tailhade's *bon mot*, "What matter the victims, if the gesture is beautiful?"[53] In turn, Tailhade was blinded by a bomb left at Café Voyot by Félix Fénéon, a literary critic who had until recently been satisfied to praise in print one of Henry's bombs as a "delightful kettle" but then crossed over to the other side himself.[54]

In all of these French cases, terrorists targeted "modern" or "bourgeois" professions, institutions, and offices. The same was true for Spanish anarchists, who attacked military leaders, a prime minister, and the Teatro Liceu (which was performing, of all things, the revolutionary favorite *Wilhelm Tell*), as well as for Irish nationalists, who "skirmished" against the House of Commons, Westminster Hall, Scotland Yard, and the offices of the *Times*.[55] Even the Russian terrorists, however, found themselves facing a more "contemporary" enemy: on the one hand, yes, they battled what they saw as the anachronism of the autocracy; but on the other, they feared the incursion of capitalism and bourgeois civilization into Russian soil, so that theirs increasingly became a revolt against this dominant form of modernity. This was clear as early as the mid-1870s, when Petr Tkachev's shrill proclamations called for immediate violence—"Hurry! [Don't] delay! [Procrastination] is criminal!"—so as to stop bourgeois modernity in its tracks before it had the chance to irreversibly enmesh itself with the autocracy and become invincible.[56]

This turn toward the contemporary also meant a more antagonistic attitude toward the public or people en masse. If Sergey Nechaev is to be considered a terrorist, then his "Catechism of the Revolutionary" (*Katekhizis revoliutsionera*, 1869) is an early instance of the revolutionary's declaring to have "broken every tie with the civil order and the entire cultured world [and] despises public opinion."[57] In 1890s France, Henry insisted that the petit-bourgeois customers of Café Terminal were "not 'innocent.'"[58] And in early twentieth-century Russia, we can find the decadent likes of Vsevolod Lebedintsev exclaiming about his forthcoming terrorist act, "Finally! I cannot bear it any longer! [. . .] Oh, how I hate this race of normal people!"—a seemingly extraordinary expression for a revolutionary devoted to liberating the Russian people until we realize that it is not in fact the *narod*, but rather the urban bourgeoisie/masses he has in mind when he speaks of "normal people."[59] Terrorists like Lebedintsev thus share at least some traits with the shadowy figures populating that exemplary antiterrorist literary work about the turn-of-the-century revolt against the bourgeois present, Joseph Conrad's *The Secret Agent* (1909), a novel whose plot is lined with the perpetual threat of a walking time bomb in the figure of the Professor—he too hates "the public" and "the multitude"—and centers on the attack on the age's foremost symbol of scientific progress and bourgeois time: the Greenwich Observatory.[60]

"The Summer Lightning of the New Coming Beauty"

Modernists are future-oriented and seek not only to transcend past and present, but also to "Make It New," in Ezra Pound's oft-repeated phrase.[61] It is important to note, however, that modernism's concept of novelty is more complex than the phrase's simplicity implies.[62] In Pound's case, for example, the new was also old: "Make It New" originated in Pound's own twentieth-century English translation of a nineteenth-century French translation of a twelfth-century Chinese history that included an anecdote about a motto that was inscribed on the washbasin of the first king of the Shang dynasty—and Pound always published the English along with the Chinese, that is, never the new without the old.[63] In this respect it matters that Baudelaire too, for all his emphasis on "modern life," insisted that art has two halves—the ephemeral and the eternal—and crammed multiple temporalities into his dictum that "for any 'modernity' to be worthy of *one day* taking its place as 'antiquity' it is necessary for the mysterious beauty that human life accidentally puts into it to be distilled from it."[64] In short, in the form of the "new coming beauty," the future could look a good many ways.

So, sometimes, the point for modernists was to clear an opening through which the *foreseeable* future could flow freely. Note, for example, the Italian "Manifesto of the Futurist Painters" (1910): "The threshold of the future will be swept free of mummies! Make room for youth, for violence, for daring!"[65] What then showed up, however, were the "forward sentinels" of an already existing present, namely the futurists themselves, celebrating an acceleration embodied in arsenals, shipyards, factories, bridges, locomotives, double-decker trams, planes, cars, and the man at the wheel.[66]

Other times, however, the point was just to make a point, a new beginning to move the world: Malevich's "Black Square" (1913) with one move erased the old content (representational art) and launched a new form (abstract art). In this new world of art, Malevich emphasized, "everything has vanished" and the future is all around, existing in effect as a whole new time, for "there will be no more temporal differences."[67] Even the Italian futurists, in fact, in the just-cited manifesto, also declared that "Time and Space died yesterday"—including, presumably, their industrial parade—and imagined themselves standing "on the last promontory of the century," whence they would witness "the very first dawn" and leap into "the Impossible."[68]

Terrorism too is what in the literature on modernism and the avant-garde is sometimes called "creative violence," whether what is being created is precisely mapped out or as yet "Impossible" to perceive. Narodnaia Volia's 1881 "Letter to Alexander III," for example, had a particular program for Russia's future: a representative assembly, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and so on.[69] Fénéon's colorful

description of "*anarcho* civilization," meanwhile, is an ideal avant-garde vision of a world that has collapsed the boundaries between art and life:

> Day'll come, Goddam, when art will fit into the life of ordinary Joes, just like steak and vino. Then, plates, spoons, chairs, beds—the whole works, what d'ya think! [. . .] everything, great guns, will have nifty shapes and fabulous colors. When that happens the artiste won't look down his nose at the worker: they will be united.[70]

Other terrorists, however, upheld the idea that designs for the future should be forestalled, that, to cite Bakunin and Nechaev, all plans for after the revolution are "criminal."[71] The legitimate idea here is—as it would be for many radical socialists—that the new (new forms of social, political, economic organization) can only emerge from revolutionary praxis and the experience of revolution; it cannot be conceived in advance without running the risk of being draped in and dragged down by the old. Often enough, therefore, as in Nikolai Morozov's "The Terroristic Struggle" ("Terroristicheskaia bor'ba," 1880), the future enabled by terrorism's creative violence is simply something like this: "a wide path will be open for socialist activities"—whatever those activities might be.[72] But Dmitry Karakozov's proclamation "To My Worker Friends" ("Druz'iam rabochim") simply summed it up best when he imagined what would follow his 1866 assassination of Alexander II: first a revolution, "and then there will be real freedom."[73]

The Use and Abuse of Modernism for Terrorism

Arguably, to insist that terrorism be seen as a political modernism may make the question of the relationship between terrorism and modernity more convoluted, not to mention saddle the already overloaded category that is modernism with more weight than it can bear. From the point of view of terrorism studies, however, there are certain advantages to be gained by aligning these two *-ism*s.

First, although terrorists tend to be unusually sensitive to time, critics habitually characterize their violence as "untimely" and "impatient."[74] Such language assumes that time can be measured (i.e., that modern, bourgeois time is real), and that terrorists exceed the natural or agreed-upon pace on the path of progress. In other words, predicated on the hegemony of bourgeois modernity's dominant regime of time, these temporal terms are code for a political attitude that frames terrorism as the violence of the underdeveloped or outdated, as violence perpetrated by those who lack a proper understanding of the "laws of history" (be those conservative, liberal, or Marxist). Paradoxically, therefore, in being too fast (rushing to force history forward), terrorists are in fact too slow (they have "not yet" understood the way history "really" moves). Taking aesthetic modernity into account has the benefit of providing a framework that

renders terrorism's "impatience" intelligible and allows us to assess the successes and failures of this violence on a different scale. In other words, the characterization of terrorism's temporality as "impatient" gains a new meaning if the phenomenon is placed alongside aesthetic modernisms—because both terrorists and modernists self-consciously positioned themselves as being at odds with their time. With this framing, the violence of terrorism comes to be seen as avant-garde rather than atavistic, unmodern, or somehow simplistically "against" modernity.

Second, thinking about terrorism as a political modernism should allow us to move past narrow politico-ideological definitions of terrorism without requiring us to resort to defining this violence as an ahistorical strategy; modernism is conceptually broad and malleable enough to incorporate contradictory political and even religious ideas, which is clear when we think of figures like Baudelaire and Vladimir Mayakovsky. The advantage hereof should be seen against the background of the following trend in the field of terrorism studies: in the 1970s, confronted with the Red Army Faction (Rote Armee Fraktion), Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse), and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (al-Jabhah al-Sha`biyyah li-Taḥrīr Filasṭīn), media commentators with short historical memories tended to frame terrorism as "the ideology" of the New Left. Scholars such as Walter Laqueur corrected this framing through the writing of histories that included cases of terrorism from across the political and religious spectrum—for example, the Russian right wing, anti-Semitic Black Hundreds (Chernaya sotnia), the Basque nationalist ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna), and so on, and emphasized that terrorism should be understood not as an ideology but rather as a strategy.[75] Politico-historically, there were definite advantages to this approach except that, in the process, the notion of terrorism as an ageless phenomenon took hold; Laqueur, for one, has written that terrorism is, variously, "as old as the hills" and "as old as the history of mankind."[76] This meant that, first, the specifically modern nature of terrorism was lost from view (and therewith the specifically modern political subject that is at stake in terrorism) and, second, that terrorist groups from wherever and whenever, with nothing in common but their means-to-an-end logic (which is not peculiar to terrorists), were lumped together, only to then have to be differentiated once more according to their specific political ideologies. Again, as a category, modernism has at least the advantage that it can contain these various groups while maintaining our focus on terrorism as a specifically modern political phenomenon.

Finally, because aligning terrorism and modernism reveals terrorism's temporalized nature, it may eventually allow us to return to thinking about the relationship between terrorism and ideology. We have here to do with an *-ism*, after all, and as Koselleck reminds us, this suffix is a "temporal denominator" common to all nineteenth-century ideologies, which he defines as "concepts of movement" that offer "temporal alternatives."[77] Thus, insofar as language matters, the possibility that this type of political violence is "an" ideology should not remain ruled out once and for all.

But that last bit is for later. For now, the point is simply this: in terrorism studies, to make space for time.

Notes

An earlier version of this text was first presented as "Terrorism as a Political Modernism" during a roundtable on terrorism at the 2008 conference of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies and, thereafter, at Michigan State University; University of California, Berkeley; New York University; Binghamton University; and Cornell University. I would like to thank the participants of all these forums for their thoughtful questions and criticisms.

1. This text brackets the art-theoretical distinction between modernism and avant-garde—one aiming toward the creation of an autonomous sphere of art, the other seeking to break down the barrier between art and life—because space is limited, not because it is inconsequential for the history of terrorism. For a brief and lucid overview of the distinction, see Raymond Williams, "The Politics of the Avant-Garde," in *Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (London and New York: Verso, 2007), 49–63.
2. See "Definition," in Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman with the collaboration of Michael Stohl, *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature* (New Brunswick, NJ: Routledge, 2005), 1–38. As for terrorism's age, the dominant narrative dates terrorism to nineteenth-century Russia or Ireland and can be found in Walter Laqueur's classic *Terrorism* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977), as well as more recent works such as Matthew Carr, *The Infernal Machine: A History of Terrorism from the Assassination of Alexander II to Al-Qaeda* (New York: New Press, 2006); Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism* (Great Britain: HarperPress, 2008); and Randall D. Law, *Terrorism: A History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009). But cf. Gérard Chaliand, Arnaud Blin, Edward Schneider, and Kathryn Pulver, *The History of Terrorism from Antiquity to Al Qaeda* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007).
3. See Claudia Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakozov: Imperial Russia, Modernity, and the Birth of Terrorism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), 6, 7, 174, and passim.
4. See also ibid., 176; Claudia Verhoeven, "Oh Times, There Is No Time (But the Time That Remains): The Terrorist in Russian Literature, 1863–1913," in *Terrorism and Narrative Practice*, eds Thomas Austenfeld and Dimiter Daphinoff, and Jens Herlth, Swiss Forschung und Wissenschaft 7 (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2011), 117.
5. Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 194. On the modern concept of history more generally, see Koselleck, "Historia Magistra Vitae," "On the Disposability of History," and "'*Neuzeit*': Remarks on the Semantics of the Modern Concepts of Movements," in *Futures Past*, 26–42, 192–204, 222–254. See also Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakozov*, 174.
6. See, e.g., Laqueur, *Terrorism*, 11; Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 17; David Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, ed. Audrey Cronin and James Ludes (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 48–49 and 65.
7. Arnaldo Momigliano, "Time in Ancient Historiography," in *Essays in Modern and Ancient Historiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 179–204; Jacques LeGoff, "Merchant's Time and Church's Time in the Middle Ages," in *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 29–42; E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (1967): 56–97.

8. Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Lynn Hunt, *Measuring Time, Making History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008).
9. Recent work on temporality has deconstructed some of these typically modern traits. For example, just as Bruno Latour argued in his *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), Jimena Canales noted that "we have never measured." Canales, *A Tenth of a Second: A History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 221. Thomas M. Allen, meanwhile, has argued that modernity's ostensibly homogeneous time was in fact heterogeneous. See *A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).
10. See Claudia Verhoeven, "Time of Terror, Terror of Time: On the Impatience of Russian Revolutionary Terrorism," in "Terrorism in Imperial Russia: New Perspectives," special issue, *Jahrbücher für die Geschichte Osteuropas* 58, no. 2 (2010): 254–273.
11. See J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), especially part 1.
12. Walter Benjamin, "Exposé of 1939," in *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 26.
13. Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 266.
14. Ibid., 269.
15. Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, 2nd rev. ed. (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 1995), 12. Peter Gay nominates Baudelaire as the most "plausible candidate" for the role of modernism's "onlie begetter," but of course there are many other nominees; Marshall Berman names Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels's *Communist Manifesto* (1848) as "the first great modernist work of art"; T. J. Clark makes the "far-fetched" suggestion that we go back to Jacques Louis David's 1793 *Death of Marat*; etc. I have chosen Baudelaire, however, because his essay makes the *quest* for modern forms of life explicit. Peter Gay, *Modernism: The Lure of Heresy* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 33; Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), 102; and T. J. Clark, *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 15. For further discussion of this issue, see Morag Shiach, "Periodizing Modernism," and Sarah Victoria Turner, "Modernism and the Visual Arts," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modernism*, ed. Peter Brooker, Andrzej Gasiorek, Deborah Longworth, and Andrew Thacker (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 17–30, 540–561.
16. Baudelaire, *Painter*, 12, 13.
17. Michel Foucault, "What Is Enlightenment?," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 40.
18. This—adding *-ism*—is not to suggest that Baudelaire's "modernity" should be understood as an ideology with a rigidly defined content. I mean simply to activate the noun—as it is traditionally done to nouns via verbs of action ending in *-ezien*—and to temporalize it. See *OED Online*, s.v. "-ism, suffix," December 2013, Oxford University Press, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/100006?rskey=XnyYnV&result=2&isAdvanced=false (accessed February 16, 2014). See also Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 248–249, on *-ism* as a temporal denominator.

19. Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 269. For this framing, see, e.g., Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 4–5.
20. For a thorough discussion of modernity's periodization and the reasons for backdating it to either the sixteenth or the seventeenth century, see Stephen Toulmin, *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), esp. 5–44. See, however, Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present,* 8–10, for an argument that in the West the fundamental experience of severance occurs with and after the French Revolution. Koselleck traces early modernity back to the Reformation but repeatedly argues that the accelerating power of the French Revolution makes for the most important historical break. See, e.g., Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 235, 248, 269.
21. On clock time, see Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). See also LeGoff, "Merchant's Time and Church's Time"; Thompson, "Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism."
22. See also, for an emphasis on *modernization* as either the primary characteristic of modernity and/or the backdrop of modernism, Berman, *All That Is Solid*, 229–230; and Michael Levenson, *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 2. Cf. Jürgen Habermas, who notes that "the idea of modernity is intimately tied to the development of European art," but that art is just one of the three spheres (the others being science and morality) into which was separated the substantive reason originally expressed in religion and metaphysics. Habermas, "Modernity: An Incomplete Project," in *Modernism/Postmodernism*, ed. Peter Brooker (London and New York: Longman, 1992), 131–132.
23. See Jacques Rancière, "Artistic Regimes and the Shortcomings of the Notion of Modernity," in *The Politics of Aesthetics*, trans. Gabriel Rockhill (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), 25–26.
24. Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch" (1939, rev. 1972), in *Critical Essays* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), 4. Cf. Stephen Bann, who sees "a remarkable enhancement of the consciousness of history" as "the product of the Romantic period" and argues that "we can indeed affirm about the rise of history in the nineteenth century that something was happening of no less significance than the 'Expansion of Europe' or 'Age of Discovery' associated with the Renaissance." Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (New York: Twayne, 1995), 3–5, 11.
25. Habermas, "Modernity," 127.
26. See Roger Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism: The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), and *The Terrorist Creed: Fanatical Violence and the Human Need for Meaning* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
27. Cited in Vladimir Markov, *Russian Futurism: A History* (1968; Washington, D.C.: New Academia, 1992), 9.
28. Cited in Richard D. Sonn, *Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 255. See also Charles D. Minahen, "Poetry's Polite Terrorist: Reading Sartre Reading Mallarmé," in *Meetings with Mallamé*, ed. Michael Temple (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), 63. For the Picabia quote, see David Weir, *Anarchy and Culture: The Aesthetic Politics of Modernism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 228.

29. See L. G. Praisman, *Terroristy i revoliutsionery, okhranniki i provokatory* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001), 293.
30. "Bring the Noise: Claire Bishop and Boris Groys on Futurism," *TATE ETC.* 16 (Summer 2009), accessed March 10, 2011, http://www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue16/futurism1.htm.
31. See Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity*, 100–108; Renato Poggioli, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968), 9–12.
32. This is his argument regarding "avant-garde," now known as "modernism" (as distinct from the politically engaged artistic avant-garde). See Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," 4–5.
33. See the analysis of Joyce's anarchism—political and aesthetic—and the way the Bobrikov assassination makes its way into *Ulysses* in Weir, *Culture and Anarchy*, 215–216, which references Robert Spoo, *James Joyce and the Language of History: Dedalus's Nightmare* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 20–21. For the original quote, see James Joyce, *Ulysses* (New York: Vintage International, 1990), 135.
34. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (London: Penguin Books, 1979), 126; letter to Franz Overbeck, October 18, 1888, in *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Christopher Middleton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 315.
35. Eric Hobsbawm, *Revolutionaries* (New York: New Press, 2001), 102.
36. See George R. Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology and the Working Class Movement in Spain, 1868–1898* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 204; Weir, *Anarchy and Culture*, 123–130.
37. See "M. A. Spiridonova," Partija Socialistov-Revoljucionerov (PSR) Archives 569, International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam; "Iz vospominanii o Kaliaeve," PSR 568, ISSH, 3–5. The author is unidentified but was a close friend of Kaliaev's around the time of his assassination of Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich in Moscow on February 17, 1905.
38. To be fair, there are a few pages near the novel's end that feature the experimental rhythms of modernism's interior duration. See Stepniak [S. M. Kravchinsky], *The Career of a Nihilist* (New York: Hurst, 1899), 312–317.
39. On this rift between the artistic avant-garde and anarchism, see also Weir, *Anarchy and Cutlure*, esp. 116–130, 158–160.
40. See Kern, "Past," "Present," "Future," and "Speed," in *The Culture of Time and Space*, 36–130; David Burliuk, Alexander Kruchenykh, Vladimir Mayakovsky, and Victor Khlebnikov, "A Slap in the Face of Public Taste," in *Words in Revolution*: *Russian Futurist Manifestoes, 1912–1928*, trans. and ed. Anna Lawton and Herbert Eagle (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2004), 51–52.
41. Umberto Boccioni, Carlo Carrà, Luigi Russolo, Giacamo Balla, and Gino Severini, "Manifesto of the Futurist Painters 1910," in *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio (New York: Viking Press, 1973), 26.
42. Baudelaire, *Painter*, 12.
43. Kazimir Malevich, "From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism," in *Malevich on Suprematism: Six Essays, 1915 to 1926*, ed. and trans. Patricia Railing (Iowa City: University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1999), 29.
44. "Posledniia Mody" [Latest Fashions], *Illustrirovannaia Gazeta* 9, March 3, 1866. For a further discussion of this quote in the context of the development of terrorism in Russia, see Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakozov*, 108.

45. Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Utility and Liability of History for Life," in *Unfashionable Observations* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 115, 163, 86.
46. Hayden White, "The Burden of History," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978), 27–50. For Malevich, see White, "From Cubism," 32.
47. See Carl Schorske, "The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, and the Birth of Urban Modernism," in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 24–115. The quote appears on 36–37. See also Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, 56–57.
48. F. T. Marinetti, "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism, 1909,"in *Futurist Manifestos*, 22. For "Words in Freedom," see Marinetti, "Parole in Libertà" (1919), repr. in Caroline Tisdall and Angelo Bozzolla, *Futurism* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977), 97.
49. Cited in Markov, *Russian Futurism*, 51–52.
50. Zemlia i Volia, "K russkomu obshchestvu" (April 1878), in *Revoliutsionnoe narodnichestvo 70-x godov XIX veka*, vol. 2, *1876–1882*, ed. S. S. Volk (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), 53.
51. See, e.g., Petr Tkachev, "Iz broshiury 'Zadachi revoliutsionnoi propagandy v Rossii (Pis'mo v redaktsiiu zhurnala 'Vpered!')" and "Chto zhe teper' delat?," in *Revoliutsionnyi radikalizm v Rossii: Vek deviatnadtsatyi*, ed. E. L. Rudnitskaia and O. V. Budnitskii (Moscow: Arkheograficheskii tsentr, 1997), 332, 373.
52. For a discussion of these acts, see, e.g., Joan Ungersma Halperin, *Félix Fénéon: Aesthete and Anarchist in Fin-de-Siècle France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 266–295.
53. C. Alexander McKinley, *Illegitimate Children of the Enlightenment: Anarchists and the French Revolution, 1890–1914* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 146; Halperin, *Félix Fénéon*, 277.
54. Halperin, *Félix Fénéon*, 271.
55. See Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years, 1868–1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 111–127; Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 166–204; Niall Whelehan, *The Dynamiters: Irish Nationalism and Political Violence in the Wider World, 1867–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), esp. chaps. 2–3, 70–175.
56. Petr Tkachev, "Nabat" (Programma zhurnala), late 1875, in Rudnitskaia and Budnitskii, *Revoliutsionnyi radikalizm v Rossii*, 346–347.
57. Sergey Nechaev, "Catechism of the Revolutionist," in *Voices of Terror: Manifestos, Writings and Manuals of Al Qaeda, Hamas, and Other Terrorists from Around the World and Throughout the Ages*, ed. Walter Laqueur (New York: Reed Press, 2004), 71. Scholarship on terrorism generally sees Nechaev as a terrorist, but this status is debatable because Nechaev "only" killed a member of his own revolutionary organization, The People's Vengeance (Narodanaia Rasprava).
58. Halperin, *Félix Fénéon*, 274.
59. Cited in Praisman, *Terroristy i revoliutsionery*, 291.
60. See Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent* (Penguin Books, 2007), 65, 240, 244.
61. Paul de Man, conceptualizing the future or the new as a "true present," put it as follows: "Modernity exists in the form of a desire to wipe out whatever came earlier, in the hope of reaching at last a point that could be called a true present, a point of origin that marks a new departure." De Man, "Literary History and Literary Modernity," in *Blindness and Insight: Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 148.

62. See Michael North, *Novelty. A History of the New* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 144–171.
63. Ibid., 162–164.
64. Baudelaire, *Painter*, 13; emphasis mine.
65. Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo, Balla, and Severini, "Manifesto of the Futurist Painters, 1910," in *Futurist Manifestos*, 26–27.
66. See Marinetti, "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism, 1909," in *Futurist Manifestos*, 19–22.
67. Malevich, "From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism," 40; Malevich, "The World as Non-Objectivity," in *The World as Non-Objectivity: Unpublished Writings, 1922–25*, vol. 3, ed. Troels Andersen, trans. Xenia Glowacki-Prus and Edmund T. Little, Essays in Art 3 (Copenhagen: Borgen, 1976), 270.
68. Marinetti, "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism, 1909," in *Futurist Manifestos*, 20, 22.
69. "Pis'mo Ispolnitel'nogo Komiteta Aleksandru III," March 10, 1881, in *Revoliutsionnoe narodnichestvo 70-kh godov XIX veka*, vol. 2, *1876–1882*, pod ed. S. S. Volk (Nauka: Moscow, 1965), 195.
70. Weir, *Anarchy and Culture*, 128.
71. Mikhail Bakunin and Sergei Nechaev, "Nachala revoliutsii," in Rudnitskaia and Budnitskii, *Revoliutsionnyi radikalizm v. Rossii*, 221.
72. Nikolai Morozov, "The Terroristic Struggle," *Voices of Terror*, 28.
73. "Druz'iam rabochim," Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation), fond 272, opis 1, delo 10, listy 7–70b.
74. See Verhoeven, "Time of Terror, Terror of Time," 253–272.
75. Laqueur, *Terrorism*, 4.
76. Walter Laqueur, "The Terrorism to Come," *Policy Review* 126 (August–September 2004): 49; Walter Laqueur, "Terrorism," *National Geographic*206, no. 5 (November 2004): 77.
77. Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 249.

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CHAPTER 11

THE SCIENCE OF DESTRUCTION

Terrorism and Technology in the Nineteenth Century

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"Today, the importance of explosives as an instrument for carrying out revolutions oriented to social justice is obvious. Anyone can see that these materials will be the decisive factor in the next period of world history. It therefore makes sense for revolutionaries in all countries to acquire explosives and to learn the skills needed to use them in real situations."[1] The radical socialist publisher Johann Most, writing in his *Science of Revolutionary Warfare* in 1885, called his comrades' attention to a wide range of explosive technologies developed by chemists working for the state and military in recent decades. The full title of his book, published after Most emigrated from Europe to the United States in 1882, listed some of these compositions, including "Nitroglycerine, Dynamite, Gun-Cotton, Fulminating Mercury, Bombs, [and] Fuses," not to mention the more traditional knives, pistols, rifles, and poisons. Clockwork mechanisms were also used to explode "infernal machines" of various kinds. He insisted, however, that the book was not what today would be called an "anarchist cookbook." In his introduction, Most claimed that although many people had tried to produce these explosives in clandestine workshops, few had succeeded. Revolutionaries would be much better off using ready-made combustibles. "Imperial, royal and republican (government) arsenals have had to do the providing… [and] it would be stupid to consider amateur dynamite production."[2] The legitimate enterprises of the state should thus be the main provider of explosive weapons, but "for the sake of completeness" Most proposed to describe the methods of making explosives in addition to his principal concern, how to use them.[3] To understand the material culture of terrorism in the

nineteenth century, then, we must consider the improvised bombs and explosives of anarchists, rebels, revolutionaries, and radicals as part of a broader history of the development of new explosives by state, industrial, and university scientists. The first part of this chapter will provide a survey of this broader history of explosives science and technology.

Johann Most supposed that revolutionaries should depend on new technologies developed by legitimate enterprises. Often the historiography of terrorism has followed the same argument. A recent study of technology and terrorism proposes, "The terrorist, by and large, is more imitative and habitual than technically imaginative."[4] It is often said that terrorist activities in the nineteenth century were transformed by the invention of dynamite and the application of science to the creation of novel explosives.[5] After Alfred Nobel succeeded in making nitroglycerin relatively safe to handle in the form of dynamite, it was only a matter of time before illicit bomb-makers deployed the handy new explosive to serve their political causes. But while it is undoubtedly true that many anarchists, radicals, and revolutionaries exploited scientific innovations in explosives in the nineteenth century, it would be an exaggeration to see the case of dynamite as representative, or to assume that terrorists lacked ingenuity. The second part of this chapter will suggest that the history of the development of new explosives and terror techniques in the nineteenth century entailed innovation by and traffic between both the state and its revolutionary enemies. This argument is illustrated by the career of incendiary rockets as devices of terror for both the state and its opponents in the early nineteenth century. Both the state and revolutionaries innovated, did so using scientific and technical expertise, and then copied each others' techniques. While revolutionary warfare relied on the technical innovations of the state, the state also learned from revolutionaries.

A third section sets the style of terrorist science within broader currents in nineteenth-century scientific culture and considers the "modernity" of the terrorist use of scientific practices to produce bombs. Again, it is often assumed that one difference between legitimate and illegitimate bomb-making in the nineteenth century is that official science took place in well-organized, well-funded laboratories while terrorists operated in clandestine, makeshift kitchens and sheds. Scientists operated with dedicated instruments, tools, and methods, while anarchists and revolutionaries "made do" adapting everyday materials and objects to terrorist uses. This is a fair picture, but it ignores two key points. First, both the professional status of science and its use of dedicated and specialized instruments emerged gradually over the nineteenth century and arose partly as a way to distinguish certain classes of science as legitimate and authoritative. Second, insofar as they championed science and technological innovation, radicals and revolutionaries participated in a much broader public enthusiasm for science, brought about in part by growing efforts to popularize science through new venues and publications. To this extent, radicals were not revolutionary in their attitudes to science but embraced the status quo as it was promoted by scientists of the time.

Science and the Development of Explosives in the Nineteenth Century

David Edgerton has argued in *The Shock of the Old* that histories of technology are all too often focused on the innovation period in the career of a technology, ignoring the long-term use of technologies and processes of maintaining and repairing them.[6] Histories of terrorism have typically followed this approach, and while I shall recount the origins of a number of terrorist technologies here, it should be kept in mind that while new technologies were being invented—dynamite most obviously—the old remained a significant element in terrorist attacks. The knife, for example, was used throughout the nineteenth century, and being simple, easy to obtain and use, it remained an effective and efficient tool in the hands of assassins and anarchists. Indeed, the first tool of terror was a blade—the guillotine devised by Joseph-Ignace Guillotin in the autumn of 1789 and used throughout the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution.[7]

With this caveat in mind, we may now turn to the history of explosives in the nineteenth century, which constituted certainly the most dramatic and memorable weapon in the terrorist arsenal if not the most effective. Until the mid-nineteenth century, all explosives were made using black powder, or gunpowder, consisting of saltpeter, sulfur, and charcoal. The process of making gunpowder and bombs did not involve scientists (or "natural philosophers" as they were known prior to the mid-nineteenth century). Expert artisans made gunpowder and state artillery officers and laborers used it to produce shells, bombs, and pyrotechnics. Gunpowder was also used for blasting rock and coal in mines and engineering projects.[8]

Scientific involvement with bomb-making and pyrotechnics began in the late eighteenth century through the work of French chemist Antoine Lavoisier, appointed to reform the Paris Gunpowder Administration (*Régie des poudres*) in 1775. In England, Lavoisier's counterpart General William Congreve employed London chemists to assist him in similar reforms.[9] Both men sought to improve, via experimental investigations, the manufacture and efficiency of gunpowder. Lavoisier increased saltpeter production, devised tests for the quality of black powder, and rationalized the administration of production. Congreve nationalized the gunpowder industry and also introduced quality tests and experimental trials to the manufacturing process.

The potential to increase radically the explosive strength of gunpowder grew in this period, partly through Lavoisier's investigations and particularly after another French chemist, Lavoisier's colleague Claude Louis Berthollet, discovered potassium chlorate, or what he called "superoxygenated potassium muriate," in 1786. Gunpowder explodes independently of the oxygen in the atmosphere, because one of its ingredients, saltpeter or potassium nitrate (KNO_3), supplies the oxygen needed for combustion. When this takes place, gases are released at a tremendous speed producing an explosion. Potassium chlorate could also serve this role of oxidizer, and Berthollet found that it provided a

more violent explosion than saltpeter. He proposed using it to manufacture gunpowder in 1788, but when Berthollet and Lavoisier began experiments at the gunpowder factory of Essonne in October that year, a devastating explosion led to two deaths. Lavoisier was determined to continue the experiments, however, refusing to ask if "discoveries of this sort are more harmful than advantageous to humanity."[10] Nevertheless, the volatility of potassium chlorate stopped it from being widely used in the nineteenth century though it was an ingredient in some explosives.[11]

Institutionalized scientific research remained a presence in the state's development of explosives from the late eighteenth century onward. Arsenals typically maintained laboratories or employed chemists to investigate and make improvements in explosives and artillery. The Royal Arsenal in Woolwich, London, for example, employed no less than Michael Faraday to give chemical lectures to artillery students from 1830 to 1851, following which the chemist Frederick W. Abel was appointed to the post and made Scientific Adviser to the War Office in 1854.[12] Universities also increasingly included chemistry laboratories and appointed professors to conduct experimental chemical research.[13]

Although potassium chlorate was too volatile for use in explosives, scientists continued to seek out better or more powerful alternatives to gunpowder in the nineteenth century. The stability of black powder made it relatively safe to manufacture and use, but the products of its combustion being about half solids, gunpowder produced a large amount of smoke. Smoke obscured the battlefield and gave away the position of snipers, leading to calls for an alternative. Guncotton (nitrocellulose) ultimately provided such a "smokeless" explosive, though it did not achieve widespread use before the closing decades of the nineteenth century.[14] It was first produced in 1845–46 by the Basel chemistry professor Christian Friedrich Schönbein following experiments by Théophile-Jules Pelouze in Paris on treating cotton with nitric acid in 1838.[15] Schönbein devised a process of immersing cotton into a mixture of nitric and sulphuric acid for two minutes, before removing, washing, and drying the product. The sulphuric acid decomposed the nitric acid, allowing the latter to combine with the cotton. This form of "guncotton" was found to produce a more powerful effect than normal gunpowder, and Schönbein spent many years trying to sell his secret to several European governments. Like Lavoisier and Berthollet, Schönbein found that accidents hindered the take-up of his discovery. In 1846 he traveled to Woolwich, London, where he partnered with one John Hall to manufacture guncotton at the gunpowder works in Faversham, Surrey. But an explosion in July 1847 ended this project in England, and it was another decade before new works were established by Schönbein's successor, the Austrian artillery officer Baron Wilhelm von Lenk, first in Austria, and then, in the 1860s in France, America, and England.

Von Lenk made guncotton manufacture more reliable, steeping rovings of cotton in nitric and sulphuric acid for two days, before cleaning the product for three weeks in running water before drying. Nevertheless, further explosions led patrons to question the stability of guncotton and its suitability as a replacement for gunpowder. To answer

this, in 1863, Frederick Abel at Woolwich began a detailed investigation of guncotton, whose explosive properties were thought to rely on the degree of nitration of the cellulose in the cotton. Abel thought that Von Lenk's product entailed three units of nitration of cellulose to produce trinitrocellulose, the most explosive form. While French chemists challenged this view, Abel determined that the instability of guncotton was owing to the decomposition of impurities in the cotton, and he developed methods such as the pulping of cotton in an alkaline solution to remove these impurities, making guncotton more stable, and so safer to use as an explosive. His methods were used for the remainder of the nineteenth century, but Abel's guncotton did not replace gunpowder. Guncotton was mainly used for blasting in quarries and mines, exploded with a detonator containing fulminate of mercury in the same manner as dynamite.[16] It was also used by terrorists. Recipes were included in anarchist journals such as the *Alarm* and Johann Most's *Science of Revolutionary Warfare*.[17] The latter claimed, "gun cotton is not to be underestimated. The layman finds it easier to make than dynamite, and…it looks an innocent enough material.…It is possible to stuff old sofas, cushions, or mattresses with gun cotton, and transport it under the noses of the police."[18]

Only in the 1880s was a true, workable smokeless alternative to gunpowder devised—the so-called *Poudre B* of Paul Vieille. Vieille was an engineer and graduate of the *École polytechnique*, and after the Franco-Prussian War collaborated on investigations of explosives for the French state with the chemists Marcellin Berthelot and Emile Sarrau.[19] Working at the *Depôt central des Poudres et Salpêtres*, Vieille invented important new instruments for the study of explosions, such as the bomb calorimeter in 1878, measuring the heat and pressure of combustion in explosions to a high precision. Using this instrument revealed to Vieille how the fibrous structure of nitrocellulose correlated with its extremely rapid combustion when exploding.[20] Controlling this structure should then render the speed of the combustion manageable. Vieille used a dissolvant to "gelatinize" guncotton, generating thin plates whose speed of combustion depended on their degree of thickness. After pressing and drying, the plates could be broken into flakes for use in guns. Three times more powerful than traditional black powder, *Poudre B* was quickly adopted by the French army in 1886. Alfred Nobel developed another version of the same process a year later and his smokeless powder, named Ballistite, was adopted by the German army a decade later. In 1891, the British army adopted another version, named Cordite by its inventors Frederick Abel and James Dewar.[21] In Russia, the chemist Dmitri Mendeleev contributed to the introduction of smokeless powders.[22]

Guncotton's rise coincided with that of the most famous terrorist explosive, dynamite. Dynamite was "the weapon with which the 'revolution' has armed itself for its assault upon society."[23] It was first used for terrorist actions in Russia by the radical group *The People's Will* in 1879 and remained in use there through the end of the century, by which time dynamite was the weapon of choice for terrorists across the world.[24] Nikolai Ivanovich Kibalchich oversaw the preparation of explosives for *The People's Will*, having studied their chemistry and practiced their use as a student of the Alexander I

Institute of Transport Engineers in St. Petersburg.[25] In September 1879, Kibalchich arranged dynamite production in a house on Nevskii Prospect, in three large rooms on the fifth floor. Accidents were common.[26] He collaborated with student sympathizer and chief fireworks organizer for the city, Aleksandr Alekseevich Filippov. From Filippov he gained access to St. Petersburg's Okhtenskii factory, and samples of dynamite from the factories of the Swedish chemist Alfred Nobel.

A stick of dynamite consisted of a container holding a medium, such as sawdust or the infusorial earth kieselguhr, into which was absorbed a highly explosive liquid, nitroglycerin. A fuse connected the mixture to a detonating cap, which was used to ignite the explosion.[27] The key ingredient, nitroglycerin, was first synthesized in 1846 by Ascanio Sobrero, a student of Pelouze in Paris at the time of his experiments with nitration and guncotton.[28] Sobrero nitrated glycerol with nitric and sulphuric acid in a cooled container to avoid detonation. He made no subsequent use of the substance, which he called pyro-glycerine on account of its extreme volatility—the slightest vibrations could lead to a dangerous explosion.

A decade passed before Nobel (another student of Pelouze) began investigating the potential of nitroglycerin as a commercial explosive following experiments on its properties by his Russian chemistry teacher Nikolai Zinin.[29] Nobel found in 1861 that a fulminate detonator could be used to explode nitroglycerin, and the following year he began manufacturing the latter at the Heleneborg works near Stockholm as an oily liquid for blasting in mines. Devastating accidents at the factory did not deter Nobel, who was convinced that nitroglycerin could serve as an extremely powerful explosive if it could be made safer to handle. It was six or seven times more powerful than black powder, and the main ingredient, glycerol, was a cheap byproduct of the soap-making industry. Spurred by legislation restricting the use of nitroglycerin, Nobel experimented to find a material with which to bind the explosive so that it would be less sensitive to vibrations. Eventually in 1866, at his Krümmel factory in Geesthacht near Hamburg, Germany, Nobel found that the packing material kieselguhr (diatomite), a porous infusorial earth that was cheap and readily available near to the factory, could absorb three times its own weight of nitroglycerin, rendering the explosive much safer to handle. Nobel named the solid paste thus formed "dynamite," from the Greek *dynamis* for "power." Packed into a tube and ignited with a fulminate detonator, dynamite offered the first practicable alternative explosive to black powder, and being in stick form, it could be inserted inside rocks, making its blasting power much more effective.[30]

Mass manufacture of dynamite soon began in Krümmel, and to exploit international markets, Nobel founded further factories in Germany, Britain, and the United States, which he eventually conglomerated into a single company. Fifteen factories were in operation by 1873, spreading dynamite across the world and inadvertently into the hands of radicals like Kibalchich. Shortly after, Nobel moved to Paris, and in 1875 devised a new explosive, blasting gelatine (gelignite). Dynamite suffered from the problem that if it became wet, the water dissolved the nitroglycerin which "sweated" or leaked out. Nobel solved the problem with a solidified form of nitroglycerin, containing

about 7 or 8 percent collodion cotton, a form of guncotton, dissolved into it. Since guncotton was itself explosive, blasting gelatine was some 25 percent more powerful than regular dynamite.[31]

Many new "scientific" explosives, synthesized by chemistry, followed in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1867 the Swedish chemists Johann Ohlsson and Johan Hendrick Norrbin patented "ammoniakkrut," a nitroglycerin explosive using ammonium nitrate mixed with charcoal or coal dust, which was cheaper than dynamite, though it was less explosive and suffered when exposed to water.[32] By this time, scientists recognized that mixtures of precise quantities of different oxidizing and combustible substances could yield very specific products and powerful explosions. In 1871 Hermann Sprengel, a German chemist working in England, followed this approach to propose numerous different oxidizing agents and fuels that could be mixed together on the spot to generate an explosion. Safety was enhanced because the materials on their own would not explode. The oxidizers included nitric acid and chlorate of potash, and the fuels included nitro-benzene and petroleum. By the turn of the twentieth century, so-called "Sprengel explosives" were used quite extensively in China and Russia.[33] Ultimately, ANFO (Ammonium Nitrate Fuel Oil) became the most widely used form of Sprengel explosive in addition to finding use among terrorists in the late twentieth century (e.g., urea nitrate and hydrogen gas were used for the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993).[34] But already in the nineteenth century, Johann Most advocated the use of Sprengel explosives for revolutionary actions when dynamite was unavailable, reckoning them to be cheaper and easier to make than dynamite.[35]

Most's *Science of Revolutionary Warfare* of 1885 explained not only how to make explosives but also how to detonate them. Dynamite was typically detonated with a blasting cap, consisting of a hollow tube with fulminate of mercury and potash at one end, into which was inserted a fabric-covered fuse. The fulminate detonator, inserted into the end of a stick of dynamite, would then ignite it on being lit by the fuse. Different lengths of fuse provided different amounts of time between lighting and the final explosion, allowing the user to move away from any danger. While these techniques appear straightforward, they too were the products of a long period of experimentation and research beginning in the early nineteenth century. The earliest detonating processes in guns entailed applying a lighted match to raw gunpowder in the weapon. Rain and wind made this operation difficult, so a sparking flint in a flintlock mechanism found favor in the eighteenth century. An early attempt to improve on the basic flintlock was the detonator lock developed by the Scottish minister Rev. Alexander John Forsyth in 1805, which used a hammer striking a tiny amount of potassium chlorate, charcoal, and sulfur to fire a gun.[36] The detonator lock was itself soon superseded by the fulminate cap. The highly explosive nature of fulminates of silver and gold was well known in the seventeenth century. Edward Howard first described fulminate of mercury to the Royal Society of London in 1800.[37] It was made by mixing mercury, nitric acid, and alcohol in a cooled vessel. The addition of potash served to make the fulminate less liable to explosion during storage.[38] By the

mid-1820s, several firms of gunmakers in London and Paris had patented copper percussion caps filled with fulminate of mercury and within a decade, the cap had been made into part of a complete cartridge containing a shot, powder, and cap. It was then Nobel's innovation to apply fulminate caps to dynamite, using the controlled explosion of the fulminate to detonate the dynamite.

Nobel's cap was "pyrotechnic," relying on a burning fuse to ignite, but it was also possible to detonate the fulminate of mercury with an electric current passing between two wires to heat the fulminate. Electricity was first used by Benjamin Franklin in the eighteenth century to explode gunpowder, and the technique was applied to ignite fulminate caps in the late 1860s. By the closing decade of the nineteenth century, a variety of frictional electrical machines and induction coils were in use to set off dynamite and blasting charges. Turning a handle or compressing a plunger on a "blasting machine" generated an electric charge which passed down conducting wires to a detonating device.[39]

Fuses also underwent a transformation in the nineteenth century. In the previous century, miners blasting coal or rocks with gunpowder lay a trail of gunpowder to the charge, or used reeds and quills filled with powder. Pyrotechnists and artillerists ignited fireworks and ordnance with "quick and slow matches," strings of cotton or hemp soaked in vinegar boiled with gunpowder, saltpeter, and other incendiary ingredients.[40] In the 1830s, the Cornish currier William Bickford devised a miner's safety fuse which had a core of powder enclosed in a fabric cable, made to burn with a determined rate. Varnishes enabled the Bickford fuse to be waterproofed, and it was soon widely adopted.[41] It was a version of the Bickford fuse that Nobel used for blasting dynamite, and which Johann Most described in his *Science of Revolutionary Warfare*.

Ingenious firing mechanisms were also the hallmark of "infernal machines," a term dating back to the sixteenth century.[42] Assassins and revolutionaries in the nineteenth century improvised a variety of weapons and if these entailed some unusual or complex mechanism, they might be referred to as infernal machines. In 1800, plotters planned to assassinate Napoleon on the Rue Saint-Nicaise using the "little corporal," "a kind of barrel, hooped with iron, furnished with nails, and loaded with gunpowder and case-shot, to which [was] affixed a firmly adapted and loaded battery [of guns] … calculated to be discharged at any given moment by the aid of a match held by an engineer."[43] In 1835, an attempt on the life of King Louis-Philippe of France was made by Giusseppe Marco Fieschi using twenty-five gun barrels attached to an oak frame secured inside Fieschi's room, which overlooked the Boulevard du Temple. A trail of gunpowder along a bar connecting the touch-holes of the guns was supposed to ignite and fire the guns all at once, but in the event several guns misfired and the King, processing along the Boulevard, was saved.[44] In St. Petersburg in 1887, the student nihilists Andreevsky and Petrov were caught attempting to kill the Tsar with a machine disguised as a law book. Inside was dynamite and bullets filled with the poison strychnine, above which were compartments of mercury fulminate and a tube of sulphuric acid tied to a string. When the book was thrown the tube would break, releasing the acid into the fulminate and detonating it and the dynamite.[45]

The Relationship between the State and Revolutionaries in the Development of New Weapons

Infernal machines highlight the ingenuity of bomb-makers, yet the common image of revolutionaries' relationship to science and technology is one of the terrorist as a consumer, or perhaps at best an adaptive user of existing technologies. Often, science was personified by the revolutionaries as the generous donor of a powerful new technology which would serve the interests of humanity. "Dynamite! Of all the good stuff, this is the stuff.…In giving dynamite to the downtrodden millions of the globe, science has done its best work."[46] As noted earlier, Johann Most reckoned it was futile to try to manufacture volatile chemicals such as nitroglycerin and fulminate of mercury on a small scale in homes or makeshift laboratories, and instead suggested revolutionaries buy or steal their explosives ready-made. Undoubtedly, for the most part, this was how revolutionaries proceeded, obtaining dynamite (which was relatively easy to buy) and other materials to use in homemade bombs. However, at least one case demonstrates that the state might also have learned from the revolutionaries, though it was loathe to admit it.

Sir William Congreve was the son of the William Congreve who reformed gunpowder production in England in the eighteenth century. A journalist and inventor who became established at London's Royal Arsenal in Woolwich, Congreve played an important role in the creation of the gas-lighting industry in Britain and developed the earliest techniques for studying and measuring gas explosions.[47] In 1805, Congreve proposed a design for an incendiary war rocket, to be used against Napoleon's fleet.[48] In fact, the rockets might never need to be used, claimed Congreve, because the mere possibility of their use would act as a deterrent, "were it known to [the enemy] that the British navy possessed the means of burning any of their marine towns…what town, let me ask, would on a threat of such destruction, refuse to surrender any vessel or vessels that might have taken shelter under its batteries." Congreve's proposal, reminiscent of much later arguments about nuclear deterrence, reminds us that fear and terror were considered fair weapons in the official arsenals of the nineteenth-century state—and not just in France. Terror also secured colonial authority. In the 1830s, the captain of Charles Darwin's former ship HMS Beagle fired a Congreve rocket at the Australian aborigines, "lest familiarity should breed contempt, to give them a hint of our superiority."[49]

It is normally supposed that Congreve learned of the war rocket from the Indian use of the weapon in the wars between the East India Company and Mysore in the closing years of the eighteenth century. The Indian war rocket consisted of a large iron tube filled with incendiary composition, bound to a sword blade or bamboo stick. Fired against an enemy in volleys, these Indian rockets caused havoc. In his numerous publications, Congreve was dismissive of Indian rockets as crude and primitive, but in India,

Company officers widely assumed Congreve rockets were adaptations of the Indian weapons.[50] Nevertheless, there is some evidence that Congreve did not learn of war rockets from India, but from Ireland, where Irish nationalists and Republicans used their own version of the Indian war rocket to revolt against the British in 1803.

Robert Emmet was a student of Trinity College, Dublin, where he belonged to the secret United Irish Society determined to end British rule in Ireland and found an independent republic.[51] Expelled for sedition after taking part in the Society's uprising of 1798, Emmet fled to France, where he hoped to gain support for a revolution in Ireland. A long-time student of chemistry, Emmet befriended the American inventor Robert Fulton in France and may have learned of Indian war rockets from him. Certainly by the Spring of 1803, Emmet had returned to Dublin, where he established secret weapons-making depots across the city to prepare for another uprising against the British. In one of these, in Patrick Street, William Johnstone, said to have been a former pyrotechnist in the East India Company, manufactured war rockets similar to the Indian design. The rocket tubes were twenty inches long and two and a half inches wide, cut from sheet iron, held together with clasps and pointed at one end; they were attached to an eight-foot long pole on one side. This closely resembled the war rockets promoted by Congreve from ca. 1805. Johnstone, Emmet, and others tested the rockets in the countryside near Irishtown in July 1803, but soon after disaster struck when an explosion wrecked the Patrick Street depot. Johnstone was badly injured and Emmet, knowing the British would soon know of his plans, brought forward the date of his uprising. In the event, the rebellion failed, and Emmet was arrested, then executed in Dublin in September. But the rockets appear to have attracted the interest of the British Crown, and one of Johnstone and Emmet's collaborators, a carpenter named Pat Finerty managed to avoid prosecution by agreeing to move to Woolwich Arsenal in London, where he worked for William Congreve, to whom he allegedly sold the secret of the war rocket.

It is possible that Congreve was already experimenting on rockets at the time of Emmet's uprising, but several authors have asserted Emmet's priority. Thomas Addis Emmet, Robert's elder brother and his first biographer, was "positively of the opinion that the English Government decided that under no circumstances should the name of Robert Emmet be associated with the rocket as the inventor. Congreve was taken in hand and kept employed nominally in manufacturing it, until his name became permanently associated with it."[52] A more recent biographer, Patrick Geoghegan, reaches the same conclusion.[53] Whatever the case, the story of the war rocket indicates that at the very least, revolutionaries and inventors working for the state were at an equal level in the development of new explosive technologies around 1800. Moreover, the rocket was used aggressively by Emmet before it was used by the state—and before Emmet the rocket was an eastern technology, that moved from the periphery of the British Empire to cause terror at its center. Revolutionaries and radicals, then, might act as innovators in the design and use of explosives, and see their innovations copied by the state.

Terror in the Context of the Popularization and Professionalization of Science

To conclude it is worth setting the bomb-making practice of radicals and revolutionaries in the context of the changing nature of science in the nineteenth century. This practice occurred in a context of increasing public enthusiasm for science and growing efforts to popularize and broaden the pursuit of science, together with professionalization of the sciences and an accompanying turn to specialization and dedicated scientific instrumentation and spaces.

In their enthusiasm for science and technology, and their belief in progress, terrorists followed widespread public opinion brought about by enduring efforts in the nineteenth century on the part of scientists to encourage the popularity of the sciences.[54] Throughout the century, venues and occasions for scientific publishing, public lectures, and museum displays expanded to take in an ever wider section of the community. Chemical and mechanical knowledge was not just available in textbooks accessible to terrorists, but constantly promoted in popular magazines such as *Scientific American* (founded 1845) and *Popular Science Monthly* (founded 1872), which advertised cheap and simplified apparatus and experiments suitable for the home. Critics identified the threat of such communications. "The dangerous classes have learned from the savants that nitric acid mixed in a certain proportion with any combustible, cotton, or glycerine, or the like, will make an explosive of great force."[55]

Popularization was increasingly represented by scientists as the activity of professionals and experts in communicating science to a nonprofessional audience.[56] In the eighteenth century, no profession of science existed and a wide variety of physicians, ministers, artisans, and scholars made contributions to natural philosophy. But in the nineteenth century, it increasingly became the case that the "scientist" (a term coined in the 1830s) was someone who had been educated at a university in a specialized field of natural knowledge and worked in a paid research position, either in a university or in industry. In the course of the century, as more people entered these new scientific careers, they might begin to pass through a widening number of ranks in science from lowly technician to celebrated intellectual. In practice, as the example of the rocket above suggests, and as a number of historians have shown, the boundaries of professionalism were ill-defined, and many important scientists did not work in salaried positions (Charles Darwin, for example). Nevertheless a distinction grew in the nineteenth century between professionals, who occupied paid research positions, and everyone else, generating a growing body of scientific personnel of whom only a limited number might become fully fledged professionals. Commentators on terrorism sometimes identified this community with terrorism.

"Experience shows that the most dangerous of all anarchists are the lower men of science and the workmen trained in laboratories, who feel with a half-lunatic bitterness the difference between their intellectual acquirements and their position."[57] In Joseph Conrad's novel *The Secret Agent* (1907), bombs were made for a group of anarchists by the "professor" who was "once assistant demonstrator in chemistry at some technical institute" and a former technician in the laboratory of a dye manufacturer. Impatient with the world's inability to recognize his genius, the professor turned against society.[58]

Another new condition of professionalized science that shaped the image of terrorist science was its material culture. In the eighteenth century, much emphasis was placed on "making do" in natural philosophy, on the use of household utensils and readily available materials to construct scientific apparatus. Joseph Priestley, for example, insisted on using such materials in order to make experimental chemistry accessible to a broad audience of polite society.[59] In the nineteenth century this attitude began to change. In the 1830s, the English chemist Michael Faraday continued to promote the use of kitchenware and homely items for chemistry to students.[60] But by the second half of the century, new methods of constructive synthesis in chemistry and growing numbers of students interested in studying the subject prompted a turn to increasingly specialized spaces and expensive, dedicated instrumentation.[61] The nonprofessional scientist was thus identified in part by their lack of access to such specialized space and equipment. In the case of the terrorists, improvisation in the face of scarcity became necessary. Johann Most's book, for example, explained that the best form of bomb consisted of a hollow sphere filled with explosives. "Where can you obtain such hollow spheres? The best ones are made of iron, and you could have them cast at a factory. However . . . if the people at the factory are not loyal comrades there is the possibility of betrayal."[62] The terrorist must improvise, and the author explained how to adapt gas and water pipes into homemade hand grenades and how to make nitroglycerin in the bathroom washtub using coffee pots covered with old window panes. Fruit cans filled with benzene and gunpowder and cigarettes to light them also served the bomb-maker.[63]

The confluence of popularization, professionalization, and specialization created a paradox at the heart of terrorist science. On the one hand, terrorists followed the popular enthusiasm for the sciences and believed that science offered unprecedented technologies of destruction that might allow them to attain social progress. On the other hand, the means and skills needed to make and use these technologies were now becoming so specialized that it was hard to replicate scientific practices on a small scale or using only adapted apparatus. Hence, Johann Most's conviction, discussed in the introduction, that the simplest way for revolutionary bomb-makers to proceed was not to make their explosives at home but to buy (or steal) them ready-made. Revolutionaries were not lacking in ingenuity, but in taking up the banner of modern science they did not have access to the means needed to produce the novel weapons they wished to use.

Conclusion

The nineteenth century witnessed a new intimacy between scientific research and the development of explosives for industry, the military, and the state. Mining, engineering, and artillery all benefited from new, more powerful explosives such as dynamite and guncotton. These new explosives became potent tools for the actions of groups of anarchists, revolutionaries, and radicals, particularly after the invention of dynamite by Nobel in the 1860s. Nevertheless, acts of terror employed simpler and older weapons throughout the nineteenth century, and often knives and guns proved easier to manage than newfangled explosives. Terrorists manufactured explosive weapons and infernal machines in clandestine workshops and laboratories, but they also relied on ready-made explosives because small-scale manufacture was not as simple as some revolutionary literature might make out. This paradox was representative of terrorists' relationship to the sciences. Terrorists, like the public at large in the late nineteenth century, embraced science as a progressive force, following enduring efforts by scientists to popularize their work and encourage participation in science. They also took for granted an emerging social order of professional science in this period, marked by, among other things, differences in the material culture used by each community. Terrorists may have been revolutionary in their attitude to politics, but conformed to the scientific culture of their time. Nevertheless, while terrorists acted and saw themselves as consumers of innovative science, they could also contribute to innovations. The line between the skills of improvising radicals and those of legitimate scientists and inventors was not always clearly drawn.

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CHAPTER 12

PROPAGANDA OF THE DEED

The Emergence of the Radical Weapons Manual in the Late Nineteenth Century

ANN LARABEE

In the late 1870s, a new genre of radical discourse emerged among anti-imperial, anticapitalist groups in the United States and Europe. This was a kind of instructional speech that, in its textual form, we now call "anarchist cookbooks." Drawing upon a variety of older forms such as science textbooks and military manuals, the new genre had distinctive features: it relied on collation of plagiarized material from legitimate sources, offered to translate this scientific and technical information into a people's vernacular, and accompanied these processes with calls for revolution. More than the potentially hazardous information contained therein, the very form threatened an order in which scientific and technical information was increasingly bounded by a professional class of civil engineers and military developers who presented themselves as the right hands for the power of the new nitro and chlorate explosives, commonly grouped under the name, "dynamite." Because of their inherent critique of the modern state's proprietary control over scientific and technical information, the basic conventions of the anarchist cookbook have traveled readily across politically, historically, and geographically diverse radical groups.

This chapter will focus primarily on the American case. The United States was by no means exceptional in the production of bomb-making instructional speech, but was unusual in two important ways. First, during the colonial period, gunpowder manufacturing on homesteads had been extolled in publicly circulated republican pamphlets as a civic duty, encouraging independence, self-defense, and development of the useful arts. These pamphlets had provided instruction in making ingredients like saltpeter in barns and kitchens, based on household techniques like lye-making. Therefore, there was a public tradition that aligned homemade weapons-making with republican virtues.

Radical groups could fit their own instructional discourse within the historic contours of patriotic rebellion, especially in the aftermath of the 1876 Centennial that had reminded many Americans of the nation's early history. Second, the United States had much more lenient speech and weapons laws that, before the Haymarket bombing in 1886, allowed the public expression of an instructional speech that also called for revolutionary action. In other countries, such speech was suppressed and circulated underground. We have a much fuller record from the United States, not only of radical publications but also of journalistic coverage of revolutionary instructional speeches by leading advocates of violence like Professor Gaspodin Mezzeroff and Johann Most. While violent radical groups would usually not telegraph their plans for specific acts of terrorism or the locations of their schools and laboratories, they did not initially hide their impassioned advocacy of instruction in a people's chemistry. Radical groups in the United States were in a somewhat different speech situation than their European counterparts, though all bomb-making instructional speech relied on information borrowed from official sources like military and technical training institutions that carried out the practical aims of empire.

Observing the content of instructional speech in explosives and bomb-making, many sympathetic contemporary observers and historians have pointed to an ideal of dynamite among the anti-imperial, anticapitalist groups in the "anarchist wave"[1] in the United States. The consensus has been that, especially among socialist-anarchist groups, the talk of bomb violence was more theater than action. Much of the discussion of bomb violence in the period has focused on the Chicago anarchists implicated in the Haymarket bombing. Early on, prominent socialist journalist Floyd Dell wrote of them: "violence was a matter of talk and never a matter of action" and that "talk of dynamite was made largely in the American spirit of the bluff."[2] Later, in his study of Haymarket, historian Paul Avrich argued that although a few men might have resorted to weapons-making, most had produced only "rash and provocative statements" and that the gap between "advocacy of terrorism and its actual practice was very wide."[3] Other historians have averred that "bomb talk" was false bravado, designed to enhance the image of a small, fragile political community.[4] Recently, historian Beverly Gage has pointed out that radical bomb violence, especially labor violence, in the period from 1877 to 1922 has been wrongly dismissed by social historians interested in reclaiming a usable radical past and uncomfortable with an important strain of revolutionary terrorism.[5] Much of the concern has been over whether talk of violence was real or not and whether the relatively few acts of bomb violence in the "Age of Anarchy"[6] could be said to be representative or significant.

As necessary as these discussions are in establishing the purposes and intentions of radical groups and refuting stereotypes of inherently violent anarchists, they have overlooked the significance of bomb talk, especially in its instructional form, as a lasting critique of the state. A focus on the conventions of this instructional discourse—in which violence is both a series of frightening technical potentialities and a popular discursive attack upon the state's legitimating discourses—erodes the classic dichotomy between propaganda of the word and propaganda of the deed. Given the long-lasting anxieties in

many governments over bomb-making instructional speech and their legal efforts to purge it, bomb talk has proven significant in itself even if it has not led to practical applications through specific attacks.

The Right Hands

Before the publication of Johann Most's *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft*—the most infamous of the early radical weapons manuals—instructions for bombs and explosives were already widespread throughout the United States and Europe. Nineteenth-century chemistry textbooks and government military publications described how to make dynamite, nitroglycerin, guncotton, and fulminates of mercury and silver used in percussion caps. The bibliography included in the French chemist Marcellin Berthelot's noted theoretical work, *Explosive Materials*, published in 1883, lists nearly 500 works on explosives, including books and articles in French, German, and English on the manufacture, storage, use, and safety of the new high explosives. These texts catered to an increasingly professionalized group of civil, military, and chemical engineers and students of applied science, whom Ruth Oldenziel has characterized as the "shock troops of industrial capitalism."[7] In public culture, engineers were beginning to emerge as the heroes of capitalism and empire, associated with balance, mastery, stability, and civic order.[8]

Experts in the emerging high explosives industries had a special stake in promoting this reputation and legitimating their enterprises, which were widely perceived as extremely risky. When nitroglycerin was introduced by industrial chemist Ascanio Sobrero in 1846, scientists and engineers heralded it as "the ideal of portable force"[9] for large-scale land clearing, tunneling, and mining. Nitroglycerin was also highly unstable. Its industrial use in the 1860s led to several spectacular disasters covered in the transatlantic press, most notably an explosion on board the mail steamer *European*, docked at Aspinwall in Panama, blowing out every window in the city and killing forty-seven people. In separate incidents in San Francisco and New York, stored packages of nitroglycerin exploded, breaking windows, shattering concrete pavement, and injuring bystanders. Seventeen died in the San Francisco explosion that "shook the earth like an earthquake."[10] Vulnerability to such disasters was especially acute for concentrated urban populations, who feared the presence of nitroglycerin on their docks and roads.

In 1868, Alfred Nobel received a U.S. patent for dynamite, which stabilized nitroglycerin by adding a porous sedimentary rock called diatomite. Shortly after, Nobel replaced diatomite with wood pulp, and added sodium nitrate as an oxidizing agent. Because dynamite will only burn ineffectively unless it is detonated with a primary explosion, he invented a percussion cap. Dynamite made nitroglycerin a safer and more reliable "portable force"; however, manufacturers were at first reluctant to switch to the new product. Henry du Pont, head of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company, declared in 1871 that all the new explosives such as guncotton, dynamite, and nitroglycerin were "vastly more

dangerous than gunpowder, and no man's life is safe who uses them."[11] Nevertheless, as their industry recovered from the market crash of 1873, the Du Ponts began making small investments in nitroglycerin and dynamite manufacture, a commercial interest that would quickly burgeon into full-scale manufacture, enhanced by the company's control of the monopolistic Gunpowder Trade Association and its long-standing relationship with the U.S. military. In the nineteenth-century arms race, the U.S. military, along with the European powers, were interested in developing more powerful mines and torpedoes and this knowledge was leaking into the public sphere.

As the explosive industry began to embrace high explosives, fearful consumers had to be convinced to accept them. Industrialists and their salesmen and engineers accomplished this through a widespread public relations campaign, often inviting the public to demonstrations of large-scale spectacles. For example, the removal of navigational obstructions in New York's East River in 1876 from the narrow strait called Hell Gate provided an opportunity for a spectacular public display of dynamite's power, safely controlled by experts. The project was led by General John Newton, the Army's Chief of Engineers. Originally planned as a July 4 event to celebrate the nation's Centennial, the operation was delayed until September, provoking an extended local anxiety over the possible effects of the blast, the largest explosion of dynamite ever attempted. Inhabitants of New York, especially in neighborhoods near the site, "suffered terrors as if a disastrous convulsion of nature were at hand."[12] Nevertheless, a large crowd gathered to watch the explosion of almost 50,000 pounds of explosives, mostly dynamite, set off by mercury fulminate cartridges. A thousand people were sold tickets to watch the event from boats. Newton's two-year-old granddaughter, May, pushed the button. The *New York Times* reported that the "terrific rending force liberated by the hand of a child" was "picturesque, and in some points sublime," evoking a great sigh of relief, a religious feeling of awe, and a recognition of a new era for "the most terrible agents known to engineering."[13] The image that even a carefully supervised child could handle this great force helped domesticate it.

The blasting of the Hell Gate rocks not only produced accounts of witness to the sublime, but technical descriptions by engineers who emphasized the gigantism of the enterprise. As General Newton explained in *Popular Science Monthly*, a maze of tunnels and galleries were dug underneath the hazardous reef, which was 720 feet long by 300 feet wide. Care had to be taken with the placement of charges so that the explosion did not cause a massive destructive wave that would wipe out parts of the city; 3,680 mines were wired to twenty-three batteries, all fired simultaneously by an electric current passed through detonators with platinum wire bridges. Newton gave his audience a detailed description of the detonator, made easily from a copper tube, sulfur, fulminate, gutta-percha, and conducting wires.[14] Helpful diagrams were included, showing the composition of the detonators and the arrangement of the charges. Thus, the principles and mechanisms of explosives were explained as simple and eminently reproducible, though this practical know-how was tempered by an accompanying discourse of great potential danger. The project was extensively covered in the press and displayed to the public through a detailed model at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, in the

U.S. Government building, which also contained torpedoes, hand grenades, Gatling guns, and other "handsome weapons of death."[15]

The selling of dynamite also had emissaries in the field. Nobel himself gave demonstrations of product safety, throwing dynamite off high cliffs and setting boxes of it on fire. One observer of these experiments, examining the charred and dented boxes, wrote: "Such tests ought to satisfy the most skeptical of the safety of the new blasting powder either in a railway collision, or accidental upset of a package, or a fire."[16] When the Pennsylvania railroad sent a chemist to the Repauno Company, co-founded by Lammot Du Pont, salesmen lit dynamite sticks and pitched them onto jagged rocks. The chemist concluded that the explosive was safe for the railroad to transport.[17] Fred Julian, one of twelve salesmen for the Atlantic Giant Powder Company, described his efforts in the 1870s to promote the new product to "miners and rock men [who] were afraid of the very name of dynamite."[18] In his demonstrations, which he claimed to have given thousands of times over a ten-year period, Julian would put a dynamite cartridge on a wooden plank and hammer it, take it in his hand and set it on fire, and then pop it back into his valise. Because of these efforts, knowledge about dynamite and other blasting compounds, including their basic composition and incorporation in explosive devices, became widespread in many industries and among their workers, including powdermen, miners, and railroad builders.

There was tension between the need to promote new explosives by proving their easy and safe handling, and the need to define the right hands for their use: a class of experts who could supervise a mysterious, dangerous force. Like nuclear energy in the twentieth century, dynamite had its own priesthood of scientists, industrialists, and engineers who were considered the protectors of a new and dangerous power. With pantheistic names like Atlas, Giant, Vulcan, and Hercules, companies making dynamite emphasized its mythic power. Engineers and manufacturers often reiterated that only trained hands should hold dynamite. For example, when in 1873 engineer Edward Philbrick testified before a Boston commission on the use of dynamite to control urban fires, he emphasized its safety, describing an incident in the Hoosac Tunnel when a worker dropped burning oil onto a box of dynamite cartridges with no ill effect. But the danger of dynamite, he warned, should not be underestimated: "Like any other exploder, [dynamite] should never be used except by trained hands."[19] At the same time, an idea of the wrong hands was beginning to appear. Josiah Cooke, a chemistry professor at Harvard, explained in his textbook: "Great power in the hands of ignorant or careless men implies great danger. Sleepless vigilance is the condition under which we wield all the great powers of civilization, and we cannot except that the power of nitro-glycerine will be any exception to the general rule."[20]

In December 1875, a spectacular crime took place that demonstrated the danger of dynamite falling into the wrong hands.[21] A seemingly respectable, middle-class businessman, William King Thomas, was the architect of a diabolical scheme to blow up passenger ships mid-ocean using a bomb comprised of a clockwork mechanism attached to enough dynamite to fill a wooden barrel. His aim was not political terrorism, but rather to collect marine insurance he had obtained on a metal box that he claimed

was filled with gold coins, but was in actuality filled with buckshot. When one of his bombs accidentally went off on a dock in Bremerhaven, Germany, killing eighty-one people, the disaster was widely reported in major nineteenth-century newspapers. As details emerged from the tragedy, the newspapers reported on the construction of the device, which was the first of its kind and capable of enough force to blow up a transatlantic ship. Illustrations for the device—helpfully provided by a publicity-seeking clockmaker who had unwittingly aided Thomas—were published in broadsides. Journalists took an educational tone in explaining dynamite: a new, powerful substance that many readers were encountering for the first time. While the press treated Thomas's crime as singularly demonic, it also opened up a horizon of possibilities for violent radical groups, most notably the targeting of large-scale monuments and symbols of empire. Self-trained and acting alone, Thomas had managed to harness the "great powers of civilization" to incredibly destructive effect, and he did not need an army of engineers to pull it off. Within the next few years, the clockwork dynamite bomb—a technology rapidly transferred through an expanding print media—had made its appearance in many venues, including the dynamiting of Tsar Alexander II's Winter Palace in 1880.

Mezzeroff's Prescriptions to Students

By the late 1870s, some radical groups had begun to provide their members with training in constructing clockwork bombs and other devices using the new high explosives. Members who had been formally trained in medical or technical schools were prized for their professional expertise in chemistry and engineering. Given the widespread circulation of information about explosives and explosive devices in popular nineteenth-century print media, it was also possible for amateurs to seek out and master basic principles and techniques of bomb-making and to offer their services as teachers.

An exemplary case is Professor Gaspodin Mezzeroff, who was mostly affiliated with the New York-based Fenian Brotherhood led by the Irish radical Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa. In late 1875, Patrick Ford, the editor of the *Irish World*; his brother, Augustine; O'Donovan Rossa; and his former prison companion, John McCafferty, met to discuss strategies for overthrowing the British in Ireland. At that meeting, which moved the paradigm from freeing prisoners and kidnapping British royals to burning down British cities, Augustine recounted Aesop's fable of the fox's revenge on an eagle that has eaten the fox's young. The fox steals a cinder wrapped in flesh from a sacrificial altar, and then cunningly uses it to burn down the tree where the eagle has nested. The fox eats the eagle's fledglings as they fall to the ground. The metaphor was obvious: the leaders of a new "skirmishing" organization would steal the means of warfare, placed in the open by the state's technological priesthood, and attack England.[22]

The *Irish World* had already established a general interest in science as a program of social uplift, running a regular educational column on scientific inventions, such as Archimedes' screw, the barometer, and the pneumatic tube. It also encouraged reader participation with a letters column that answered questions about science. Therefore, it emulated many other popular periodicals that devoted column space to the scientific achievements of Western civilization. Describing his visit to the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibit, Patrick Ford explained that while "the products of all countries and the mechanical achievements of all peoples on the earth" were there, Ireland was not represented.[23] Nor should it be, Ford said, because as mere slaves who had never contributed to civilization's progress, the Irish had no right to recognition. Therefore, the right to nationhood was strongly associated with technological achievement and commerce. Furthermore, the argument for expanding scientific and technological knowledge was directed at Irish-American immigrants, of whom most were engaged as unskilled laborers, factory workers, or artisans in fiercely competitive, declining craft trades.[24] The newly professional domains of science and engineering could hypothetically provide economic and social uplift.

With the establishment of the "skirmishing" mission, the paper turned its attention to high explosives, showing that it was keen on the latest scientific advances. The making of explosives, in particular, was presented as democratic social activity that supported independence and self-defense. There was a search for moral antecedents in the American Revolution, in the "peasants of America in '76'" who studied chemistry and manufactured gunpowder to win their war, just as Irish revolutionaries would back up their threats with "hard substances."[25] The editors speculated that the "wonders of chemistry" could provide a cheap, powerful, safe, and effective weapon and envisioned an education campaign to train resistors and nationalists, in both the United States and Ireland, to make nitroglycerin and dynamite: "If the Irish peasantry were as familiar with the mixing of those explosives as they are with wrestling, hurling, card-playing and the like, the light of 'how to free their country' would flash upon them quickly as a thunder clap."[26] Teachers trained in the science of explosives in the United States were to go to Ireland to transform schoolchildren into chemists. The basic principles of science would be presented with a course in Irish nationalist politics. The "finest peasant chemists in the world" would thus reenact the French and American revolutions. Never realized in Ireland, where British measures were too harsh and repressive, this new technical education was carried out in the United States with frequent revolutionary science lectures and the creation of at least two major bomb-making schools.

Professor Mezzeroff was one of the instructors, along with at least two others who worked for the more secretive radical organization, Clan na Gael. These were Thomas Gallagher, a promising physician who had studied medicine while working in an iron foundry in New York, and his successor, Joe Ryan, a bartender, who was also a proficient chemist. Ryan was reported to have developed a chemical weapon that he tested in a Cincinnati stockyard, killing three dogs and two cats.[27] Mezzeroff was by far the most publicly flamboyant of the dynamite instructors, offering instruction to any group in

New York City who invited him, whatever their political aim. He may have provided the model for Joseph Conrad's technology-obsessed "Professor" in *The Secret Agent*.[28] Although Mezzeroff appears to have been a Scottish-American saloonkeeper named Richard Rogers,[29] he assumed a theatrical identity. He claimed to be born of a Russian father and an Irish mother representing two violent revolutionary groups: the Nihilist and the Irish nationalist.

Mezzeroff did most of his teaching at O'Donovan Rossa's "School of Mines." The school, which produced over sixty graduates, recruited young men from Scotland, England, and Ireland who had already proven aptitude in trade skills like mechanics, plumbing, and iron work. Like much of the public discourse emanating from O'Donovan Rossa and his compatriots, the name of the school had an element of parody with multiple layers of meaning. The "School of Mines" gave the appearance of a legitimate enterprise by mimicking engineering schools—like the American School of Mines at Columbia University—that offered training in mechanics, mine surveying, applied and analytical chemistry, and civil engineering. But the School of Mines, while serving as a disguise, evoked more subversive associations. Mines referred to explosive devices like harbor mines and landmines. Many exploited Irish worked in mines and were key agitators in the labor movement. This kind of multilayered parody was also a feature of Mezzeroff's theatrical public speeches. Sporting a brown wig, a long black coat, a waxed black mustache, and a satchel marked "Dynamite," Mezzeroff would tell his audiences that he could teach young revolutionists to make dynamite from their old hats and boots. In a typical report on Mezzeroff's activities, a *New York Times* journalist described one of his demonstrations at a Fenian Brotherhood picnic in a park in Harlem: "The event of the evening was an illustration of dynamite warfare by Prof. Mezeroff [*sic*]. He gathered a crowd about him and threw a grenade containing an ounce of dynamite against a stone about 50 feet distant. It exploded with a report which caused a chorus of screams from the women and seemed to make the light across the river on Hell Gate tower vibrate."[30]

Mezzeroff's demonstrations parodied the sales pitches of the explosives industry and its awe-inspiring product demonstrations. His claims that dynamite could be made from his handkerchief were not much more exaggerated than respected chemist Charles A. Doremus's claim that that dynamite was "a good deal easier and quicker to make than griddle cakes."[31] What distinguished Mezzeroff's instructional speech was that it took place in a social world outside official knowledge domains that emphasized the authority and control of the scientist and the engineer. The darkly humorous, playful aspects of his public appearances were in keeping with the discursive strategies of O'Donovan Rossa and his group to keep observers off guard: one never knew whether the threats to mine all the British harbors and burn down London were serious or not. It was an ambivalence that served to ward off a crackdown while providing a way of making threats and demonstrating potentials for violence. (Indeed, the functions of humor in radical discourse have been much overlooked by historians.) However, such speech had its risks, since critics, including those within other Fenian organizations, often dismissed O'Donovan Rossa and his colleagues as movement-damaging blatherskites.

Within the nearly invisible domain of the School of Mines, Mezzeroff's discourse was more straightforward, borrowing the content and emulating the procedural language of nineteenth-century textbooks. He taught his students how to make nitroglycerin, Greek fire, and other explosives and created a textbook, "Prescriptions to Students," for use in the lab. Only three of the recipes from this text are extant; they reflect a moderate, procedural knowledge of nineteenth-century organic chemistry. One is a simple formula for an explosive made from potassium chlorate, sulfur, and verdigris, detonated with a percussion cap. A second recipe is for a "stink pot," an innocent name for an extremely volatile, smelly, and poisonous mixture. The passive language of the recipe gives a glimpse of Mezzeroff's knowledge of laboratory procedure:

> [The stink pot] is prepared by distilling equal parts of Acetate of Potassa and Arsenious Acid, well dried intimately mixed and introduced into a glass retort connected with a condenser and "tublated" receiver cooled by ice, a tube being attached for the receiver to carry away the permanently gaseous products to some distance from the experimenter. Heat is then applied and gradually increased to redness. At the close of the operation the receiver is found to contain two liquids besides a quantity of "reduce" arsenic."[32]

A third recipe is for an incendiary based on osmium, derived by dissolving platinum in a mixture of hydrochloric and nitric acids. Formulas using osmium, including manufacture of the odiferous poison, osmic acid, were common in nineteenth-century chemistry textbooks.[33] Mezzeroff's recipe leads to the formation of osmium tetroxide, a highly toxic, volatile acid that can cause severe burns to eyes, skin, and lungs, and even death if enough is inhaled. O'Donovan Rossa threatened to poison the British House of Commons with osmic acid, a plan that was met with approval by *Irish World* subscribers.[34]

A few of Mezzeroff's bomb designs are also extant because they were reproduced by a correspondent for the *Pall Mall Gazette* who met Mezzeroff and other "chiefs of the dynamite party" in O'Donovan Rossa's newspaper office.[35] The reporter copied diagrams provided by Mezzeroff for an Orisini percussion bomb, an exploding cigar, a bottle bomb, a dynamite-loaded cane, and other devices. The visual language of these drawings is similar to technical illustrations for patent applications, but perhaps more importantly, the presentation of explosive devices disguised as everyday objects is a very familiar feature of anarchist cookbooks. For example, the exploding cigar, or cigarette, has had a long life in such works. Explosive curiosities were not unusual additions to nineteenth-century pyrotechnics books. In a pyrotechnics pamphlet published in New York in 1821, "real engineer" Christopher Grotz gave instructions for playing practical jokes with silver fulminate like putting the highly sensitive explosive substance into a victim's pipe tobacco to "cause some sport."[36] The American Civil War had encouraged the production of explosive booby traps like landmines and bombs disguised as lumps of coal to be shoveled into steamship boilers. In the postwar period a number of amateur inventors continued to develop these wares. The most infamous of these was the Philadelphia metal smith George Holgate, who advertised bombs hidden in apple

barrels, satchels, and hats and freely spoke to reporters about his inventions.[37] The technical contents of Mezzeroff's instructional speech were not particularly innovative, but the borrowing was significant in that it placed the project within a history of technological development. Mezzeroff liked to refer to colonial inventor David Bushnell's floating clockwork bombs and Thomas Courtenay's "coal torpedo" to legitimate his instruction while suggesting that the downtrodden—those who were not the expected inheritors or creators of the resources of civilization—could acquire the appropriate knowledge, including the ability to blow up the artifacts and monuments of the powerful. (It is no coincidence that the artifacts Mezzeroff chose for his explosive booby traps were a cigar and a walking cane.) While there was a small, emerging group of engineers in Ireland who participated in Britain's imperial projects, laborers, artisans, and craft workers were not supposed to have the brains for engineering and science.[38] The dynamite schools offered to empower them through an illegitimate technical education. Associating the skirmishing war with a renewed masculinity, military strength, and technical prowess, O'Donovan Rossa assured his followers: "Any intelligent Irishman attending a school of dynamite for one month can feel himself strong enough to level an English garrison or sink an English man-of-war."[39] Students of the school went on to accompany Mezzeroff on his fund-raising tours, demonstrating their successful transformation into radical chemists.

As to the efficacy of the training at the School of Mines, very little came of it. O'Donovan Rossa's organization had very few successful deployments, while its rival, the much more secretive Clan na Gael had a better record: setting up a kitchen factory in London for making nitroglycerin and carrying out bombings of London train stations, the Tower of London, Westminster Hall, and the House of Commons.[40] The Clan na Gael's chief military engineer, William Mackey Lomasney, who would later be killed attaching a bomb to a bridge, complained that O'Donovan Rossa's bombers were damaging the movement because the attacks were carried out by "fools and ignoramuses," with little understanding of the chemistry and physics of explosives.[41] Some bombs, which included a relatively weak, homemade form of lignine dynamite, were discovered prematurely or only smoked. Other devices made with clocks, Atlas dynamite, and small Remington pistols failed to go off because of small faults in their overly complicated, experimental detonating systems. These unexploded bombs, captured by the police, were excitedly described by the papers, often with illustrations, further spreading information about bombs and bomb-making to copycats. Professor Mezzeroff himself was fired because he could never produce a proficient detonator. (He claimed that he had not been hired to teach bomb construction, but only explosives making.) As Conrad's anarchist Professor would put it, "The manner of exploding is always the weakest point with us."[42] The early history of bomb-making among radical groups generally shows many more misses than hits because the training, construction, and deployment of bombs is fraught with many possible accidents and risks of exposure.

The sporadic successes of the dynamitards in causing explosions and damaging property in Britain began to call official attention to their instructional speech. For the first time, the issue of bomb-making instructional speech was debated as a thorny legal issue

that resisted resolution. In late 1884, the Spanish consul in Washington, Juan Valera, complained to U.S. Secretary of State Frederick Frelinghuysen that Mezzeroff was teaching "scientific warfare" to Cuban revolutionaries in the United States:

> They, in their turn, feeling grateful for his services, regard him as a public benefactor, and place him in the same category with Gutenberg and Washington. They say that a single Cuban revolutionist, having been properly instructed by the learned Russian, can blow up one or two thousand Spanish soldiers quite conveniently and cheaply, and almost without danger.[43]

Valera demanded that the dynamite press be shut down but was met with little response. At the same time, the British Foreign Office was intensifying its complaints about incitement in the dynamite press, especially O'Donovan Rossa's *United Irishmen*. Frelinghuysen refuted various demands by Lord Earl Granville by arguing in defense of political liberty and freedom of speech, even advocacy of political violence. He stated that he had found no statute in Britain or the United States "punishing or prohibiting…the manufacture of powder or other explosives which are intended or which may be used to the injury of a foreign friendly nation or citizens thereof."[44]

The U.S. federal government's attitude changed on January 25, 1885, when bombs planted by the Clan na Gael went off simultaneously in the Tower of London, Westminster Hall, and the House of Commons. These attacks were especially sensational since the targets were sites frequented by American tourists, and a large number of women and children were there taking advantage of free admission day at the Tower. Many newspapers in the United States focused on the injuries to children. The *Philadelphia Record* reported, "Many of these little ones had their faces and hands very badly torn by the broken glass and flying splinters. The most piteous sight…was afforded by these little ones, with their pale faces and bleeding heads. Yells are heard on every side to 'Lynch the villains!' 'Roast the fiends!'"[45] On that day, in a hasty act, Frelinghuysen and pro tem of the Senate, George Franklin Edmunds, introduced a federal dynamite bill prohibiting manufacture and sale of high explosives for injury to lives or property anywhere in the world, and roughly modeled on the stringent British Explosives Act passed in 1883. The Edmunds bill was broadly aimed not only at anyone possessing, making, and selling explosives, but also at anyone "furnishing materials and ingredients" and "assisting by skill or labor or acting as agents for the principal or in any manner aiding as accessories before the fact."[46] This wide sweep was intended to net not only the bombers but the revolutionary chemists.

The bill was referred to the judiciary committee where it suffered death by committee,[47] but it inspired seven northern state legislatures[48] to institute dynamite laws in 1885 prohibiting unlicensed manufacture and possession of explosives. Local public safety was the key principle, thus avoiding politically charged questions of censorship. Yet the new laws sometimes covered violent instructional speech. Wisconsin successfully made it a crime to manufacture, sell, or transport explosives to be used for assassination, murder, or destruction of property anywhere in the world, or to "assist by skill or labor" in

these activities. Connecticut used similar language, making it a felony for any person to "directly or indirectly encourage, prompt to, or advocate" use of explosives for such a purpose. Some states also prohibited concealing dynamite, reflecting new fears of hidden dangers lurking in ordinary-looking packages and persons. Ohio made it a crime to conceal any dynamite cartridge, shell, or bomb on one's person for anything other than "legitimate and lawful use." The growing number of state and local licensing laws also put parameters around the illegitimate production and possession of explosives since applicants could be denied a license based on subtly discriminatory requirements like literacy. In general, U.S. federal, local, and state government entities found ways to discourage illicit bomb-making and bomb-making instruction without wading into the politically dangerous waters of censorship or singling out groups like the dynamitards who had the sympathy of many Irish-American voters.

Among the institutional proponents of dynamite, there was a growing sense of unease about making explosives information available to potential criminals and terrorists now that the intentional, rather than accidental, misuse was clear. This sometimes took the form of easing public fears through a language of expertise. A Nobel representative's decommissioning of explosives found in a Clan na Gael dynamite lab in London was widely covered in the press, and another of Nobel's representatives reassured readers of the London *Times* and *Scientific American* that the dynamite used by Fenian bombers was not especially powerful, and that "they cannot by any means at their disposal lay a whole city in ruins—not even a street."[49] Similarly, John Newton, who blasted Hell Gate, ended an article on high explosives: "For unlawful uses, to serve the purposes of assassination and destruction of property, [high explosives] can be applied only upon a limited scale and with nearly fruitless results."[50] Such statements sought to reestablish control of a potentially dangerous knowledge that was now widely seeded in the populace through many sources.

The Science of Revolutionary Warfare

While the Irish physical force advocates had sparked a national and international discussion of the political and social problem of inciting speech—including bomb-making instructional speech—socialist-anarchist groups were articulating a much fuller political and intellectual argument for the democratizing of dangerous technical information. The most articulate defender of the people's right to make explosives and weapons was Johann Most, a well-known German socialist who fully converted to a revolutionary anarchism when he reached the United States in 1882. He brought with him the revolutionary energies of the successful dynamite assassination effort of *Narodnaia Volia* and the call for scientific warfare at the London International Socialist Revolutionary Congress

of 1881. He also understood that a much fuller expression of his ideas on scientific warfare was possible in the American context.

Most's friend, Edward Nathan-Ganz represented the Mexican Confederation of Labor at the Congress and was the chief proponent of insurrectionary warfare through the study of "chemistry and technical science."[51] Living in Boston, Nathan-Ganz printed an issue of what he called *The An-archist Socialistic-Revolutionary Review*, which called for a "holy war" using "revolutionary war science" against the wealthy. Drawn to the millennial prophecies of the fifteenth-century British seer, Mother Shipton, Nathan-Ganz laid out plans for an urban apocalypse: transforming a city's gas and sewer pipes into underground bombs, subjecting what he perceived as the enemy—the entire population of a city—to a "terrible fate at the will of the engineer."[52] Nathan-Ganz imagined that sewer pipes could be mined with dynamite and set off with a single detonator, that arsenic could be introduced into gas lines to poison the populace, and that sections of these gas lines could be pumped with air, creating an explosive gaseous mix called "fire damp." Whether viable or not, such visions exploited fears of the new public utility networks that were transforming cities into well-lighted places but also introducing new threats of accidental fire, shock, and poison.[53]

For the proposed second issue of *The An-archist*, Nathan-Ganz promised to teach his readers how to make explosives and other subversive weapons to carry out the sensationalist plots from the first issue. Before the second issue appeared, however, he was arrested for conducting a phony mail-order business under his other identity, "Rodanow." As the alleged owner of the phony Rodanow Manufacturing Company, Nathan-Ganz sent advertising circulars overseas for bogus watches. It was rumored among anarchists that Nathan-Ganz had been arrested and jailed to suppress *The An-Archist Review*, but he had come to the police's attention for a much more prosaic reason: consumer complaints.[54]

Listed as collaborator on the first issue of *The An-Archist*, Most took up Nathan-Ganz's project when he arrived in the United States, publishing weapons-making instructions in his magazine, *Freiheit.* He also gave dozens of talks promoting scientific warfare to the anarchist group he helped found, the International Working People's Association (IWPA). Sounding much like Mezzeroff, Most told one of these audiences in Philadelphia that "a little grease, a little acid, as cheap as blackberries, some other acids, also very cheap, give nitroglycerine. This, mixed with sawdust and put in a hollow vessel and thrown under a barracks explodes, and the devil riceives [*sic*] the workmen's foes."[55] Most's ideas were particularly influential among Chicago anarchists who were engaged in a fierce struggle with local industries over labor conditions such as depressed wages and long working hours. As historian Jim Green writes, the "Chicago anarchists fell in love with the idea of dynamite as the great equalizer in class warfare."[56] A robust socialist-anarchist press in the city, including the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, edited by August Spies, and *Alarm*, edited by Albert and Lucy Parsons, covered Most's dynamite speeches and reprinted some of his technical instructions. *Alarm* recounted local experiments with dynamite and found justifications in Thomas Paine and the engineers of Hell Gate:

"On the pressure of a button by a little child there was an instantaneous explosion which rent the solid rock into a million fragments, heaving the ocean around over 200 feet into the air. We know how much it took to blow up Hell-Gate, but the question now is, How [*sic*] much is required to blow the Gates of Hell?"[57] Most's instructions seemed to hold the answer:

> Dynamite today, dynamite tonight
> Most tells how, he shows where.
> He says all in *Freiheit*
> And his good little book on warfare.[58]

Most's bomb-making instructions were compiled in his influential 1885 book, *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft: Ein Handbüchlein zur Anleitung betreffend Gebrauches und Herstellung von Nitro-Glycerin, Dynamit, Schiessbaumwolle, Knallquecksilber, Bomben, Brandsätzen, Giften u.s.w., u.s.w.* (*Science of Revolutionary Warfare: A Manual in the Use and Preparation of Nitroglycerine, Dynamite, Gun-Cotton, Fulminating Mercury, Bombs, Fuses, Poisons, etc., etc.*). Originally published in New York by *Internationaler Zeitungs-Verein, Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft* was sold at anarchist picnics and translated, in part, in *Alarm*. Most argued against any legal attempts against the "arming of the people," including concealed weapon laws, bans on drilling and marching with guns, and regulation of dynamite. If the U.S. "governing bandits" succeeded in making arms as difficult to obtain as in Europe, he warned his readers, "You will find yourself defenseless and powerless in face of a mob of murderers in uniform, armed to the teeth."[59] European revolutionists, he advised, had circumvented gun laws by turning to easily concealed and less suspicious looking dynamite.

Most collated the instructions in *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft* from industrial techniques and readily available army manuals, from which he drew descriptions of experiments measuring the explosive power of dynamite. For a time, Most is said to have taken a job with a New Jersey munitions manufacturer, learned its processes, and managed to steal some explosives.[60] Most also took technical information from official publications freely sold in Germany, including *Praktische Versuche mit Sprengstoffen* (*Practical Trials with Explosives*) published by the Austrian government, which had formed a commission to study high explosives and done extensive tests. These studies, featuring information on how to blow down walls, were well known to explosive experts. In *Modern High Explosives*, Eissler lauded the "great foresight" of Austria in being the first nation to recognize the "immense value" of the new explosives and promote their use.[61] Thus, the technical basis for *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft* was taken from industrial and military domains.

Calling for a radically democratic dispersal of expertise, *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft* was the first anarchist cookbook, and the first to lay out an explicit rationale for making such information available to what official domains had deemed the wrong hands. Like others that would follow, the manual was, in part, a collection of recipes for explosives and other weapons, including curiosities like invisible ink, daggers poisoned with

curare, and ptomaine taken from corpses. Much of the focus, however, was on the new high explosives. Most explained that procuring dynamite was much safer for revolutionaries than making it and devoted a substantial portion of his handbook to how to acquire and handle the substance. The process of making dynamite, Most warned, was difficult to hide, since the smell, for one thing, could give away the kitchen laboratory in confined urban spaces. The revolutionary had to elude capture for the sake of the revolution, because "the fear of those who protect the order is one hundred times greater when the perpetrator is unknown."[62] This, Most argued, was the great benefit of dynamite—that it could be easily procured and concealed in one's clothing and thus the dynamiter could take the enemy by surprise with less risk to himself and the revolutionary group.

If necessary, dynamite could be manufactured, and like other weapons' cookbooks devoted to arming the people, *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft* adapted technical processes to ordinary household tools, materials, and activities. Iron pots, porcelain vessels, wooden ladles, clotheslines, lemon squeezers, coffeepots, cleaning fluids, and the like were enlisted in Most's instructions to make Greek fire, dynamite, guncotton, nitroglycerin, and mercury and silver fulminates. Most explained that the complicated apparatus and obscure scientific language used by explosives manufacturers mystified these processes and made them seem more dangerous than they were. "Mathematical rules, measures, grades, degrees, thermometers, and logarithms" only created "misunderstandings among laymen." Translation of this language into ordinary, familiar materials and processes delivered knowledge into the hands of revolutionaries for their own experimentation, development, and use. *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft* thus alleged how leaky these domains of expert military and industrial knowledge really were, their fraternal exclusiveness based on technical codes that could be cracked.

Most's instructions for bombs and other incendiaries were not effective without effort, practice, and testing. As Emma Goldman remembered, Alexander Berkman, later convicted of attempting to murder industrialist Henry Clay Frick, was not able to carry out Most's instructions when they tried to make bombs: "A week's work and anxiety and forty precious dollars wasted!"[63] Rudolf Rocker suggested that an anarchist bomb-making school, the "Scientific Association," founded in New York in 1885, never got up to anything but "harmless games."[64] In Chicago, a more concerted effort was made to organize bomb-making activities, as *Alarm* urged its readers to "study their schoolbooks on chemistry and read the dictionaries and encyclopedias on the composition and construction of all kinds of explosives, and make themselves too strong to be opposed by deadly weapons."[65] This knowledge, the paper advised, could be obtained in one week with books available in the average home. In "The Manufacture and Use of the Deadly Dynamite Bomb Made Easy," *Alarm* taught its readers how to make detonators with glass and tin pipes, sulfuric acid, potassium chlorate, and powdered sugar; how to make gun-cotton with cotton wadding, soda lye, and nitric and sulfuric acids; and how to make dynamite from sulfuric and nitric acid, glycerine, and sawdust. The writer suggested that a detonator that could be made for less than a dollar from a penholder and "Ladies crackers" sold for July 4 celebrations.[66]

Illinois had not passed a dynamite law in 1885, and none of this was illegal activity. But in the wake of the Clan na Gael attack of 1885 and inflated threats by Albert Spies to the Chicago dailies that anarchists had produced thousands of bombs and tested them in tree groves, bomb-making instructional speech became of public concern. In March 1886, two months before the Haymarket bombing, the *Chicago Daily News* reported that a "strange Bohemian" had disappeared after shooting two men during negotiations over the sale of a horse. Searching his bedroom, the police found a trunk stuffed with rags, hiding a rusty revolver, an iron pipe, a cartridge box, a fuse, four round lead shells, and a "little pink-covered book," *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft*.[67]

The most deadly response to bomb-making instructional speech in history came with the bombing in Haymarket Square on May 4, 1886, when *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft* rose to infamy. People's Exhibit 15 at the trial of the suspected bombers was a typescript English translation of Most's book. The defense argued that the book was irrelevant and inadmissible, its introduction as evidence based on unproven characterizations and guesses as to its content and influence. The translations of Most's instructions in anarchist papers, the defense suggested, were nothing but news reporting as could be found in any mainstream paper, and did not imply any belief or purpose.[68] Allowing the book into evidence, Judge Joseph Gary agreed that, by itself, the book was "perfectly innocent," but that if the aim of the prosecution was to prove conspiracy to overturn civil order, then evidence could include "books treating of and instructing how to do it."[69] For the first time in the courts, the problem of bomb-making "instruction" (rather than "assisting by skill") was treated head on. *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft* was a key piece of prejudicial evidence in a sensational trial that ended in the hanging of four of the defendants and the death of another who committed suicide in prison.

In his final address to the court, one of the doomed defendants, Albert Spies argued that the introduction of anarchist bomb-making instructions as evidence was unfair and prejudicial.[70] Mainstream Chicago newspapers, he said, frequently published descriptions of bombs that could have just as easily instructed the Haymarket bomber. Spies specifically cited a detailed *Chicago Tribune* article on bomb-maker George Holgate that Spies had casually read on a train. If the editor of an anarchist paper was to be sentenced to death for publishing bomb-making instructions, shouldn't the reporters and editors of other major papers? Clearly, such instructions were only protected when they served the interests of capital. Another defendant, Albert Parsons, also argued the case of free speech, suggesting that for incendiary articles in *Alarm*, "I am no more responsible than is the editor of any other paper."[71] After the trial, co-editor of *Alarm*, Dyer Lum, who was commissioned by the defendants to publicize their side of the story, argued that *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft* contained directions no more specific than might be found in Confederate general William Hardee's *Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics*, a popular military manual of the time.[72] A month after the executions, detained for disturbing the peace with inflammatory speech, Most himself argued from his jail cell that *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft* had been transformed into a "literary satan that scared

juries and judges alike into the most barbaric convictions."[73] Most appealed to "fair play": if governments could publish and circulate weapons information, so could anarchists who simply drew from this material.

Before the Haymarket trial, which is considered a nadir of American legal history, bomb-making instructional speech had not been recognized as a distinctly threatening *type* of speech: a hybrid of the perfectly acceptable textbook and the revolutionary political manifesto. Most socially threatening was that dangerous technical information had been wrested from its official contexts and delivered into the hands of persons deemed irresponsible and dangerous to that order. Indeed, that was the point of the bomb instructors: to question the imaginary institutional boundaries placed on technical information that was widely available through the often violent projects of empire and capitalist expansion. Through parody—with its power of emulation and critique—the anarchist cookbook exposed the rhetoric of the right hands. It became the cultural testing site of discomfort and ambivalence about violent projects that had so easily fallen into the "wrong hands" with their slanted mirroring of the "right hands." Even now, the Chicago Historical Society will print only the first page of *Revolutionäre Kriegswissenschaft* in its Haymarket Digital Collection, despite the datedness of its contents. In 1978, the first English translation of the book was issued by Desert Publications, an offshoot of Paladin Press, a problematic publisher with a history of providing how-to murder manuals and explosives books. Paladin would later be implicated in the trial of Timothy McVeigh, who had used its publication, Ragnar Benson's *Homemade C-4*, as a basis for his device.

Since it was introduced in the late nineteenth century, the anarchist cookbook has had a long life, from Italian anarchist Luigi Galleani's *La Salute è in voi!* (1905) to William Powell's *The Anarchist Cookbook* (1971) to Abdel-Aziz's The *Mujahideen's Poisons Handbook* (ca. 1996). It has frequently been used as a profiling device, especially during moral panics involving anarchists, sixties radicals, white supremacists, school shooters, and Islamist extremists. Efforts to suppress these publications have met with little to no success, though they have intensified in recent years with another great wave of media expansion: the Internet. The form continues to challenge the boundaries of the militarized, technologized societies of which they are the natural byproduct.

Notes

1. In *Assassination and Terrorism* (Toronto: Canadian Broadcast Company, 1971), David C. Rapoport introduced the idea that modern terrorism has succeeded by waves of ideological justification and violent activity. The first wave is said to be from 1879 to 1919. Looking at these groups from the standpoint of technological history, I would place the beginning in 1876, and, with historian Beverly Gage, the end at 1922 with the aftermath of the Wall Street bombing. See Gage, "Why Violence Matters: Radicalism, Politics and Class War in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era," *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 1 (2007): 106.

2. Floyd Dell, "Socialism and Anarchism in Chicago," in *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders*, ed. J. Seymour Currey (Chicago: Clarke, 1912), 2:391.
3. Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 174.
4. Carl Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 117; Donald L. Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 472; Jim Green, *Death in the Haymarket: A Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement and the Bombing that Divided Gilded Age America* (New York: Anchor, 2006), 140–144.
5. Gage, "Why Violence Matters," 99–109.
6. Ibid., 105.
7. Ruth Oldenziel, *Making Technology Masculine: Men, Women, and Modern Machines in America: 1870–1945* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), 49.
8. Cecilia Tichi, *Shifting Gears: Technology, Literacy, and Culture in Modernist America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 105.
9. The phrase originated with French chemist Fernand Papillon. See Frank J. Sprague, "Nitro-Glycerine," in *Historical Sketch of the United States Naval Academy*, ed. James Russell Solely (Washington, DC: GPO, 1876), 293; George M. Mowbray, *Tri-Nitro-Glycerin: As Applied in the Hoosac Tunnel* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1874); Manuel Eissler, *The Modern High Explosives* (New York: John Wiley, 1884), 37.
10. "Another Explosion of Nitroglycerin," *Scientific American*, April 28, 1866, 283.
11. Arthur Pine Van Gelder and Hugo Schlatter, *History of Explosives in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), 402; B. G. Du Pont, *Du Pont de Nemours and Company: A History, 1808–1902* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1980); John K. Winkler, *The Du Pont Dynasty* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1935), 128–129.
12. "A History of the Last Quarter-Century," *Scribner's*, January 1896, 72–73.
13. "Rending Hell-Gate Rocks," *New York Times*, September 25, 1876, 1. See also "The Explosion Today," *New York Times*, September 24, 1876, 1.
14. John Newton, "The Improvement of East River and Hell Gate," *Popular Science Monthly*, February 1886, 445. Descriptions and illustrations of the Hell Gate works can also be found in "Hell Gate and Sandy Hook," *Manufacturer and Builder*, July 1872, 145–149; "Greatest Nitroglycerin Explosion on Record," *Manufacturer and Builder*, December 1875, 276.
15. James D. McCabe, *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition* (Philadelphia: National, 1876), 581–582.
16. "Explosive Compounds for Engineering Purposes," *Scientific American*, May 1, 1869, 274.
17. William S. Dutton, *One Thousand Years of Explosives: From Wildfire to the H-Bomb* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1960), 141.
18. Van Gelder and Schlatter, *History of Explosives in America*, 410–411.
19. Testimony of Edward S. Philbrick, Boston Commissioners to Investigate the Fire, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Investigate the Cause and Management of the Great Fire in Boston* (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1873), 467.
20. Josiah P. Cooke, *The New Chemistry* (New York: Appleton, 1876), 224–225.
21. Ann Larabee, *The Dynamite Fiend* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
22. "The Hostiles," *Irish World*, May 28, 1881, 5; "The Skirmishing Fund," *Irish World*, April 16, 1881, 1.
23. "The Centennial," *Irish World*, October 21, 1876, 3.

24. Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 492–555; Dennis Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia: Ten Generations of Urban Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), 165–183; David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1999), 133–163; Margaret M. Mulrooney, *Black Powder, White Lace: The du Pont Irish and Cultural Identity in Nineteenth Century America* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2002).
25. "A Sacred Trust," *Irish World*, December 30, 1876, 8.
26. Ibid.
27. Clipperton to Granville, September 23, 1884, Foreign Office, Fenian Correspondence, Public Records Office of Great Britain (hereinafter PRO), FO 5 1930; Clipperton to Granville, January 15, 1884, PRO, FO 5 1928. These papers are organized by date of correspondence. When such a date has not been readily apparent, I have included the page number within the volume of the Fenian Correspondence.
28. Paul Avrich, "Conrad's Anarchist Professor: An Undiscovered Source," *Labor History* 18 (Summer 1977): 397–402.
29. A reporter for the *New York Times* speculated that Mezzeroff was really Rogers, the owner of a saloon in South Brooklyn: January 20, 1884, 8. A Richard Rogers, who listed himself as a "chemist," appears in the US Census for Brooklyn. Informants for the British reported that the lecture hall for the school was above a saloon (PRO, FB 26, 258–262). The predominance of evidence suggests that Mezzeroff was Rogers, though spies for the British suggested he might be a "George Smith" who had gained his knowledge of explosives working in Alaskan mines. In any event, no reporters or spies who followed the chemist believed his real identity to be Professor Gaspodin Mezzeroff.
30. "Dynamite in Warfare," *New York Times*, August 16, 1885, 2.
31. "Dynamite: What It Is and How It's Made," *Irish World*, April 21, 1883, 8.
32. PRO, FO 5 1861, p. 237.
33. Victor Regnault, *Elements of Chemistry: For the Use of Colleges, Academies and Schools* (Philadelphia: Clark & Hesser, 1853), 349–353; Thomas Graham, *Elements of Inorganic Chemistry: Including the Applications of the Science in the Arts* (Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1858), 627–629; George Fownes, *A Manual of Elementary Chemistry, Theoretical and Practical* (Philadelphia: H. C. Lea, 1869), 388–389.
34. Thomas N. Brown, *Irish-American Nationalism: 1870–1890* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1966), 70.
35. "Rossa's Weapons of War," *Pall Mall Gazette*, February 4, 1885, 4.
36. Christopher Grotz, *The Art of Making Fireworks, Detonating Balls, &c.* (New York: King, 1821), 25. See also James Cutbush's very influential *System of Pyrotechny: Comprehending the Theory and Practice, with the Application of Chemistry* (Philadelphia: Clara F. Cutbush, 1825), 1. Cutbush was the first chemistry professor at West Point.
37. "Infernal Machines: Facts about the Men Who Make Them and the Men Who Use Them," *Chicago Tribune*, February 23, 1885, 6.
38. Nina Lerman's work on technical education in Philadelphia schools during this period is especially enlightening. Lerman, "'Preparing for the Duties and Practical Business of Life': Technological Knowledge and Social Structure in Mid-19th-Century Philadelphia," *Technology and Culture* 28 (1997): 31–60. For a discussion of modernization and engineering in Ireland, see Brendan O'Donoghue, *In Search of Fame and Fortune: The Leahy Family of Engineers, 1780–1888* (Dublin: Geographic Publications, 2006).

39. *United Irishman*, March 25, 1883, PRO, FO 5, p. 218.
40. For fuller histories of the dynamite war, see Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 1–26. Lindsay Clutterbuck, "The Progenitors of Terrorism: Russian Revolutionaries or Extreme Irish Republicans?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16 (2004): 154–181; K. R. M. Short's *The Dynamite War: Irish-American Bombers in Victorian Britain* (New York: Gill and Macmillan, 1979); Christy Campbell's *Fenian Fire: The British Government Plot to Assassinate Queen Victoria* (London: HarperCollins, 2002); Terry Golway, *Irish Rebel: John Devoy and America's Fight for Ireland's Freedom* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998); William D'Arcy, *The Fenian Movement in the United States: 1858–1886* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1947).
41. Lomasney to John Devoy, Letter, in John Devoy, William Ryan, and Desmond Ryan, *Devoy's Post Bag* (Dublin: Fallon, 1948), 2:33.
42. Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1953), 66.
43. Juan Valera to Frederick Frelinghuysen, March 17, 1884, National Archives, Dept. of State, Notes from the Spanish Legation in the U.S., 1790–1906, Micro. 59, Roll 25. Valera knew of Mezzeroff's activities through the Cuban separatist publication, *La Voz de Hatuey*. A journalist for the *New York Times* witnessed Mezzeroff's presentation to a "Cuban indignation society" in that city: *New York Times*, January 30, 1884, 8.
44. Frelinghuysen to James R. Lowell, November 24, 1884, National Archives, Diplomatic Instructions of the Department of State, Micro. 77, Roll 86.
45. "Dynamite: The Houses of Parliament and the Tower of London Badly Shattered," *Philadelphia Record*, January 25, 1885, 1.
46. The text of the bill was widely circulated on the front page of the US dailies. See *Fort Wayne Sunday Gazette*, January 25, 1885, 1.
47. M. J. Sewell, "Rebels or Revolutionaries? Irish-American Nationalism and American Diplomacy, 1865–1885," *Historical Journal* 29 (1986): 727.
48. Michigan, Public Acts No. 126; Wisconsin, Chap. 342; Rhode Island, Chap. 524; Delaware, Chap. 625; Connecticut, Chap. 114; Ohio, House Bill No. 824; Massachusetts, Chap. 203. Details can be found in the State Sessions Laws, 1885.
49. "The Force of Nitro-Glycerine," *Scientific American*, May 26, 1883, 328.
50. John Newton, "Modern Explosives," *North American Review*, November 1883, 459.
51. Avrich, *Haymarket*, 58.
52. "Col. N.…z," "Revolutionary War Science," *An-archist*, January 1881, 14.
53. David E. Nye, *Consuming Power: A Social History of American Energies* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 95–96.
54. Avrich, *Haymarket*, 57;"Rodanow? A Very Extraordinary Romance," *Boston Globe,* late ed., January 25, 1881, 1; "The Rodanow Watch Fraud," *Maitland Mercury* (Australia), March 22, 1881, n.p.; *West Australian,* April 12, 1881, n.p. Australians appear to have been particularly hard-hit by Nathan-Ganz's scam.
55. "Most Spits His Venom," *Alarm*, December 24, 1884, 1.
56. Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 141.
57. P., "Hell-Gate," *Alarm*, October 31, 1885, 3.
58. Frederic Trautmann, *The Voice of Terror: A Biography of Johann Most* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1980), 124.
59. Johann Most, *Science of Revolutionary Warfare*, translated typescript, entered into evidence during the testimony of Edward Olson, *Illinois v. August Spies, et al.,* Trial Transcript, Vol. J. 1886 July 23: 187–189, Haymarket Square Riot Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

60. Max Nomad, *Apostles of Revolution* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1939), 285.
61. Eissler, *Modern High Explosives*, 56.
62. Most, *Science of Revolutionary Warfare*.
63. Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* (New York: Knopf, 1931), 89.
64. Rudolf Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism* (Indore, n.d.), 160; Avrich, *Haymarket*, 56–64.
65. "The Socialist," *Alarm*, October 25, 1885, 2.
66. "Dangerous Explosives: How to Manufacture Pyroxyline or Gun-Cotton, and also the Fulminates of Mercury and of Silver," trans. A. A., *Alarm*, May 16, 1885, 3.
67. "Found Bombs in Trunk, West Side Police Make a Strange Discovery While Searching for a Criminal," *Chicago Daily News*, March 23, 1886, 1.
68. *Illinois v. August Spies, et al.*, Trial Transcript, Vol. I, 477, 479–80; Vol. J., 189–199. Chicago Historical Society, Haymarket Affair Digital Collection, http://www.chicagohs.org/hadc/index.html.
69. *Illinois v. August Spies*, 479–80.
70. August Spies, "Address of August Spies," in *The Famous Speeches of the Eight Chicago Anarchists in Court*, ed. Lucy Parsons (New York: Arno, 1969), 12–13.
71. Parsons, "Address of Albert Parsons," *Famous Speeches*, 75.
72. Dyer D. Lum, *The Great Trial of the Chicago Anarchists*, Mass Violence in America Series (1886; New York: Arno and New York Times, 1969), 171–172.
73. "Most's Manual of War, an Interview with the Arch-Heretic Concerning Its True Authorship," *Alarm*, December 17, 1887, 1.

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CHAPTER 13

"THE BEAUTEOUS TERRORIST"

Russian Women and Terrorism in Literature at the Turn of the Century

ANA SILJAK

Their names were well-known throughout the Western world at the turn of the century: Vera Zasulich, Sofia Perovskaia, Vera Figner, Gesia Gelfman, Maria Spiridonova. They were Nihilists, female terrorists who had plotted to shoot or bomb government officials. Their violence had been met with violence—some were imprisoned, some beaten, and one, Perovskaia, executed for their violent acts. And in Europe, the United States, and even Australia their lives and deeds were the subject of breathless coverage in journals and newspapers. By the turn of the century, their acts had captured the imagination of novelists, playwrights, and poets, and fictionalized Russian female terrorists were everywhere: not just in Russian secret societies, but in Swiss exile, in English drawing rooms, and in Italian villas.[1] Terrorist women became the heroes of fiction, beautiful avengers of injustice. In the words of the poem *Beauteous Terrorist*:

> "Dreamt ye that those divine blue eyes,
> That beauty free from pride or blame,
> Were fashion'd but to terrorize
> O'er Despot's power of sword and flame?"[2]

To this day terrorist women still puzzle and intrigue scholars, journalists, and the general public. Almost always the female terrorist is presented as a living gender contradiction: she engages in the kind of sustained, ruthless, and emphatically public violence typically reserved for the traditional male sphere of activity. Those who study the portrayal of female violence in the media or in literature usually see "tensions" and "anxieties"—they assume that, for most societies, violent women are a problem to be

solved. For Adriana Craciun, for example, literary Romantic "fatal women" solved gender contradictions by becoming "unsexed"—their violence erasing and thus challenging the dichotomy of gender identities. For Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, the contradictory power of female terrorists (a species of "women criminals") is understood properly as a mark of social anxiety over "masculine degeneration," and the beauty of the female criminal is a sign of worry over female power based on "consumption" and "style."[3]

The Russian terrorist woman of the nineteenth century, as represented in the literature of the time, also inspired fascination owing to her seemingly impossible combination of gender contradictions: brave and gentle, ruthless and self-sacrificing, murderous and saintly. Living under a tyrannical Russian regime, sometimes a victim of the brutality of a masculine Russian officialdom, the female terrorist in fiction was a determined and ruthless opponent of injustice, and she often possessed a traditionally masculine courage and capacity for violence. At the same time, however, the fictional terrorist woman also maintained her feminine capacity for tenderness and compassion. Particularly in the nineteenth-century literature of the English-speaking world, these two sides of the gender coin were rarely seen as contradictory. Instead, they were often seamlessly woven together in the "beauty" of the terrorist of fiction. In this literature, the combination of power and softness was designed to be attractive not only to her fellow male characters, but to the reading public. The beautiful terrorist stood as proof of the purity and honor of the terrorist cause.

The original model for the female terrorist of Western fiction was Vera Zasulich, the first Russian woman to commit a terrorist act. Zasulich shot the governor of St. Petersburg, Fyodor Trepov, in January 1878 while he was receiving petitioners in his office. She openly proclaimed that her act was in revenge for Trepov's order to flog a political prisoner, Arkhip Bogoliubov, some months before. A dedicated radical since the age of seventeen, Zasulich plotted her attack on Trepov as part of a new turn toward terror taken by Russian revolutionaries, in which the government was no longer to be brought down by preaching socialism to the peasantry, but by destroying the pillars of oppression that supported the Russian regime. Trepov was but the first of a series of tsarist officials who would be assassinated for their role in persecuting the revolutionary movement, and inspired by Zasulich, terrorist organizations would embark on a series of terrorist campaigns that spectacularly culminated in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881.[4]

The story of a woman deeply committed to the radical cause was, however, modified at Zasulich's popular public jury trial in March 1878. Her attorney, Peter Alexandrov, turned his summation for the defense into a melodrama in which Vera became the innocent victim of a merciless regime, driven to strike a blow against oppression and injustice. Using elements of Vera's biography, Alexandrov carefully crafted a story of a naïve young girl of seventeen accidentally drawn into an antigovernment conspiracy and then cruelly thrown into prison and Siberian exile. When Zasulich emerged from her years of suffering, Alexandrov told his rapt courtroom audience, she chanced to hear of the brutal flogging of Bogoliubov, punished for failing to doff his cap in the presence

of General Fyodor Trepov. "Who will stand up for the tattered dignity of the helpless prisoner?" Alexandrov asked. Alexandrov upended the expectations of the courtroom: the would-be assassin became the innocent victim of Russian tyranny, and the wounded Trepov was the villainous representative of the evil regime. The implication of Alexandrov's story was clear: Zasulich was the heroine of the drama, acting in the name of justice against tyranny.

The story of Vera Zasulich, as narrated by Alexandrov, was seemingly confirmed by her appearance. She dressed modestly, sat quietly, and even plaited her hair in two braids down her back. She was not beautiful, but everything about her radiated feminine innocence, and it was hard to believe that she had even been capable of shooting a gun. Alexandrov's narrative worked, and Vera was acquitted. The courtroom cheered in jubilation, and crowds in the streets greeted her with joy.

For Western newspapers, all of the elements of the Zasulich trial proved tantalizing: the imprisonment and exile of a frail young girl, the barbaric flogging of a young man, the powerful villain visited by the "angel of vengeance." The reporting enhanced the dramatic and exotic elements of the Russian context. Russia had been revealed as an "oriental" despotism, where cruel officials punished innocent subjects at will, and where brave assassins fought for liberty and human dignity. It was a place of "vile dungeons" and of corrupt and arbitrary officials. Violence was the only possible means of resistance, only it could inspire "terror in the souls of those who are on high, of those privileged with power and fortune." In summary, Russia was a "despotism tempered by assassination."[5]

Though Zasulich was not considered a beauty, news reports could not help but find her attractive, with "lively black eyes" and a "modest and unpretentious" demeanor. Every aspect of her femininity was accentuated in order to sharpen the contrast with her coldly violent act. For the most part, the references to Zasulich's femininity and girlishness served to justify her act as a necessary blow against oppression. The British illustrated paper the *Graphic*, emphasizing her youth, chose a portrait drawn of Vera when she was only nineteen. And *Le monde illustré* depicted her as a troubled, elegant heroine, sadly observing the violent demonstrations after her acquittal from the window of the carriage that was about to whisk her away.[6]

As 1878 wore on, and as the fame of the Zasulich trial grew to extraordinary proportions, elements of the case seemed to beg for novelization, and some journalists had a hard time resisting the temptation. The tyranny of Russia, particularly of its secret police, was magnified to legendary proportions. Any Russian citizen, it seemed, could be flogged at will. The most fanciful story came from the *New York Times*, which reported on a sinister method of police questioning called the "cabinet bleu," in which a suspect was supposedly seated in a special chair that could be dropped below the floor at a moment's notice. "Unseen hands" then flogged the lower half of the victim's body, implying some sort of titillating punishment, "the severity of which was only equaled by its ignominy."[7] Zasulich's persecution was that of an innocent victim in the grip of a villainous tyrant—a staple of Romantic fiction. She was a mere "school girl of 17" when

her saga began—a journey through dungeons and exile and finally through mysterious secret societies—and all the while her "spirit was enveloped by the sad Russia that is the immensity and silence of the steppes."[8]

In particular, the fact that Zasulich had not known either Bogoliubov or Trepov before the shooting proved hard to let stand. Some reporters insinuated that Trepov had "violated" Vera's female dignity in some manner.[9] Others suggested that Vera was Bogoliubov's lover, and that her vengeance was motivated by love.[10] Again, the *New York Times* proved most creative in its reporting. In "True Story of the St. Petersburg Affair," a St. Petersburg reporter told a convoluted tale of love and revenge: Trepov, Zasulich's lover, had abandoned her, she begged Bogoliubov to avenge her honor, and Bogoliubov obligingly attacked Trepov with a horsewhip in public, for which Bogoliubov was tried, flogged, and exiled to Siberia. So of course Vera was left alone to avenge both her own honor and that of Bogoliubov as well.[11]

Surrounding the Zasulich trial was a fascination with Nihilism, a term borrowed from the Russian author Ivan Turgenev and his novel *Fathers and Sons* (1862) and used by Russian revolutionaries and Russian and foreign observers alike to describe Russian radicalism. After the Zasulich trial, Nihilism was breathlessly portrayed as a truly Russian phenomenon—an exotic blend of passionate contradictions, born in an unusually cruel and despotic tyranny. Especially in its most recent, terrorist incarnation, as embodied by Vera Zasulich, Nihilists were described as exhibiting a "cold fanaticism" but also a desire to "suffer for the oppressed."[12] Nihilist terrorism, according to the newspapers, fought despotism with secrecy—it was a world of passwords, aliases, and invisible networks of assassins. Cunning, cold-hearted, and yet heroic, Nihilists infiltrated everywhere, and it must have given European and American readers a frisson of pleasure to read in the *Times*: "It is the Nihilists who are everywhere and nowhere.…If you see ten persons together, you can never tell whether nine of them do not belong to them."[13]

The novelization of the Zasulich story in the newspapers was followed by attempts to dramatize the story in fiction and drama. One of the first attempts was found in Oscar Wilde's first play, *Vera, or the Nihilists*. Mostly free of Wilde's usual witticisms and satire, it was a sincere yet fanciful attempt to capture Russian revolutionary terrorism. The play's very title makes clear its borrowing from contemporary events—the Zasulich trial and the public interest in Nihilism. Indeed, the Russia of Wilde's play is the Russia portrayed in news accounts of the Zasulich trial: an unremitting, arbitrary tyranny. The Russian tsar is a cruel despot who heartlessly sends innocents to exile and prison (the opening scene portrays prisoners marching to Siberia), explaining only (in a turn of phrase that hints at Wilde's future wit) that "I would that the people had one neck so that I could strangle them with one noose." The Vera of the play is also clearly modeled on Zasulich, a young, innocent, "beautiful" girl who burns with a desire for revenge against the tsar because her beloved brother was exiled to Siberia. Suffering has made her cunning and ruthless; she is "as hard to capture as a she-wolf is, and twice as dangerous," and she is not afraid to declare to her comrades that "the hour has now come to annihilate and to revenge." But she is also undoubtedly feminine, falling in love with a

co-conspirator, who, in a twist worthy of the best melodrama, turns out to be the disguised Alexis, the heir to the Russian throne. When the hated tsar dies and Alexis takes his place, inexorable Nihilist logic demands Alexis's assassination (as none except Vera know of Alexis's secret revolutionary ideals). Vera is chosen as the assassin. Torn between love and the cause, Vera bravely stabs herself instead of Alexis, exclaiming, "I have saved Russia!"[14]

In a sense, Wilde's play was too timely: finished in 1881, production had to be put off because of the assassination of Tsar Alexander II by the terrorist organization the People's Will in that same year. That kind of timeliness was shared by the less well-known novel *The Nihilist Princess*, which was originally published in French and then translated and published in the United States in 1881. The translator declared that the author had prophetically described the background and appearance of one of the regicides of the People's Will, "Sophie Pieoffsky" (or Sofia Perovskaia), a beautiful and well-connected young noblewoman who devotes her life to the Nihilist cause and is brutally executed by an oppressive regime. But Wanda, the "princess" of the title, is a more colorful figure than the real Perovskaia: exotically beautiful, she inspires men to attempt suicide and imprison rivals for her affection, and it is a scorned and jealous suitor bent on revenge who sentences her to be executed. The story also uses elements from the Zasulich trial: not only is Wanda present at the meeting in which "Vera Zassoulitch" declares her intent to kill Trepov, but she herself later flirts with Trepov to cast suspicion away from herself and her comrades.[15]

After the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, Nihilism became a journalistic obsession. As new women, such as Perovskaia and Vera Figner, were added to the list of terrorists, they were seen through the framework already constructed in the coverage of the Zasulich trial: victims of an oppressive Russian regime, their violence counterbalanced, at least in part, by their modesty, beauty, and passion. These were "destroying angels," combining masculine bravery and violence with feminine caring and sympathy for suffering.[16]

In 1883 the Western romanticization of terrorism was further assisted by the deliberate efforts of an erstwhile Russian revolutionary terrorist, Sergei Kravchinskii. Soon after Zasulich's attempt on Trepov, Kravchinskii successfully stabbed the police chief General Mezentsev in 1878, then left Russia to avoid arrest and imprisonment. He traveled through Europe and charmed intellectual circles in places like England and America with his handsome face and elegant manner of speaking. British and American admirers included George Bernard Shaw, William Morris, and Mark Twain.[17] In 1883 he presented his eager English audiences with *Underground Russia*, a handbook on Russian Nihilism (first published in Italian) that unashamedly glorified terrorism as a Romantic revolt against oriental tyranny.

In *Underground Russia*, the Russian regime was a military-style dictatorship, where arrest and exile could happen to even the most innocent subjects. Prisons were the sites of cruelty and torture that drove their inmates to insanity. All but the most corrupt Russian elites either languished in poverty or under tyrannical oppression, their lives "full of sorrow, of suffering, of outrage."[18] Only a few individuals fought for freedom and

humanity. Each took "a solemn oath to consecrate all his life, all his strength, all his thoughts, to the liberation of the population." They were terrorists—"noble, terrible, and irresistibly fascinating."[19]

Of all the revolutionaries, and all the terrorists among them, it was the women, particularly Vera Zasulich and Sophia Perovskaia, in *Underground Russia* for whom Kravchinskii reserved his most fulsome praise. Though different in many respects, these two combined feminine and masculine traits in a powerful and explosive fashion. They had an unflinching urge to kill—Vera "would like to kill Trepovs every day"—and an iron determination to violently root out oppression in all of its forms. But they infused these masculine traits with a feminine modesty, compassion, and self-abnegation. Their femininity, in effect, purified their violence, redeemed it, and forged it into a beautiful act of self-sacrifice against injustice.[20] *Underground Russia* made a profound impression throughout the English-speaking world, helped along by Kravchinskii's engaging personality, and his portrayal of female terrorists confirmed the impressions of Western journalists.[21]

News reports of the Zasulich trial and of the assassination of Alexander II, combined with tales from Kravchinskii's *Underground Russia* and other memoirs and literature published by émigré Russian revolutionaries, gave novelists all that they needed to create the fictionalized exotic and exciting world of Russian terrorism. English-language novels, in essence, accepted the premise of Russian revolutionary émigrés: Russia was a land of terrible despotism, a regime of pure evil, and only the honorable revolutionary terrorist souls were fighting for a new, liberated Russian society. Terrorist women were particularly brave and pure—characteristics captured and enhanced by their physical beauty and charm.[22]

Authors now saw terrorist women everywhere, even in the most unlikely places. In Mary Elizabeth Hawker's *Mademoiselle Ixe* (published, like her other works, under her pseudonym, Lanoe Falconer), a governess with the not-so-subtle pseudonym "Ixe" (the French rendering of "X") takes a position in a prosperous English home; however, she turns out to be a covert Russian Nihilist. In a scene reminiscent of Zasulich's assassination attempt on General Trepov, Ixe pulls a gun out of her gown and shoots a visiting Russian "count" in the doorway of her employers' drawing room. To justify her actions, the governess hints at the nameless but evil crimes of her victim: "If you knew of all that he has inflicted on innocent men, and even women, you would shudder to eat at the same table with him." There is a hint of an unnamed group that "tried" and "judged" the count and chose her as his executioner. The governess escapes to continue her "work" but eventually sends a letter from a Russian prison, confirming the fate that befalls all heroines under Russian tyranny.[23]

Other fictional Russian female terrorists were also found in England. The terrorist heroines of *Angel of the Revolution* are discovered, along with their male counterparts, in a respectable house in London's Clapham Common, guarded by an impressive series of codes, passwords, and spies. Unbeknownst to the London public, they quietly plot from underground the overthrow of the Russian government. And the Nihilist woman in Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes mystery "The Adventure of the Golden

Pince-Nez" reveals a dark tale of Russian tyranny and the secret societies that oppose it after accidentally killing a young man in a country house in Kent.[24]

The assassination of the Russian General Petrovich in Joseph Hatton's *By Order of the Tsar: The Tragic Story of Anna Klosstock, Queen of the Ghetto* takes place in Venice. As a young Jewish girl in the Russian village of Czarovna, Anna tries to free her fiancé from the clutches of the evil governor Petrovich. Like Fyodor Trepov, upon whom the character of Petrovich was most likely based, Petrovich condemns Anna's fiancé to be flogged. The story, however, is embellished from there: Petrovich rapes Anna when she comes to him to beg for mercy and then orders her to be flogged almost to death. The Jewish inhabitants of Czarovna then become the victims of a violent pogrom. Through a series of narrative twists and turns, Anna becomes a wealthy noble widow and, consumed by a desire for revenge, joins the conspiratorial "Brotherhood of the Dawn." She uses her new identity as a noblewoman to seduce Petrovich on his visit to Venice and then plunges a dagger into his chest, later proudly revealing to her stunned English acquaintances in Venice that she is "a Nihilist of the Nihilists."[25]

Russian terrorist women are also, more plausibly, found in Switzerland, the home of Russian radical exiles. In Joseph Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*, Sophia Antonovna is one of the most powerful members of a conspiratorial Swiss branch of an unnamed Russian secret organization.[26] In *George Donnington, or In the Bear's Grip*, Bertha Nikitsky (alias Froloff) lives in Bern, where she escaped after assassinating General Berstel, who had flogged her father; she was later acquitted, Zasulich-style, by a jury. By the end of the novel Bertha is plotting the downfall of another Russian evildoer, Count Bodiskoff, who cruelly thrust her brother's pregnant wife into prison, sending her into premature labor and leading thereby to the deaths of both mother and child.[27]

Novelists did also bring their readers into Russia in order to see the Russian revolutionary movement firsthand. In *On Peter's Island*, readers are taken into a conspiratorial meeting of the revolutionaries, who know each other only by number and who have among them the short-haired, redheaded medical student Dunia, known as "Number Nineteen." In *The White Terror and the Red*, written by the émigré Russian revolutionary Abraham Cahan, we meet Clara Yavner, who breaks out of her life in a Jewish ghetto to join the People's Will. And in Kravchinskii's own novel, *Career of a Nihilist*, readers become acquainted with several female revolutionaries who give their lives to the revolutionary cause with a seriousness of purpose and an easy camaraderie shared with their male counterparts. Philip May's *Love, the Reward* is filled with fanciful tales of revolution based on elements of truth. Vera Michaïlovna, the main character, shares a name and patronymic with Vera Zasulich, and Sophy Peroffskaya is modeled on the Russia terrorist Sofia Perovskaia. To make matters more confusing, the story of "Vera Sassulitch" is also told in the novel, and embellishing details are added. For instance, Sassulitch's defense attorney, Alexandroff, is a lover of Vera Michaïlovna. The man shot by Sassulitch is not Trepov but Prince Potemkin, who had earlier blackmailed Vera Michaïlovna into marrying him by arresting Alexandroff and threatening to flog him.[28]

In all of these novels, it is the peculiarly tyrannical and violent nature of the Russian regime that drives women into terrorism. Following the lead of the news accounts of Vera's trial and of the descriptions of Russia taken from Kravchinskii's books, the Russia of fiction is a terrible place where the true sufferings of Russian radicals are mixed with fantastic tales of the ubiquitous imprisonment of innocent individuals, public floggings, and executions. In Hawker's *Mademoiselle Ixe* and Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*, Russia's tyranny is depicted in menacing but general terms. Says Mademoiselle Ixe, "In my country the people lie crushed beneath a tyranny so monstrous that their souls, like their bodies, are but half alive." According to Conrad, Russian bureaucrats serve the tsar by "imprisoning, exiling, or sending to the gallows men and women, young and old, with an equable, unwearied industry."[29]

In other novels the heroines tell deeply personal stories of brutality and violence. They are arbitrarily thrown in jail or forced to stand by, helpless, as their brothers, fathers, and lovers are tortured and imprisoned for nothing. Most commonly, they or those they love are flogged mercilessly. Despite the fact that Russia outlawed flogging in 1863 in all cases except during the transport of prisoners to Siberia, and despite the fact that the reason the Bogoliubov flogging in Russia was so shocking was that it seemed unheard-of, in the Russia of English-language fiction any Russian could be flogged at will. In *George Donnington*, Bertha Nikitsky's father is flogged and her sister-in-law is sentenced to flogging but spared—only because no one would punish a pregnant woman. In *Love, the Reward*, Prince Potemkin threatens Vera Michaïlovna with her lover's flogging unless she consents to marry him.[30] The most outlandish stories of flogging were also titillating. In *By Order of the Tsar*, one of the most dramatic scenes reveals Anna Klosstock's scarred back:

> She tore open her dress, exhibiting a lovely white arm and part of a beautiful bust, turning at the same time with swift rapidity to exhibit her right shoulder and neck, no farther than is considered correct by ladies of fashion…but sufficient to thrill iron men who had themselves been witnesses of the worst of Russian tortures. Red and blue deep ridges and welts crossed and recrossed each other, with intervals of angry patches of red and weird daubs of grey.[31]

The horror of the flogging is enhanced by its application to such an innocent, beautiful body. A similar scene occurs at the very beginning of *Angel of the Revolution*: the main character, Arthur, is brought into the front hall of the revolutionary hideout of the Brotherhood and finds himself surrounded by realistic paintings of the tortures inflicted by the Russian regime on its victims. Of particular note was the painting "of a woman naked to the waist, and tied up to a triangle in a prison yard, being flogged by a soldier with willow wands, while a group of officers stood by, apparently greatly interested in the performance." Arthur then blushes when he meets the subject of the painting in person: Radna Michaelis, a beautiful woman unembarrassed by the sadistic tortures depicted in the portrait.[32]

Often the cruelty and sadism of the Russian regime in these novels were personified by a powerful and corrupt male character. Most likely based on a caricature of Fyodor

Trepov, these men were often given the title "Count" or "General," they were tyrannical and sadistic, and many had insatiable appetites for beautiful women. General Petronovich rapes Anna Klosstock, flogs her fiancé to death, and flogs her as well. Count Berstel flogs Bertha Nikitsky's father in order to get him to denounce Bertha, and Count Bodiskoff sentences the pregnant Feliksa to flogging and then nearly rapes Bertha's close friend. In *Love, the Reward* Prince Potemkin flogs Bogoliubov and demands the hand of Vera Michaïlovna in exchange for sparing her lover the same fate. Trepov is an actual character in *The Nihilist Princess*, ordering Bogoliubov to be flogged, but he turns out to be less cruel than Prince von Stackelberg, Wanda's would-be suitor, who coldly sentences her to death for refusing to love him. Trepov is also, no doubt, the General T----- of *Under Western Eyes*, who has eyes of "jovial, careless cruelty," "the embodied power of autocracy, grotesque and terrible."[33]

The violence and oppression of Russian society made for determined, resolute, and often violent women, but women who nonetheless preserved the traditionally expected compassion and tenderness of their gender. Using terms usually reserved for male heroes, English-language novelists described their female heroines as possessing uncommon bravery and determination, forged in suffering. They then combine these characterizations with others that reveal an essential womanly tenderness. Mademoiselle Ixe has a gaze that is "ruthless" and a "glance, bright as the flash of a steel blade," but as a governess, she is seen "sporting joyously" with the children in her care, or they are observed "clinging fondly to her arm." Anna Klosstock is described as possessing "the determination and murderous fire of a Charlotte Corday," but she ends up forsaking love and fame and ends her days tending to her old father in a remote region of Russia; she "lives only to give him pleasure." When Dunia comes prepared to assassinate the tsar at the opera, observers declare her a "Lucretia Borgia," but she otherwise is gentle and affectionate, especially toward her fellow terrorist and lover Stanislaus. Clara Yavner devotes herself to the Nihilist cause, and her male comrades subtly reveal "her power over them," but she is a loving daughter and a tender aunt to her little niece. Sophy Peroffskaya, in *Love, the Reward*, is praised for her "chivalrous ardour" and her "heroic devotion capable of overcoming all obstacles," tempered by her ability to relate to her friends "kindly and lovingly."[34]

Some authors confront the gender issue directly, openly revealing the "womanly" characteristics of their characters. Radna Michaelis, in *Angel of the Revolution*, is "dark [and] resolute," she is able to fire a gun better than any of the men in her circle, and her hair is shockingly white with suffering, yet the author assures the reader that in every respect she was "perfectly womanly."[35] Charles Eden devotes an entire chapter of his *George Donnington* to an analysis of the character of Bertha Nikitsky, whose life story is very close to that of Vera Zasulich. "Criminal or Heroine?" is the title of the chapter, and the reader is presented with the evidence:

> Look at that shapely hand…observe it as it steadily conveys the soothing draught to the lips of some fever stricken sufferer, or firmly but tenderly applies the sponge to some uncicatrised wound—watch it in these missions of womanly mercy, and then

> say what you would reply if told that that little forefinger had pressed an avenging trigger—that small wrist had held steadily the assassin's tube?[36]

The Russian regime regarded her as a "murderess," a "malefactor," and an "unsexed miscreant," but then the regime was nothing more than "beetle-browed gaolers" who "grow fat by squeezing the life-blood from [their] victims." After her father was flogged to death, she "courageously" took her revenge. Indeed, Eden concludes, her act may have been seen as "unwomanly and unchristian," but he then asks if we, the readers, could "blame this wild act of retributive justice." The answer implied is that we could not; she was in fact a heroine, a "daughter of the people."[37]

In *Under Western Eyes*, nothing Russian survives Conrad's scathing criticism. The corrupt, hollow-eyed villainy of Russian officials is equally matched by the self-involved, egotistical, and often equally despotic character of the revolutionaries. Only the women in the novel show loyalty, determination, and purity of purpose. Sophia Antonovna is treated by Conrad with respect, even admiration: she is self-possessed, ruthless, burning with "passion" and "vengeance," but she is also loyal, compassionate, and understanding. Like Radna Michaelis, her white hair symbolizes her years of suffering for the cause. Its whiteness, with its striking association with purity, was also

> a testimony to the invincible vigour of revolt. It threw out into an astonishing relief the unwrinkled face, the brilliant black glance, the upright, compact figure, the simple, brisk self-possession of the mature personality—as though in her revolutionary pilgrimage she had discovered the secret, not of everlasting youth, but of everlasting endurance.[38]

The most striking quality of fictional Russian terrorist heroines was that they are, for the most part, attractive and desirable. Some are beautiful by nature: Anna Klosstock has "violet" eyes and a pale face that rendered her worthy of a classic portrait: "She might have sat to Titian, as the lovely daughter of a Doge of Venice." Such beauty is only enhanced by her sumptuous clothing in the later part of the novel, when she appears in Venice wearing "a long, trailing Empire dress of straw-colored silk, covered with crape of the same dainty hue, trimmed with garlands of golden laburnum, that seemed to accentuate the rich gold of her hair, at the same time deadening the paleness of her cheeks and giving depth to the violet of her eyes." Wanda in *The Nihilist Princess* is similarly voluptuously beautiful, with a "profile like Diana" and "wonderful" eyes, "grey with a lurking golden fire." Dunia is more boyishly attractive, with her thin figure and close-cropped red hair; her charms are revealed only when, to assassinate the tsar at the opera, she wears a black dress with a stunning turquoise necklace. Clara Yavner possesses a kind of "Jewish" beauty, enhanced by "a peculiar impression of intelligence and character…and the picturesqueness of her colouring—healthy white flesh, clear and firm, set off by an ample crown of fair hair and illuminated by the brown light of intense hazel eyes." Sophia Antonovna also has a "clear" complexion, and her attractive qualities include her "erect" figure, her "glittering" eyes, and her "thick" hair. In *Angel of the*

Revolution, alongside Radna Michaelis's sensuous, womanly beauty, we read about Natasha's "marvelous beauty," which was "unearthly," especially when "her darkly-fringed lids fell for an instant over the most wonderful pair of sapphire-blue eyes."[39]

Often, the devotion to a revolutionary cause makes a less attractive woman suddenly blossom. Kravchinskii's Tania, in *Career of a Nihilist*, starts out "not exactly beautiful, but bewitching," and then ends up, after her declaration of her willingness to die for the cause, "terribly beautiful." Even those who are plain can become beautiful through their passion for revolution. So Mademoiselle Ixe is described as physically "short, plain," with a "lusterless complexion" and "clumsily molded" facial features. Nonetheless, when she speaks of her devotion to the revolutionary cause as "the last, the supreme love on whose altar we immolate all others," she is transformed: "Her eyes turned toward the meeting-line of earth and heaven, dilated and kindled; her lips parted in a rapturous smile, and so irradiated was the whole face that Evelyn, watching and marveling, wondered if this could be the same woman she and others had called common-looking." Similarly, Bertha may have been "neither handsome nor pretty," but

> a physiognomist would have dwelt upon the face with interest, and bid you mark the broad low forehead; the deep grey eyes, now wistful, now piercing; the cleanly-cut nostrils; and the short upper-lip surmounting a mouth of great mobility.…Yes; a face not comely, but one that invited a second glance, for an adept in the book of the human features would read therein that that owner possessed a history.[40]

Doyle's Nihilist woman is also distinctly plain, yet she possesses "a certain nobility" and a "gallantry in the defiant chin and in the upraised head, which compelled something of respect and admiration."[41]

The combination of steely determination with feminine vulnerability often proved irresistible. In many cases, male characters in the novel found themselves in love with these terrorist women, and some were helpless and mad with desire. When the painter Philip Forsyth glimpses the beautiful Anna at the theater, he feels compelled to paint her portrait—a portrait of a woman who, in seeking vengeance, feared neither "the assassin's knife nor the dynamiter's shell." When Philip finally meets Anna in the flesh, he is smitten beyond reason, "walking on air" at the very thought of her. Arthur, the main character of *Angel of the Revolution*, finds that Natasha's beauty "confused his senses for the moment as some potent drug might have done." Pavel finds Clara similarly lovely in *The White Terror and the Red*: "He seemed unreal to himself, while the outside world appeared to him strangely remote, agonisingly beautiful, and agonisingly sad.…The disquieting feeling clamoured for the girl's presence.…He struggled, but he had to submit." Wanda is so attractive that three men beg for her attention, including the married Litzanoff, who declares that he has for Wanda "the most absolute, most violent, most jealous love." When she declares that she will forswear all relationships with men, Litzanoff becomes still more inflamed with passion and even tries to kiss her against her will. Andrey's love for Tatiana in *Career of a Nihilist* grows as she grows more radical until, "in this new and higher phase of her life, Tania appeared to him as if transfigured

and glorified." Even the plainer Bertha "charmed the honest Switzers, and more than one savant had laid his hand, learning, and fortune at her feet, and implored her to join her fate with his, but in vain."[42]

Of course, not all novels portrayed Nihilist women in a positive light. James's *Princess Casamassima* portrays a noblewoman turned radical who turns to revolution mostly out of boredom and longing for excitement. In Vernon Lee's *Miss Brown* a supposed former Russian Nihilist, Madame Elaguine, tries to seduce the rather susceptible protagonist, Walter Hamlin.[43] May's *Love, the Reward* was generally favorable toward his revolutionary women, but his main character, Vera Michaïlovna, turns out to be a vacillating Nihilist, unable to sacrifice the elegance of her aristocratic life for the sake of the cause.[44] These women were also beautiful—but their beauty was proof of their frivolous character and instability.

For the most part, however, the beauty of Russian female terrorists in fiction, and the love they inspired, symbolized the justified nature of their cause and their violence. Unlike the "fatal women" described by Craciun, these women are not "unsexed," nor do they successfully challenge any gender dichotomies. Indeed, their violence is completely absorbed into their traditional feminine "womanly" identities. They also cannot be considered similar to Miller's "women criminals," who are "beautiful, alluring, and emphatically immoral" and who "demonstrate how consumerism redefined femininity" by showing how "women could effect power through style and image." Russian terrorist women in literature were not considered remotely criminal, but rather were quite the opposite: heroines whose acts, even when violent and illegal, were considered higher forms of justice. Their beauty was not consciously manipulated (with the exception of Wanda in *The Nihilist Princess*); it was described as innocent, natural, and often radiating out of the purity of their devotion to their cause.[45]

The fictional "beauteous terrorist" suggests that English-language novelists accepted and internalized a worldview promoted by Russian terrorists themselves. Russian terrorism operated under an eschatological narrative: Russians were living under a monstrous tyranny, a world of sadistic and almost "oriental" cruelty. The only bright spot on this bleak landscape was the small group of activists whose lives were dedicated to resisting tyranny. The battle of good and evil was joined, but good would prevail—a future Russia of freedom and justice. In the meantime, however, resisters were described in religious terms, as saints and martyrs of the cause.[46] Activists such as Kravchinskii promoted this narrative abroad, and it was seductive in its simplicity and dramatic impact. Scholars have noted that the British in particular were far less forgiving of Irish terrorists, whose violence against a supposedly tolerant and democratic British government seemed unjustified.[47]

Novelists added and embellished to suit their own narrative purposes. Titillating scenes of flogging were added to inflame the reader's sense of injustice and anger and to prepare him or her for the justification of the ruthless retaliatory violence of terrorism. Against the dark backdrop of oppression, the beauty of the female terrorist shone brightly. Violence against their oppressors could enhance the allure of femininity. Hence the seemingly contradictory, but entirely acceptable concept of a "beauteous terrorist," whose beauty redeemed her violence.

Notes

1. Russian terrorism in turn-of-the-century English-language literature has been analyzed, if sparsely. See Barbara Arnett Melchiori, *Terrorism in the Late Victorian Novel* (London: Croom Helm, 1985); and Alex Houen, *Terrorism and Modern Literature: From Joseph Conrad to Ciaran Carson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). These two books suffer from insufficient understanding of the Russian revolutionary context, and Houen in particular confuses Russian Nihilism with that of Friedrich Nietzsche (56–57). See Michael J. Hughes, "British Opinion and Russian Terrorism in the 1880s," *European History Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (2011): 255–277; Choi Chatterjee, "Transnational Romance, Terror, and Heroism: Russia in American Popular Fiction, 1860–1917," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, no. 3 (2008): 753–777. A look at female terrorists in English literature is found in Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, *Framed: The New Woman Criminal in British Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), especially chapter 5. For a look at how the idea of terrorism as the "Russian method" spread throughout the world (with examples of the glorification of Vera Zasulich and Sofia Perovskaia in places like China, Japan, and India), see Steven G. Marks, *How Russia Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 7–38.
2. Henry Parkes, *The Beauteous Terrorist and Other Poems* (Melbourn: George Robertson and Company, 1885), 7.
3. Works that explore the gender contradictions in female terrorism include Carole Garrison, "Sirens of Death: Role of Women in Terrorism Past, Present, and Future," *Varstvoslovje* 8, nos. 3–4 (2006): 332–339; Cindy D. Ness, "In the Name of the Cause: Women's Work in Secular and Religious Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28, no. 5 (2005): 353–373; Karen Jacques and Paul Taylor, "Female Terrorism: A Review," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21, no. 3 (2009): 499–515; Karla J. Cunningham, "Cross-Regional Trends in Female Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 26, no. 3 (2003): 171–195; Katharina von Knop, "The Female Jihad: Al Qaeda's Women," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30, no. 5 (2007): 397–414; Lindsey A. O'Rourke, "What's Special about Female Suicide Terrorism?" *Security Studies* 18, no. 4 (2009): 681–718; Mia Bloom, "Female Suicide Bombers: A Global Trend," *Daedalus* 136, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 94–102. For a specific look at modern portrayals of women terrorists in the media, see Bridgette L. Nacos, "The Portrayal of Female Terrorists in the Media: Similar Framing Patterns in the News Coverage of Women in Politics and in Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28, no. 5 (2005): 435–451. The interpretation of older representations of violent women is found in Miller, *Framed*, 12–13, 222; and Adriana Craciun, *Fatal Women of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 10–11.
4. The next three paragraphs are taken from my extensive analysis of the Zasulich trial found in my *Angel of Vengeance: The Girl Assassin, the Governor of St. Petersburg, and Russia's Revolutionary World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2008). Also see my "The Trial of Vera Zasulich," in *Russian and Soviet History: From the Time of Troubles to the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, eds. Steven Usitalo and Ben Whisenhunt (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 147–161.
5. "The Trial and Acquittal of the Girl Who Shot General Trepov," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1878, 1; "Vera Zassoulitch," *Le bien public*, April 20, 1878, 1. *Morning Post*, April 25, 1878, 4; "Nihilism in Russia," *Times*, April 24, 1878, 3; "Nihilism in the Russian Empire," *New York Times*, 1; "A Warning to Absolutism," *Washington Post*, April 19, 1878, 1; "Vera

Sassulitch," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 12, 1878, 4. See also Hughes, "British Opinion and Russian Terrorism," 259.

6. "Trial and Acquittal," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1878, 1; *The Graphic*, May 4, 1878, 440; *Le monde illustré,* May 9, 1878, 292. See also Hughes, "British Opinion and Russian Terrorism," 259.
7. "A Political Murder in Russia," *New York Times*, July 7, 1878, 8.
8. "Vera Sassulitch," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 12, 1878, 4; "Nihilism in the Russian Empire," *New York Times*, April 19, 1878, 1; G. Valbert, "Le procès de Vera Zassoulitch," *Revue des deux mondes,* May 1, 1878, 220.
9. "The Trial and Acquittal of the Girl Who Shot General Trepov," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* May 8, 1878, 1; *Standard*, April 15, 1878, 4; *Morning Post*, 23 May, 1878, 3.
10. *Times*, April 15, 1878, 5; "Seeds of War in Europe," *New York Times*, August 31, 1878, 10.
11. "A Russian Chief of Police: The True Story of the St. Petersburg Affair," *New York Times*, May 11, 1878, 5.
12. *Morning Post*, April 25, 1878, 4; "Vera Sassulitch," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 12, 1878, 4; *Nation*, May 9, 1878, 301.
13. *Morning Post*, 25 April 1878, 4; "Nihilism in Russia," *Times*, April 24, 1878, 3.
14. Oscar Wilde, *Vera, or the Nihilists* (privately printed, 1902), 19, 37, 72.
15. M. L. Gagneur, *The Nihilist Princess* (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg, 1881), 129–130, 137–138, 343–344, 349.
16. "The Secret of Nihilism," *Nation*, March 11, 1880, 189; "The Head-Quarters of Nihilism," *Times*, March 22, 1881, 8; "Russian Destroying Angels," *New York Times*, June 27, 1881, 3.
17. Peter Scotto, "The Terrorist as Novelist: Sergei Stepniak-Kravchinskii," in *Just Assassins: The Culture of Terrorism in Russia* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2010), 97–126, esp. 97–98; James W. Hulse, *Revolutionists in London: A Study of Five Unorthodox Socialists* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 30, 33, 34; Chatterjee, "Transnational Romance," 773–774.
18. Sergei Mikhailovich Kravchinskii [S(ergius) Stepniak, pseud.], *Underground Russia: Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life* (London: Smith, Elder, 1883), 11, 35–37.
19. Stepniak, *Underground Russia*, 41–44.
20. Ibid., 126–127.
21. Hulse, *Revolutionists in London*, 29–30.
22. For the influence of Russian revolutionary émigrés on popular American conceptions of Russian terrorism, see Chatterjee, "Transnational Romance," 779–782.
23. Mary Elizabeth Hawker [Lanoe Falconer, pseud.], *Mademoiselle Ixe* (New York: Mershon, 1891), 7–8, 17, 36–37, 152–154, 161. These and the other novels discussed here are treated in Melchiori, *Terrorism in the Late Victorian Novel*, but without reference to the Russian models on which the characters were based, and, oddly, taking many of the novels as true depictions of revolutionary conditions in Russia.
24. George Griffith, *Angel of the Revolution: A Tale of the Coming Terror* (London: Tower, 1894), 26; A. Conan Doyle, "The Adventure of the Golden Pince-Nez," in *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (New York: McClure, Phillips, 1906), 261.
25. Joseph Hatton, *By Order of the Czar: The Tragic Story of Anna Klosstock, Queen of the Ghetto* (London: Hutchinson, 1890), 54, 59–60, 354–355. Hatton openly admits his debt to Kravchinskii for his description of conditions in Russia on p. 24.
26. Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* [1911] (New York: Doubleday, 1963), 201.

27. Charles H. Eden, *George Donnington, or In the Bear's Grip* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1885), 2:99–101, 2:165–172. The story of the imprisoned pregnant woman who dies in childbirth is no doubt based on that of Gesia Gelfman, who was sentenced to be executed for the assassination of Alexander II but whose execution was postponed until the birth of her child. Both mother and baby died soon after the birth.
28. Gagneur, *Nihilist Princess*, 128–129, 354; Arthur Ropes and Mary Ropes, *On Peter's Island* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), 83; Sergei Mikhailovich Kravchinskii [S(ergius) Stepniak, pseud.], *Career of a Nihilist* (London: Walter Scott, 1890), 63, 95; Philip May, *Love, the Reward* (London: Remington, 1885).
29. Hawker, *Mademoiselle Ixe*, 135; Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*, 5.
30. Eden, *George Donnington*, 2:102, 2:170–171; May, *Love*, 2:249.
31. Hatton, *By Order of the Czar*, 355.
32. Griffith, *Angel of the Revolution*, 30, 37.
33. Hatton, *By Order of the Czar*, 350–353; Eden, *George Donnington*, 2:102, 2:170–171, 3:218–219; May, *Love*, 2:249, 3:106–107, 3:249; Ropes and Ropes, *On Peter's Island*, 106–107; Gagneur, *Nihilist Princess*, 56–57, 185, 257–260; Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*, 36, 70.
34. Hawker, *Mademoiselle Ixe*, 153, 162, 34; Hatton, *By Order of the Czar*, 99, 386; Ropes and Ropes, *On Peter's Island*, 152, 97; Abraham Cahan, *The White Terror and the Red: A Novel of Revolutionary Russia* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1905), 129; May, *Love*, 2:107–117.
35. Griffith, *Angel of the Revolution*, 38–40.
36. Eden, *George Donnington*, 2:160.
37. Ibid., 2:160–172.
38. Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*, 222, 203.
39. Hatton, *By Order of the Czar*, 1, 161; Gagneur, *Nihilist Princess*, 22–23; Ropes and Ropes, *On Peter's Island*, 152; Cahan, *The White Terror*, 126, 245; Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*, 201; Griffith, *Angel of the Revolution*, 40.
40. Stepniak, *Career of a Nihilist*, 59, 95; Hawker, *Mademoiselle Ixe*, 7–8, 138; Eden, *George Donnington*, 2:46–47.
41. Doyle, "The Adventure of the Golden Pince-Nez," 284.
42. Hatton, *By Order of the Czar*, 83, 166; Griffith, *Angel of the Revolution*, 39; Cahan, *The White Terror*, 173–174; Gagneur, *Nihilist Princess*, 148–149; Kravchinskii, *Career of a Nihilist*, 193.
43. Henry James, *Novels, 1886–1890* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1989), 143–158, 284–306; Vernon Lee, *Miss Brown: A Novel* (London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1884), 293–299.
44. May, *Love*, 2:118–119, 2:131–137.
45. Miller, *Framed*, 12–13, 222; Craciun, *Fatal Women*, 10–11.
46. I have discussed this detail in "Socialist Eschatology and Russian Terrorism," a paper presented at the American Historical Association Mini-Conference: "From Religious Self-Sacrifice to Suicide Terrorism: Martyrdom in the West during the Nineteenth Century Compared with the Middle East Today," Boston, January 2011.
47. Hughes, "British Opinion and Russian Terrorism," 266–270, points out the discrepancy between the treatment of the Irish and Russian cases and credits Kravchinskii with doing a good job promoting the Russian revolutionary cause and distancing it from the Irish. Chatterjee, "Transnational Romance," 779–782, shows in depth how the memoirs and writings of émigré revolutionaries helped shape the U.S. perception of Russian revolutionary terrorism.

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CHAPTER 14

ANARCHIST TERRORISM IN *FIN DE SIÈCLE* FRANCE AND ITS BORDERLANDS

VIVIEN BOUHEY

Making headlines throughout the country, the assassination of French President Sadi Carnot on June 24, 1894, by the anarchist Caserio provoked a strong emotional reaction among contemporaries and raised numerous questions that still occupy historians today. Was it the act of an individual or could Caserio, an Italian immigrant, have been an agent of the anarchist Black International, masterminded, according to nineteenth-century sources, by a Paris- or London-based "governing body"?[1] Such lines of inquiry ultimately lead to more general questions about anarchists' ability to organize on local, regional, national, and international levels at the turn of the century, as well as the possible motives and characteristics of anarchist terrorism.

To address these questions thoughtfully, it is essential to keep in mind that both the anarchist movement and anarchist terrorism were born at the turn of the century and that these births took place in a context that included: the industrial revolution, various schools of socialist thought, large-scale technical progress (faster transportation, in particular), urbanization and international migration, and the rapid rise of mass media. More specifically, it is necessary to keep in mind that anarchist terrorism is a form of "propaganda of the deed," theorized in the 1870s by anti-authoritarian socialists from different countries around the Jura Federation. Lastly, we must recall that this was taking place at a time when authoritarian and anti-authoritarian socialists were tearing each other apart; anti-authoritarians were pondering the reasons for the successive failures of the 1789, 1830, 1848 revolutions and the Paris Commune; the first effects of the

"Great Depression" were starting to be felt; dynamite had just been invented by Alfred Nobel, and "nihilists" were organizing attacks in tsarist Russia.

The Anarchist Milieu in France and its Borderlands: A Cosmopolitan, Urban, and Increasingly Industrial Milieu

Among those whom the sources designate as "anarchists" in the early 1880s, we can schematically distinguish between three categories of individuals. First, there are the militants: those who had a solid understanding of what anarchism was, attended meetings, helped disseminate messages surreptitiously, supported colleagues in need, and engaged in violent action if necessary. They animated groups and coordinated action. Second, there are those adhering to anarchist theories. Insofar as there is no membership card to an "anarchist party," we will consider the most reliable criteria for identifying adherents as, first, attendance at private and public meetings and, second, reading the anarchist press. Adherence does not however imply active participation in the struggle against the bourgeois state. The third category is made up of anarchist sympathizers: these may have approved of anarchist theories and taken an interest in them without fully subscribing to the most violent forms of action and without entering into the various structures of the movement. Alternatively, sympathizers may have retained only the violent dimensions of anarchist theories without always understanding them (or trying to understand them) and without getting involved in the life of the movement.

In the early 1880s, the anarchist population within the national borders was small and unevenly spread out.[2] In France, there existed principal centers of anarchists with about a hundred active members, such as those in Lyon and then in Paris, but there were also secondary foyers and even anarchist margins or "near deserts," in the sense that geographers use these terms today, where there were often less than a dozen members. Their numbers, as well as the number of centers, increased later, especially from the mid-1880s to the early 1890s, reaching two hundred members in the largest foyers, but often less than twenty in the secondary ones, an increase that may be explained in part by the effects of the "Great Depression" and early efforts at proselytizing. The numbers would shrink again with the repression of anarchists in France, especially in 1893–94.

Among these men—militants, adherents, and sympathizers—we find Frenchmen, of course, but also foreigners, especially in large cities with multinational populations (Belgian, English, Russian, Austrian, German, Swiss, Italian, Spanish) such as Lyon, Paris, or Marseille, as well as in some cities in border departments (such as Italians in Nice, Spaniards in Narbonne, Belgians and Englishmen in Lille, Swiss in Besançon, etc.). The number of these foreigners varied depending on the ferocity or leniency of the

repression in the States from which they came and the degree of repression in France. Similarly, we see French anarchist groups settling more or less temporarily in the major cities of bordering States—Geneva, Brussels, or London—as well as establishing communities in exile.[3]

These men (as it was mostly men) were not only artisans, as historians of the French anarchist movement have to this day described them. At times, they were artisans, but they were also factory workers and occasionally even bourgeois. Sometimes they were young, uprooted, and unmarried foreigners, such as the Italian anarchists in Nice, but sometimes they were mature and married men, as in the Isère and Nord departments. In short, a singular anarchist type did not exist; and consequently, the movement was sociologically fragmented on the national scale.

This fragmentation became more and more pronounced over the last decade of the nineteenth century, when the movement was rejuvenated by new activists and, subsequently, new debates arose. The milieu was comprised of anarchists both "young" and "old," who did not always agree on the course of action or ideas. Some insisted on taking illegal and individual action, and this group included a deviant minority—especially young people entering the movement at the end of the 1880s—that sometimes took up anarchist theories to satisfy personal ambition under the guise of political action. Then there were others who, on the contrary, were increasingly tempted by some forms of collective action, even alliances with other revolutionaries, and some of whom would abandon the movement during the repression of 1892–94 and join other socialist groups. Finally, a certain number of artists or writers interested in the radicality of anarchist positions and an aesthetics of violence that was circulating in fashionable salons. Tensions ran high between these various anarchist populations—so high, in fact, that police informers briefly speculated that the movement would splinter away.

The Anarchist Movement: A Cosmopolitan and Transnational Movement Joined through Urban Networks

This fragmentation did not however hinder the movement in France and beyond. As Gaetano Manfredonia and others have demonstrated, this can be explained by the construction of a unifying anarchist identity through written and spoken propaganda in the 1880s.[4] It was an identity founded on: (1) a particular cluster of ideas; (2) anarchists' appropriation of various historical references in the history of political struggle and the workers' movement in France and abroad; (3) the adhesion of anarchists in France and abroad to certain symbols; (4) the anarchists' own memory of heroic episodes in Italy, the United States, and in Spain; (5) their very own lexicon and imagery; and ultimately

(6) a real solidarity founded on the same dream of justice, the same will to defend the movement and its members against repression, and the same desire to destroy authority everywhere in its three principal forms (political, economic, and moral). Within France, this quasi-borderless solidarity found expression in among other things: the guild-like anarchist organizations appearing in the 1880s; organizations that contributed to the existence of a properly anarchist sociability as seen, for example, in the "family evenings" attended by anarchists of all nationalities; in the existence of relief funds financed by French and international anarchist groups; and other forms of mutual support. The repression put into effect by the government against French anarchists in 1892 would only reinforce this national and international solidarity.

Thus, these French and international anarchists forged—and this went well beyond the national borders—epistolary links and built relationships between individuals or groups thanks to some who, on the smaller foyer to foyer scale, belonged to different groups at one and the same time or, on the national scale and beyond, moved from one group to another. The most implicated anarchists could still meet informally during conferences and the great anarchist proceedings they attended. But, above all, they were connected through the overlapping local, regional, or even national or international structures that were created according to their needs; structures that were relatively rigid, more or less visible, and in constant flux. These structures allowed some of them to be at the heart of the network, while others could remain isolated, not part of the network.[5] This was the case in the great anarchist foyers, as, for example, in the "open" groups in which members of various groups—French and foreign—could meet freely. It was also the case across foyers, or even regions, national territories, and beyond, as in the following:

1 What some police informants called "committees," which were relatively stable groups created with the purpose of bringing together delegates of different French and foreign groups (on a voluntary or informal basis) to coordinate temporarily, for example, to edit a pamphlet or journal, organize a protest march, help members in need, and so on.
2 Groups advocating illegality that occasionally brought together members of various groups.
3 Leagues with well-defined objectives. In practice these tended to informally unite several anarchist groups on a local, a regional, or even a national basis.
4 French and foreign anarchist newspapers circulating in France and abroad (whose headquarters were meeting places for anarchists). These newspapers served as information centers where individuals, groups, committees, and leagues could pass on their initiatives. Moreover, they centralized a large part of the money destined for propaganda.

This entire form of organization was also bipartite. Thus, within the movement, there coexisted two interpenetrating worlds: one visibly out in the open, the other secret. As for the visible structures, these allowed those who did not know the *compagnons* to

make contact with them. Here it is a question of groups that had official names and met regularly at known addresses, which were publicized in newspapers; had fixed premises at their disposal, even a library; and maintained operations thanks to collective funds with relatively regular contributions. It was through these structures that they launched the most legally "acceptable" forms of action: distributing written and oral propaganda and organizing protests. As for the "shadow world," a world more secret than the first but not disconnected from it, it barely registered in police reports, but it did fuel fanciful speculation from contemporaries, including the threat of a clandestine Black International plotting a conspiracy. It was the world of "closed" groups that required an invitation to enter it; the world of "secret meetings" (to adopt the jargon of police informers); coded correspondence addressed to pseudonyms and sent via a variety of intermediaries before arriving at their true recipients, who then destroyed them; and perhaps the world of conspiratorial apartments (the question was raised in Paris at the time of the attacks at Rue des Bons-Enfants and Café Terminus, on which more below). It was this second world that, in the context of the repression in the early 1890s, became essential to the movement while the more visible structures dissolved, the newspapers disappeared, and the public meetings stopped. It was also this world that carried out the less acceptable actions.

Departmental archives show that in addition to being bipartite, the movement was largely polarized and informally hierarchical at the national or even international levels. It was polarized in the sense that groups that we have termed "secondary foyers of anarchists" or the "near deserts" of anarchism looked to one or more "principal foyers" (that were sometimes located abroad as, for example, in London in the early 1890s) and depended on them for written and oral propaganda (brochures, requests for public speakers, etc.). These secondary anarchist foyers or the "near deserts" abroad or in France were the peripheries of anarchism, dependent on the principal foyers that provided impetus to the movement, and where little happened from the point of view of militant action. The movement was moreover informally hierarchical for several reasons: first, because it was driven by a handful of multinational militants who, thanks to their intellectual abilities, their talent as orators, their charisma, or their activism, held a natural authority at the center of local, regional, and national groups; and second, because of the prominent place that militants occupied in the structures of the movement: such was the case, for example, in Paris where about fifteen well-connected *compagnons*, who in 1887 participated in several groups at the same time, headed committees and initiated various acts (whether alone or in groups).[6] Hierarchical also because groups and isolated individuals turned to these leaders for guidance, who quite often campaigned in the great foyers of anarchism providing brochures and speeches that circulated at all levels—regional, national, and international. Finally, hierarchical in that these leaders, thanks to their natural authority or prominent place in the movement, successfully managed to put in place the means that allowed them to implement propaganda; or in that they had easier access to spread the anarchist word via the newspapers that they sometimes controlled; and in that they occupied advantageous positions in written and oral propaganda, and even occasionally played a role in propaganda of the

deed. However, this informal hierarchy did not, of course, imply subordination between *compagnons* whose relationships were always, through mutual agreement, the result of elected affinities.[7]

Lastly, these structures were linked together mainly through urban networks. At the national level, the great anarchist foyers were generally located in major cities. It is there that one finds the leaders of the movement and where the groups were naturally larger (for example, there were no doubt more than thirty in Paris in the early 1880s).[8] The urban foyers were the most active since the various forms of propaganda largely derived their vitality from the activities of the leaders, the dialogues at the heart of the anarchist milieu, and a certain rivalry between groups. As a result, major cities were also the centers of anarchist action, giving impetus to militant activity throughout the nation, if not beyond. As for the secondary anarchist foyers, these coincided with middle-sized cities in which there was rarely more than one group. Dependent in part on one or more of the principal foyers for oral and written propaganda, they tended to spread the movement's ideas into the rural areas that made up the movement's margins. Furthermore, within the national borders, it was in the large or middle-sized cities that foreign anarchists could build up true rear guard bases (*bases arrières*) for their militant activities (i.e., Spanish anarchists in Narbonne or Paris during the attempt on King Alfonso XIII and on the President of the Republic in 1905).[9] Similarly, outside the nation, French anarchists congregated in major cities like Geneva, Liège, or London as they prepared with varying degrees of organization acts against the bourgeois Republic (this may have been the case, for example, in London at the time of the Rue des Bons-Enfants and Café Terminus attacks).

The Anarchist Movement: An International Urban Terrorist Organization?

It is absolutely necessary here to keep in mind that anarchist acts between 1880 and 1914 took on many forms (public meetings; protests; publication of leaflets, books, and newspapers; union mobilization; creation of anarchist colonies; treatises on education; and concrete attempts to advance teaching) and that terrorism was for the anarchists but one means of combat. Indeed, it was a highly debated form within the movement and was practically abandoned in 1894 following the assassination of Sadi Carnot. It is also necessary to keep in mind that terrorism itself was only one dimension of what we usually call "propaganda of the deed," a concept that through misuse became synonymous with "terrorism," even for some *compagnons*. Finally, we have to insist that even if the word "terrorism" carries a "negative emotional connotation," our task is not to judge the anarchist attacks.[10] Put simply, from a capitalist perspective, these attacks were considered political and social aberrations, whereas the anarchists situated them within the framework of an asymmetrical war between exploiters and exploited and saw them as

revolutionary acts legitimized by both their revolutionary objective and the State terror against them begun in 1890. As such, here we will not address the question of terrorism from a moral point of view, but rather from a technical perspective: as mode of action.

Propaganda of the deed was born out of reflections at the heart of international circles led by anti-authoritarian socialists, especially within the Jura Federation between the Bernese Jura and the Neuchâtel Mountains. It rose from a conscious realization: "the insufficiency of purely theoretical propaganda" put forward by the Undervillier commune in August 1873 during a general assembly of the international sections of the Bernese Jura.[11] It took on a more substantive form in 1876–78, when anti-authoritarians acknowledged two facts: first, that the existing collusion between the press and the world of power and money denied them access to major newspapers, which were the only means to disseminate their theories on a large scale; second, that workers had neither the time nor the intellectual means to grasp complex, abstract, socialist theories.[12] From this came the interest in propaganda in action, in "propaganda of the deed,"[13] seen as infinitely superior to the abstract idea because it materializes it, makes it directly accessible to the overworked class of proletariats.[14]

In short, propaganda of the deed was only meant to be "a lesson of the anarchist thing."[15] As Jean Maitron writes, propaganda of the deed could have developed following an "entirely peaceful" program ("aide giving societies, cooperatively run stores, communist workshops, etc.").[16] This was exactly what happened later on. But meticulous study of revolutionary action had for a long time taught the anarchists that every time there was reconciliation with the bourgeoisie, the proletariat condemned itself to powerlessness.[17] As a result, from the outset, the anti-authoritarian leaders considered propaganda of the deed to be a sign of a violent and spectacular break with the bourgeoisie. The act would be illegal and, because illegal, should be executed in such a manner that it could not be mistaken for a deviant act falling within common law. Furthermore, to ensure that propaganda of the deed took on this type of message, the theoreticians promptly excluded political assassination. It could be condemned without debate because it was open to multiple interpretations, which risked discrediting the author of the act and, more importantly, his ideas.[18] However, they voted by plebiscite in favor of an attempted insurrection in Benevento organized in April by Carlo Cafiero, Errico Malatesta (two leaders of the Italian Federation), and others—an attempt that anarchists claimed a posteriori as the first attempt at propaganda of the deed. In April 1877, about thirty armed, militant activists raided two mountainous villages in the Italian province of Benevento, where they made revolutionary speeches, burned property deeds in one village, and distributed the money in the village coffers to the impoverished. It was thus an illegal act without victims, an act conceived of with only insurrection in mind, a disinterested political act in the service of a cause considered just; finally and above all, it was an act of propaganda that sought to materialize anarchist theories by achieving the exemplary Ideal in a closed space.

Considering the illegal aspect of propaganda of the deed, the anti-authoritarians could have kept to insurrectional tactics without engaging in terrorism. But the idea of propaganda of the deed put forth by anarchist leaders and part of the militants evolved over the next three years for two reasons: (1) because the example set by Russian nihilists

(on January 24, 1878, Vera Zasulich shot General Trepov, while on March 1, 1881, *Narodnaia Volia* assassinated Tsar Alexander II) had profound repercussions within the anarchist movement;[19] and (2) because faced with the acts of Russian nihilists, as well as the attempted assassinations of William I, Alfonso XII, and Humbert I in 1878, the fierce repression by the Russian government and other nations against movements on the extreme left drove anarchists to the idea that sooner or later it would be necessary to defend themselves, or even launch a counterattack. Already in 1873, the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne* was writing that the reaction "would probably soon call the European socialist proletariat to an equally armed response" and that "this exceptional situation" would require "exceptional duties."[20] There is thus no doubt that the idea of propaganda of the deed in 1878–81 was shaped by the acts of Russian nihilists, the repercussions of these acts, and the anti-authoritarians' exasperation with being the target of persecution beside their brothers in revolution. Political assassination received legitimization in *L'Avant-Garde* at the end of 1878[21] and in the "program" adopted at the international revolutionary socialist conference in London in July 1881,[22] which officially recognized propaganda of the deed as a means of action, pushed "organizations" and "individuals" to move their act into "the terrain of illegality" and to take up "technical and chemical" means, which had "already served the revolutionary cause."[23] As for the objectives of this form of action, they were now threefold: it remained an act which gave concrete form to anarchist theories for the education of the masses; it participated in a revolutionary strategy since anarchists hoped that, by repeating such acts, they could incite anger that would then trigger a great revolution; and, lastly, in 1881 the anarchist movement declared it a means "to attack and defend." And for some anarchist leaders, individual or collective engagement in propaganda of the deed was henceforth to commit an act of political violence (e.g., in the form of assassination of key figures or explosive attacks), to intimidate, and to incite terror with the long-term goal of putting an end to the capitalist world. In short, it became a terrorist act. Starting in the 1880s, leaders such as Peter Kropotkin used newspapers to call on *compagnons* to engage in this form of action ("Permanent revolt by speech, writing, dagger, rifle, dynamite…all that is not legal is good for us").[24] They set numerous targets for future terrorists (attacks on the bourgeois class that targeted their interests and their life, political assassinations, destruction of churches, etc.). At the same time, some anarchist newspapers publicized the means to engage in violent action: for example, under the rubric "Scientific Studies," *La Révolution Sociale* published bomb-making recipes. A handful of leaders thus made this new form of revolutionary action accessible to all who considered themselves anarchists.

The First Age of Anarchist Terrorism: Theory into Practice

During the 1880s, the authorities correctly or incorrectly blamed anarchists for a series of attacks, often for the simple reason that the perpetrators had not been found.[25] To

make sense of these attacks, we must situate them in a precise politico-economic context and, if we are to understand the motives behind the attacks, follow the personal development of those who put anarchist terrorism into practice.

With some of the attacks, we are dealing with acts of individual revolt just as the anarchist newspapers of the 1880s called for: those of Emile Florion, Paul-Marie Curien, Louis Chaves, or Charles Gallo, all of whom (except Gallo) used handguns. At the time of the deeds, most of them were relatively young, generally unstable, and undisciplined men whom life had mistreated. All acted alone—"free radicals" that followed their personal motivations—but all were politically engaged men who frequented, sometimes assiduously, revolutionary groups, read socialist and anarchist newspapers, and, because of their personal situations, were already sympathetic to calls to violence. With the exception of Gallo, they did not prepare their acts well in advance: these were spontaneous acts, largely improvised and directed against an overwhelmingly unjust capitalist society that they considered had made victims of them one too many times (in general, they decided to carry out their acts following their dismissal from employment). On the other hand, in the 1880s, other attacks—a minority—all executed with the help of "technical and chemical means," seemed to be prepared more cold-bloodedly by small groups who had the determination and the organization to act autonomously within the movement and to orchestrate their plans in secret. This was the case no doubt in the series of bombings launched against employment agencies and Parisian police stations starting in 1888, the perpetrators of which were never apprehended. But it was also the case in the Lyon attacks (one at café "l'Assommoir" in October 1882 and another at the Lyon *Palais de Justice* in 1887), which for contemporaries, notably the police and some journalists, fueled belief in the existence of real terrorist networks with branches abroad and possible "international conspiracies." We should also note here that what the police saw at the time as international conspiracy, the militant anarchists themselves saw as the internationalization of the workers' struggles.[26]

All things considered, the characteristics of anarchist terrorism in the 1880s varied. Attackers included isolated individuals; small, autonomous, and clandestine groups; and networks. The attacks themselves were part of an unequal struggle between exploiters, who had armed forces at their disposal, and anarchists. They really only existed in the public sphere thanks to the media—a fact that terrorists, who acted and used their trials as if they were revolutionary grandstands, knew full well. It is for this reason that they were tempted by the use of explosives; it is also for this reason that they targeted known figures or symbols of the bourgeois state. Finally, it is for this reason that the attacks were carried out in urban spaces, notably that great symbol of power, the capital, where they would attract the attention of journalists (and, moreover, where propagandists could pass unnoticed); where they could do more material damage and claim more potential victims; and, therefore, where one of the sought after effects (to terrorize) would multiply. Because the political scope of these attacks depended on the media reading and rereading them (including anarchist media), they were susceptible to misreadings and critiques that ran the risk of eventually causing more harm than good to the movement. The "bourgeois" press would often construe them as criminal acts committed by apolitical madmen. On the other hand, within the anarchist movement itself, certain attacks were seen as the result of incitement by *agents provocateurs* paid by the Minister of the Interior, part

of a true "bourgeois conspiracy" seen here as an effort to repress the activities of the extreme left by taking away their liberties and thus further consolidating established power. These attacks claimed only a few victims, and, with the exception of the waiter at "l'Assommoir," no "innocent" victims (from the point of view of class struggle). This was no doubt for various reasons: because the propagandists remained cautious in the face of acts not always easily read by public opinion; because the reaction had probably not yet imposed on French *compagnons* what they saw as "exceptional duties"; and, lastly, because—consciously or not—the terrorists, who claimed to be the defenders of proletariat, did not consent to acts that would cut them off from the masses (either because they would appear odious and/or because they would claim victims from the proletariats themselves). These acts comprised diverse objectives and impulses:

1 They were cries of desperation and revolt[27] by politically engaged men exasperated by the injustices they and the proletariats in general were suffering.
2 They sought to force societies or governments to remedy situations they viewed as unjust and to bring forth a little revolution (e.g., the elimination of employment agencies in Paris).
3 They sought to create a climate of insecurity among the exploiting class.
4 They sought to deliver a message (this is the literal meaning of the expression "propaganda of the deed"): the chosen targets were in most cases symbolic ones bearing a message (destroying political authority by assassinating a minister or attacking police stations or courts of law; annihilating the bourgeoisie and putting an end to exploitation by assassinating random bourgeois or using dynamite to blow up either a busy restaurant such as "l'Assommoir," a capitalist temple such as the stock exchange, or employment agencies; lastly, attacking moral authority in the form of religion).
5 Finally, they participated in a strategy. Even if anarchist attacks on the Republic during the 1880s were neither coordinated nor planned by a central organization,[28] the attacks would multiply, by a sort of ricochet effect, because they contributed to the education of workers who would in turn resolve themselves to this type of action (e.g., in a letter of testament published by *L'Hydre anarchiste*, Louis Chaves called on all anarchists to follow his example).[29] This multiplication would drive the Republic to its downfall, followed later by all other bourgeois regimes.

The 1890s: The Second Age of Anarchist Terrorism or the Age of Maturity

Turning to anarchist terrorism in the early 1890s, we must first note the partially new context: on the one hand, a brutal repression (especially from 1890 on) that the

compagnons saw as unjust and that drove many of them into exile and expelled most foreign anarchists; and, on the other hand, the Panama scandal, which, by discrediting French politics generally, tarnished the Chamber of Deputies.

Some of the attacks were direct descendents of those of the 1880s. Those of Léauthier, Marpeaux, Célestin Nat, Vaillant, and Léon Boutheille, for example, were individual, spontaneous, and generally improvised acts of vengeance against capitalist society. They were carried out by *compagnons* who quite often had been mistreated by life and who were quite susceptible to the great effects of anarchist propaganda. All took up either handguns, the tools of their trade (a knife for Léauthier), or bombs. Other attacks, such as those in the Ardennes, were probably planned by small autonomous groups with various objectives (spread propaganda, terrorize, accomplish some part of the revolution), and these were groups that participated in a strategy in the sense developed above.

However, changes were underway in the early 1890s, especially in the way the attacks were carried out. First of all, the very mindset (*esprit*) in which attacks were conceived changed; this is because the early 1890s saw the rise of attacks whose principal objectives were, first, to avenge the *compagnons* who had fallen victim to the repression and, second, to terrorize the State's civil servants, especially the magistrates or policemen involved in prosecuting anarchist cases: it was the anarchists' response to what they considered to be a form of State terror directed against them, thus legitimizing their action. This terrorist and vengeful type of propaganda of the deed sprang from the Dardare, Decamp, and Léveillé Affair. Three anarchists were arrested after a confrontation with the police in Paris on May 1, 1890. During the night of June 9–10, 1890 unidentified agitators tried to blow up the Levallois police station at 41 Rue de Rivay. The attempt sent a strong message to Police Chief Guilhem, who had issued the order to proceed with the arrests. It was this same strong message that Ravachol and his cohort of minor actors wanted to deliver to the authorities when on March 7, 1892 they attempted to plant a bomb in front of the police station's door.[30] And it was because they were unable to blow up the Police Chief that this small commando (as we can call it anachronistically) decided that, "we would attack Monsieur Councillor Benoît, who presided over the *Assises de la Seine* on August 28, 1891, and Monsieur the Substitute Bulot, who had ordered the briefing in the same affair, and who had asked for the death penalty for Decamp, who was a father and family man."[31] Similarly, when *compagnon* Meunier used dynamite to blow up the restaurant Véry on April 15, 1892, it was meant for him and his accomplices to avenge Ravachol, who had been exposed by Lhérot, the waiter at the restaurant, and to send a warning to potential informers. And Emile Henry's attack was also motivated at least in part by a desire for vengeance. As he said himself during his trial, if he struck, it was among other things to avenge anarchists who had fallen victim to terrible reprisals following Vaillant's attack on the stock exchange.[32] The same may be said of the attacks in the Faubourg Saint-Martin and on Rue Saint-Dresch in February 1894, which, if they were anarchist, were in the same vein, since they targeted Police Chief Dresch, who arrested Ravachol, and Police Chief Belovino, who was posted for a time to Saint-Denis and was involved in anarchist cases.[33] On the whole, from 1893 to 1894, the *compagnons* supported these acts of vengeance. In 1892, the anarchist Etiévent de Clichy supported an attack on the Spanish Embassy in order to avenge the death of

Jerez anarchists;[34] in 1893, *Révolte* declared that the "blood of the martyrs" was "sowing seeds of revolt;"[35] and according to a report in May 1894, "now the order of the day in anarchist spheres is: conspire in shadows, avenge martyrs to the cause, and spread propaganda of the deed."[36] We should note here that guillotined anarchists incited other anarchists to follow their example, like Vaillant, who died courageously and whose last words were: "Long live anarchy! My death will be avenged!"[37] With these "new formula" attacks, the educational aspect of the act was effaced behind the desire for vengeance while at the same time any tie to the exploited masses tended to unravel. Propagandists no longer made themselves the spokesmen of the exploited masses nor did they deliver a message of liberty with universal aspirations; rather, the message they sent was almost exclusively the message of a movement demanding vengeance.

Furthermore, in response to what they considered a brutal and unjust repression, anarchist terrorists stepped up their action in the early 1890s. Attacks were more numerous than in the 1880s, though they continued to be executed essentially in urban areas, and notably in the capital. At this time, anarchists chose more ambitious targets: magistrates, the Chamber of Deputies, even the President of the Republic. There was also greater destruction of buildings and a greater number of victims in the attacks because, on the whole, bombs were more powerful in the 1890s and better prepared (moreover, the assembly of at times sophisticated bombs enabled propagandists to show themselves as qualified workers capable of the most dangerous tasks).[38] With that came the price of the blood of the workers, which was shed in the Véry restaurant, or the blood of anonymous patrons in the café Terminus. It was a blind violence within the framework of a merciless struggle that Emile Henry justified at his trial as follows: "You strike as a unified block, and we do too."[39] And here too, during the course of these attacks, the tie with the exploited masses tended to unravel, since the proletariat that the anarchists claimed to defend paid in blood the price of the struggle against the class of exploiters, while at the same time a sense of terror loomed (at least in the capital) thanks to the exceptional media coverage the attacks received.[40]

Finally in the 1890s, much more than in the 1880s, a certain number of attacks seemed to be the result of real organization among groups within national or international networks; at the same time terrorists seemed to benefit from greater solidarity: they worked together to find lodging, money, supporting actors ready for action, "recipes" to build bombs, and "ingredients." Organization and active solidarity were the basis of the acts committed by the group for which Ravachol was the henchman (e.g., when the boulevard Saint-Germain explosion was mounted and carried out). They may also have bolstered Emile Henry's plans (financial resources, lodging, complicity, trips between Paris and London).[41] Henry may have belonged to a band of burglar anarchists who attracted the attention of the police at the time and were assumed to be part of the French anarchist milieu of London: from London these men orchestrated operations on the continent and using money from their burglaries to support the needs of propaganda. Some of them may have been implicated in a series of attacks, all possibly linked, that reverberated on the continent (Rue des Bons-Enfants, Café Terminus, and the Pauwels affair). Active solidarity and organization may have further facilitated Caserio's projects,

whether he worked alone or not, since French anarchists gave him shelter during his stay in France just before the attack on Sadi Carnot.[42] Solidarity and organization further allowed, beyond the borders, what police sources labeled true "conspiracies," such as the one organized later by a group of Spanish anarchists against the President of the French Republic and Alfonso XIII in 1905 or the attack in Liège, perpetrated by a small French group in 1908. There too, what was for some proof of a conspiracy was for others evidence of the internationalization of the struggle.

The attacks of the 1890s thus shared certain common characteristics within the framework of an increasingly aggravated struggle between *compagnons* and bourgeois power: they were greater in number and bloodier, at times better prepared, and sometimes orchestrated abroad and sent to France or vice versa. For some *compagnons*, who believed they were being persecuted by the bourgeois State, the attacks were above all a means "of attack and defense." Equally true for some of them, they were carried out by propagandists who took on the role of martyrs and who would go as far as to justify blind violence. What the attacks effectively demonstrate is that the movement was folding in on itself: the attacks further isolated the movement on the political scene, an isolation intensified by the fact that anarchist political violence seemed to play into the hands of a State that repressed and took away liberties; and they distanced the exploited masses from *compagnons* who defended themselves before defending the masses. In the "bourgeois" or even socialist press, anarchists would often appear more as madmen, fanatics, or common criminals than as responsible, politically engaged men. From the point of view of propaganda, far from setting off the "great night of revolution," the attacks drove it away for three reasons: because they horrified the masses more than they rallied them (propagandists of the deed were effectively out of step with the expectations of the masses); because they sparked a repression that was growing increasingly violent; and, finally, because in the end they appeared futile. Even the elimination in 1894 of the highest politician in command, Sadi Carnot, did not advance the anarchist cause. Quite to the contrary, it did nothing to weaken the power in place: the attacks therefore brought the *compagnons* to an impasse, which explains why they gradually abandoned this type of action after the assassination of Sadi Carnot. Finally, the increasingly industrial population was gradually entering the government, tempted by forms of collective action such as strikes and union mobilization, forms of action that certain leaders of the movement such as Kropotkin began to call on in the late 1880s.[43]

Conclusion

Anarchist terrorism developed within a particular political, economic, technical, and cultural context. It was anchored in a political movement that gradually gave rise to an original line of thought on revolutionary action, a movement whose relationship with the Republic evolved after 1890. It was supported by a form of flexible organization, which appeared virtually without constraint in the 1880s and evolved in the 1890s. In France, it

essentially came together into an urban network that formed a link in the chain of transnational political organization. This form of organization paved the way for action—action all the more difficult to prepare because it did not emanate from a sort of central committee giving direction and orders to disciplined agents. Insofar as the attacks were neither masterminded by a central committee nor the subject of general agreement, especially from 1895 on, it is not possible to speak of a singular terrorist organization.[44]

Within the movement, those who carried out the attacks were either desperate men acting spontaneously and practically improvising, or determined quasi-professionals who had carefully prepared their attacks. Among these terrorists, some were true fanatics who were ready to die as martyrs. They were politically engaged men, sometimes isolated, sometimes part of small autonomous, clandestine groups and/or transnational networks. Turning our attention to the form of action, we have distinguished several characteristics: they were violent, illegal, political acts (assassination, bombings, etc.) that participated in a strategy. They were acts whose psychological impact had to exceed the physical effects; acts that, in order to exist in the public sphere, had to enter into the channels of media, hence the importance of the target (symbolic, serving to spread a message), the place (the city), and, for the arrested anarchist, a potential trial. These acts had several objectives: to spread a message and to terrorize so that in time a new world could come into being. In keeping with these objectives, the attacks were relatively bloody; at times they thus participated in a blind violence whose severity was partly tied to the degree of repression.

Translated from the French by Cory Browning,

Notes

1. Jean Maitron, *Le Mouvement anarchiste en France* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1975), 1:250; J. Berthoud. "L'Attentat contre le Président Sadi Carnot: Spontanéité individuelle ou action organisée dans le terrorisme anarchiste des années 1890," *Les Cahiers de l'histoire* 16 (1971): 58–65.
2. See Vivien Bouhey, *Les Anarchistes contre la République: Contribution à l'histoire des réseaux sous la Troisième République (1880–1914)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008), 23ff.
3. John Merriman, *The Dynamite Club: How a Bombing in Fin-de-Siècle Paris Ignited the Age of Modern Terror* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009); and Constance Bantman, *Anarchismes et Anarchistes en Grande Bretagne 1880–1914: Echanges, représentations, transferts*, thesis directed by François Poirier (Université de Paris XIII Villetaneuse, 2007).
4. Gaetano Manfredonia, *Les Anarchistes et la Révolution française* (Paris: Monde Libertaire, 1990); *La Chanson anarchiste en France des origines à 1914* (Paris and Montreal: L'Harmattan, 1997); "Persistance et actualité de la culture politique libertaire," in *Les Cultures politiques en France* (dir. Serge Berstein) (Paris: Seuil, 1999), 243–283.
5. Vivien Bouhey, "Les Réseaux anarchistes à la fin du XIXe siècle: Courte tentative de caractérisation," http://raforum.info/spip.php?article5988, 2010; Bouhey, *Les Anarchistes*, 35ff.
6. Ibid., 47.

7. Vivien Bouhey, "Y a-t-il eu un complot anarchiste contre la République à la fin du XIXe siècle?" http://raforum.info/spip.php?article5632, 2009.
8. Bouhey, *Les Anarchistes*, 45.
9. See the definition of "base arrière" given in Bouhey, "Y a-t-il eu un complot."
10. Ariel Merari, "Du terrorisme comme stratégie d'insurrection," in *Histoire du terrorisme de l'Antiquité à Al Qaida*, eds. Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (Paris: Bayard, 2006), 24.
11. *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, no. 18 (August 10, 1873).
12. *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, no. 31 (August 5, 1877).
13. James Guillaume attributes the origin of this neologism to Costa, who organized a conference on "propaganda of the deed" in Geneva on June 9, 1877. See James Guillaume, *L'Internationale: Documents et souvenirs* (Paris: P.-V. Stock, 1910), 4:206.
14. *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, no. 28 (July 15, 1877) and *L'Avant-Garde*, June 17, 1878.
15. Maitron, *Le Mouvement anarchiste*, 1:409.
16. Ibid., 1:77.
17. Article in "Résolution de l'assemblée d'Undervillier" reproduced in *Bulletin de la Fédération Jurassienne*, no. 19 (August 17, 1873).
18. *L'Avant-Garde*, June 17, 1878.
19. Jean Grave, *Le Mouvement Libertaire sous la IIIe République: Souvenirs d'un révolté.* (Paris: Les Œuvres représentatives, 1930), 210.
20. *Bulletin de la Fédération Jurassienne*, no. 16 (July 27, 1873).
21. *L'Avant-Garde*, December 2, 1878.
22. *Le Révolté*, no. 11 (July 23, 1881).
23. Interview with Ronald Creagh, March 19, 2010. On the relations between anarchist terrorism and science, see Daniel Colson, "La Science anarchiste," http://refractions.plusloin.org/spip.php?article262,1997.
24. *Le Révolté*, no. 22 (December 25, 1880).
25. Archives Nationales, F^7 12514.
26. Interview with Ronald Creagh.
27. On the relationship between speech and action in anarchist terrorism, see Caroline Granier, *Les Briseurs de formule: Les Ecrivains anarchistes en France à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Coeuvre-et-Valsery: Ressouvenances, 2008), 161; and Uri Eisenzweig, *Fictions de l'anarchisme* (Paris: C. Bourgeois, 2001), 11.
28. Bouhey, "Y a-t-il eu un complot."
29. *L'Hydre anarchiste*, no. 3 (March 9, 1884).
30. *La Gazette des Tribunaux*, April 27, 1892.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., April 28 and 29, 1894.
33. Préfecture de police de Paris (P. Po.) B.A./141–142.
34. P. Po. B.A./77, report dated February 15, 1892.
35. *La Révolte*, no. 11 (November 23 to December 1, 1893).
36. P. Po. B.A./79, report dated May 14, 1894.
37. Maitron, *Le Mouvement anarchiste*, 1:235.
38. Interview with Ronald Creagh.
39. *La Gazette des Tribunaux*, April 29, 1894.
40. Chaliand and Blin, eds., *Histoire du terrorisme de l'Antiquité à Al Qaida*, 153.
41. John Merriman's book does not state whether it was an individual act or not.
42. See works by J. Berthoud cited above.

43. Bouhey, *Les Anarchistes*, 89.
44. See the definition of "organization" given in Bouhey, "Y a-t-il eu un complot."

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PART III

THE RECEPTION AND ADAPTATION OF TERRORISM AROUND THE GLOBE

CHAPTER 15

CHINA AND THE "ANARCHIST WAVE OF ASSASSINATIONS" AROUND THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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"Today is not a period of revolution, but a period of assassinations." This was the main message in the testament of Wu Yue who unsuccessfully had tried to bomb five Manchu ministers at the Beijing railway station in 1905 on their departure for a trip around the world to learn about constitutional systems. Whereas his bomb only hurt the ministers, Wu Yue himself died from it on the spot, as he had expected, leaving behind a long testament explaining his motives and the inspiration he drew from international "models": the Japanese heroic "men of high purpose" (*shishi*) of the mid- to late nineteenth century at their country's transition to modern statehood who killed leading political figures for the "sake" of Japan's well-being,[1] and—above all—the Russian "nihilists," that is, the *Narodnaia Volia* (People's Will) group attacking high officials and even the tsar to change politics. Wu Yue assumed that assassinations would spark revolution by initiating a spiraling process of attack, oppression, and revenge. And therefore this "period of assassinations" seemed a necessary precondition to achieve historical progress for China. Therefore, "assassination-ism" seemed timely, but for Wu Yue it also was automatically linked to sacrifice: the assassin must die and become a "martyr" of "the cause." And he stressed the importance of the spectacular effect: it must create fear and draw public notice. If not, how could it fulfill its declared mission of opening up the way to revolution?

Wu Yue's assassination attempt became very famous mainly because of its being publicized widely in the revolutionary Chinese press, and—above all—because of his long

and comprehensive testament. This started with his cited general viewpoint on the role of assassinations in historical progress to trigger "revenge" and finally "revolution" (typically, these were all called "isms" in a pseudo-scientific manner), and then went on to explain his specific attack on minister Tieliang (the leader of the group of five ministers) whose "guilt" is detailed; this was followed by an advice on how to view his deed addressed to his comrades, another one to the Chinese in general, a semi-personal one to his wife who was going to be widowed and had tried to dissuade him before, and one to Zhang Binglin, his comrade in spirit who would publish the whole (after being released himself from prison for anti-Manchu agitation in 1907) in the nationalist revolutionaries' journal "The People" (*Minbao*) appearing in Japan. Thus, Wu Yue's was an assassination attempt carefully orchestrated to maximize the symbolic effect of his deed for the future course of events by "guiding" its reception with various audiences, and placing it in a national and transnational context by arguing for worldwide similar patterns. Above all, Wu Yue clearly was presented as a morally driven hero and "model" for his compatriots. And his deed, though executed only by him, was not a solitary act but consciously related to a greater struggle in which many more participated. It thus was transformed into a symbol of the whole revolutionary movement by himself and by those who published his testament.[2]

Political assassinations have, of course, occurred at all times and in all regions of the globe.[3] Most of these deeds were spatially or temporally contained in their implications, but some transcended space and time to gain a broader significance. The assassination of Caesar, to take one of the most famous cases, would be "received" by many audiences through time and over widespread areas. However, though certainly gaining a high symbolic value in history and thus being famous up to our days, it did not trigger a whole "wave" of similar assassination attempts. In this way, it still remained an "exceptional" deed provoked by "exceptional" circumstances and thus to be emulated—if at all—also only in "exceptional" cases.

In contrast, when turning to forms of political violence around the turn of the twentieth century, what catches the eyes of many researchers today, as it did of the audiences at the time, is a rather short time span when assassination attempts peaked in the historical record in various countries (including China) with an often explicit connectedness in rhetoric (though only occasionally in agents). In many studies today as in the news coverage or comments of the time, this perceived "sudden proclivity" for assassinations was labeled "anarchist" or "nihilist" to pin down the phenomenon's supposed (ideological) "coherence." David Rapoport, an influential Western expert on terrorism, has integrated this widespread view in his recent attempt to conceptualize the development of "modern terrorism" in "four waves" that swept the globe one after another, each with a particular "driving energy." The first wave is named the "anarchist" one, rising in the 1880s in Russia and moving on within a decade to Western Europe, the Balkans, and Asia. With its primary strategy of assassinations of prominent politicians and officials, this "anarchist wave"—which I referred to in the title of my chapter—was, in Rapoport's words, "the first global or truly international terrorist experience in history,"[4] and it subsided only in the 1920s with the second wave, the "anti-colonial" one, rising.

Taking up this wave concept has, in fact, various advantages for writing the history of terrorism in a transnational way: it considers above all the time factor (i.e., gives credit

to interdependent developments around the globe with high tides and regressions). In fact, when looking to East Asia, trends developing in the West (world) were followed closely at the time around the late nineteenth century, due to advanced information technologies and more intensive international contacts. East Asian newspapers translated or paraphrased almost immediately everything of global interest that could be read in Western newspapers (with a few Western news agencies still holding a monopoly on providing news then). The wave concept furthermore suggests a "generational experience" common to a given time period, which was preconditioned by the diminishing informational gap just mentioned. Scandals like assassination attempts could be publicized almost simultaneously around the globe—nearly in real time, so to speak.

What the wave concept, however, tends to blur is the fact that near-simultaneous developments, even if interdependent, need not be or mean the same everywhere. And—one may note—it implicitly excludes state terrorism from the history of "modern terrorism." This chapter tries to start from the Chinese experience to consider how the so-called "first anarchist wave of modern terrorism," characterized by political assassination, developed in the East Asian cultural and historical context; how far this terminology can be meaningfully applied to what was going on then; and how its relation to modernity in East Asia could be understood. In terms of what was going on then, I will argue that it is not pertinent to call the wave "anarchist" and that what was received around the globe lay more in *strategy* than ideology. As far as the relation to modernity in East Asia is concerned, I will give special attention here to the Chinese case and only briefly comment on Japan or Korea, on the one hand, because this is my field of greatest expertise, on the other, because in terms of "modernization," China represented a middle position between quickly modernizing Japan and the less developed and finally colonized Korea—even "atypically" colonized by her East Asian neighboring "upstart" Japan and not by the "usual" Western powers.

Furthermore, this chapter contextualizes meanings of concepts like "terror*ism*," "anarchism," or more general notions like "violence" historically, culturally, and linguistically. Therefore, I will start with discussing the terms "terrorism" and "anarchism" in the global and East Asian context at the time because of the problematic fusion of terms already evident around the turn of the century and their use in the context of the assassination "wave," and then move on to relate them to political violence in East Asia in a more general vein. Finally, I will ask what the relation to modernity might be and which implications could be ascertained.

Coming to Terms with Terms

Terrorism

Without going into the long-drawn debate about how to define "terrorism,"[5] one may at least remark that unlike ideological systems such as "communism," "fascism," and so on, "terrorism" actually is not an "ism" in the sense of a coherent ideological construct. Rather, what we term "terrorism" is in fact a strategy used to achieve some aim, be it

political, religious, or otherwise. In other words, "terrorism" is used by various people and is no end in itself, though it demonstrates some internal coherence to distinguish it from totally isolated or arbitrary/random acts. (At least, this is the understanding I am starting with, going with the bulk of interpretations of the term.) Whether assassinations—the characteristic mode of Rapoport's "first wave"—are to be included in a discussion of "terrorism" at all is also a question that has been discussed and negated by those who stress that "terrorism" is all about attacking "innocent" or "noncombatant" people "indiscriminately," whereas in the assassination of "tyrants" a morally justifiable act could be claimed and no "indiscriminate" killing, which by no means is morally justifiable, is involved.[6] Since it is crucial to frame the topic in a broader way to avoid superimposing any given definition of what should be subsumed under "terrorism" beforehand, that is, to explicitly also refer to "political violence" as such, of which political assassinations (from "below" as from "above") are certainly a form, I will mostly focus on political assassinations as the most conspicuous form of political violence at the time, which was also drawn into the realm of "terrorism" in the West as in East Asia by the problematic—but characteristic—mixture of terms since the late nineteenth century.

As for the terminology in the East Asian context, one has first of all to stress that Japan was the most important site for coining translation terms, usually later also taken up by the Chinese and Koreans. But for the option of simply imitating phonetically the Western (usually English) term—which marks a term as foreign from the outset and, to a certain degree, as not "digested" culturally—the alternative of semantic rendering suggests how a term was understood in a given culture at a given time. Today "terrorism" is rendered in Japanese phonetically as *terorizumu* (highlighting also optically with the use of the Japanese syllabic *katakana* alphabet the term's foreignness), whereas in Chinese the current translation term is *kongbuzhuyi, zhuyi* being "ism" and *kongbu* meaning "terrifying," "horrible," "frightening." This term is negative in connotation and not used self-referentially. However, at the turn of the twentieth century, the main terms used were *ansatsushugi* in Japanese and *anshazhuyi* in Chinese, respectively, meaning "assassination-ism" or (mostly by the phenomenon's opponents) "nihilism," which was often confounded or equated with "terrorism" at the time as well, so the terms *nihirizumu* in Japanese or *xuwuzhuyi* in Chinese—*xuwu* meaning the "void"—have to be counted in as well. The term "assassination-ism" underlines the fact that at the time the most eye-catching mode of "terrorism" or political violence was, in fact, assassination (cf. Rapoport's statement), and that single assassinations were not seen as completely disconnected acts but as a coherent phenomenon qualifying for an "ism." Although *kongbuzhuyi* is no term to be used positively for one's own purposes today, "assassination-ism" was "acceptable" a hundred years ago in certain contexts and thus could be used self-referentially. Why this was so, is explainable by the "pre-history" of political assassinations. In China, in the first "master narrative" of historiographical writing around 100 BC, there was a whole section on "assassins" (named *cike*: lit. "stabbing guests") who heroically attacked tyrants, knowing that they would pay for this deed with their own life.[7] (You may be familiar with Zhang Yimou's recent film *Hero*, which is based on parts of these stories.) This tradition of politically motivated assassination of

rulers (an "answer" to the ruler's prerogative to execute) was morally deemed acceptable if the ruler had turned into a "tyrant." A ruler's legitimization was—according to this strand of Confucian thinking—contingent on his moral behavior. Thus, killing a "tyrant" could be considered not as a "regicide" but as simply punishing a culprit.[8] This ancient image of the assassin as the extraordinary punisher—in later times merged with more popular traditions of the Robin Hood type of ordinary people being forced to take justice into their hands when officials as representatives of the state do not live up to their task—helps explain why assassination of superiors would have been taken up as a more or less culturally sanctioned form of political expression "from below" in China in modern times as well (cf. Wu Yue's example cited in the beginning), though being restricted to "emergency cases."[9] Assassinations "from above," in turn, obviously were not possible to legitimize, since the state, being entitled to a monopoly of legitimate use of force anyway, had an established system of "regular" judicial procedures to go through before killing/executing someone.

As for the term "nihilism," which had old roots in Western culture but became really current only in the second half of the nineteenth century (famously given also a literary face in Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*), it was understood as a fundamental rejection of any moral obligation. Whereas religion as philosophy basically argued for a grounding of morals, "nihilism" negated any moral re-binding of man. This fundamental critique easily lent itself to an interpretation as favoring not only transgression of social restrictions, but as favoring also deadly violence in practice. Thus "terrorist acts," starting with the Russian "terrorists" of the 1880s, namely the *Narodnaia Volia* (People's Will) group, came to be explained quickly by commentators as being caused by a "nihilist-amoral" conviction, since no morals would impede the killing of others. This interpretation—even though it was not shared by those who committed these "terrorist acts" who felt obliged to stress their "morality" and the guilt of their targets[10] —at least tried to rationalize these forms of political violence so shocking to most of the international audience. In this way, the image of the amoral "nihilist" bomb-thrower as the archetypical terrorist was born. Whereas the Chinese favorite term "assassination-ism" approached the phenomenon's assumed internal coherence quite tellingly from the side of practice, "nihilism" tried to pin down the purported ideology behind it.

Anarchism

When the "first wave" of "modern" terrorism is termed "anarchist," this is certainly meant as a short-hand definition. However, it is also the consequence of a very peculiar reception history. What today is understood as representing "anarchism" is still strongly tainted by the polemics of the late nineteenth century.[11] When, for example, Nechaev, the Russian *Narodnaia Volia*, Sorel, and so on are cited as standing for "anarchism" and demonstrating "anarchism's terrorist face," one has to add that, strictly speaking, neither of the named was self-consciously "anarchist," and the "anarchists" (i.e., mainstream anarchism of the time) did not count them as such either. Anarchist rivals, namely the

Marxists, however, were eager to ascribe "problematic" figures to the anarchist camp and discredit the latter, as were the conservative critics of anarchism.[12] And anarchists, being often ambivalent on how to evaluate violent means in general and at times applauding political assassinations authored by a variety of people, were not all convincing to the broader audience when they tried to refute these ascriptions, even if they were historically in the right.[13]

Anarchists certainly often expressed sympathy with violent acts, including assassinations, and at times explicitly included assassinations in their propagation of a broad range of violent means,[14] and some assassins claimed connections to anarchist circles or "inspiration" by anarchism—sometimes well-founded, sometimes not[15]—but to state that "anarchism" was the ideological "driving energy" behind the wave of assassinations around 1900 is, to say the least, problematic. The dominant modes of anarchism at the time were Kropotkinian anarcho-communism and anarcho-syndicalism, which both rather opted for collective forms of struggle (and were at times quite competitive with the Marxists). Assassinations, in this view, may be understandable as an "outcry of the oppressed" or as acts of revenge, but their potential to change "the system" per se was more than dubious. Therefore, the equation of anarchism and assassinations was an outcome of a—mostly deliberate—misrepresentation that had originated already at the time and was copied and repeated down through time.[16]

When we look to East Asia, this misrepresentation, mixing up anarchism (usually termed *museifushigu* resp. *wuzhengfuzhuyi* in Japanese and Chinese, meaning "no-government-ism"), terrorism, and nihilism, was typical of the early reception history as well. Since Western newspapers wrote on the Russian "nihilists" and represented occurring political assassinations as "anarchist," the Japanese newspapers and their East Asian receptors did the same. And scholarship took up this categorization. The very first book in Japanese about the topic (soon translated also into Chinese and based on Western sources) basically explained that the proponents of political assassinations simply were called "nihilists" in Russia and "anarchists" in the West.[17] However, Japanese and especially Chinese radicals reading this critically intended (!) book rather took it as a presentation of the "new trend" in world politics—which demonstrates that a reception history develops a dynamic of its own. Assassinations thus did, in fact, become an important strategy, namely in the revolutionary anti-Manchu struggle in China in the first decade of the twentieth century when the more vulnerable position of the government and the dissatisfaction and alienation of the Chinese elites provided the preconditions for such acts. However, these activists of whom we have already introduced an outstanding example, Wu Yue, were no "anarchists" but above all nationalists impressed by the seemingly successful strategy of the "nihilists" associated mainly with the Russian bomb-throwers, namely the *Narodnaia Volia*. "Anarchist" ideology, on the other hand, took hold only somewhat later in Japan and China. Thus, "terrorism" or "assassination-ism" as a strategy of forcing political change was the main and first "lesson" received, and it was acclaimed for a short time by ideologically different strands of Chinese, from the reformer and advocate of a constitutional system under Manchu imperial rule, eloquent and highly influential Liang Qichao,[18] to the more radical anti-Manchu and

pro-republican revolutionaries. Only with more information on the parliamentary "successes" of social democracy in some Western countries (and a seemingly more lenient Manchu government finally taking up the tasks of reform, thus satisfying the moderates but threatening the radicals by taking wind out of their sails) did the constitutionalist reformers and the republican revolutionaries part on questions of method, and only the revolutionaries actually implemented the "new" tactics in reality because they did not believe the Manchu would ever really change China for "the better." In this way, the "assassination wave" had arrived in East Asia around 1900 and had a high tide in the years immediately following but was not linked to anarchist ideology as such.[19]

Anarchism, in turn, took on East Asia basically from 1907 onward and developed in the 1910s and 1920s before subsiding in the 1930s. That it did not work simply "parallel" to the "terrorist wave" shows the even greater disparity between both in East Asia when compared to Europe. A telling example of the evident misreading of its being inherently terrorist is the paradigmatic figure of (Liu) Shifu, the Chinese anarchist, who had been active in an assassination corps prior to his "conversion" to anarchism.[20] In fact, after he had become a devoted Kropotkinian, he took some distance from the assassination approach, since "the system" would not change just because some representatives were murdered. In other words, assassinations would never be a real solution.

In the case of Japan, the setting into which anarchism was introduced was different from China. Whereas Japan was well on its road to national modernization, the Chinese revolutionary nationalists who bombed the "foreign" Manchu rulers wanted to bomb the latter into modernizing China—closer to the Russian example—and to hand it back to the Han-Chinese finally. Thus, although the Japanese reception history of anarchism, nihilism, and terrorism was the model for the Chinese one, the political climate was totally different. "Nihilism" was presented by the Japanese bourgeois press as fit for the Russian "authoritarian" situation (and the Chinese nationalists judged their case as being similar to Russia), but nothing to be thought of for Japan, which could be "proud" of its quick development and recent "democratization" in terms of a parliamentary system. Japan had ascertained its place in global politics by its victories over China 1895 and Russia 1905, and all Asian neighbors looked to Japan's rise with envy. Still, in the "global" history of "anarchism," it was precisely the Japanese that made a special mark in connection to alleged political assassination with the High Treason Affair around Kôtoku Shûsui.[21] Kôtoku was influenced by Kropotkinian anarchism (which was defined as "against any authority") since 1905 and led the Japanese socialist camp to split in 1907. How far he was actually involved in the planning of an assault on the Japanese emperor's life is still hotly debated. In any case, he and eleven of his "socialist" colleagues were executed on this ground in 1911. Whether Kôtoku actually was involved in the assassination plot or not: assassinations were certainly no key feature in Japanese anarchism, even though this allegation made him and others die on the gallows as "anarchist martyrs." Again, the most outstanding Japanese anarchist of all, Ôsugi Sakae, may be cited as evidence against any inherent relation between anarchism and terrorism: for all his defiance of conventional morals and certainly without being a pacifist, he never participated in outright terrorist acts though he was involved in more or less violent demonstrations

and economic struggles.[22] Anarchists basically—though being divided in how to judge morally various forms of violence—were skeptical of pure destruction and killing. They wanted a more fundamental change of "the system." Therefore, they rather advocated "revolution" (which could be furthered also by violence, but rather collective one).

Some self-proclaimed and generally acknowledged anarchists did have a record of assassins (or would-be assassins), for example, Alexander Berkman, who shot at a U.S. industrialist and wounded him, or in East Asia followers of Ôsugi, for example, Furuta Daijirô, who wanted to take revenge for the Japanese police torturing and murdering Ôsugi, his equally active wife Itô Noe (together with an unfortunate little nephew who happened to be with them), and other radicals in the wake of the Great Kantô Earthquake in 1923. For a detailed discussion of this incident cf. Mark Driscoll in this volume. However, these cases were motivated by concrete "revenge" and cannot sustain any intrinsic relationship between anarchism as an ideology and terrorist methods. In fact, as Kropotkin had always stated: we may use all kinds of methods, but this we share with many others, most notably the state itself. Looking at the Japanese case (or Western possibly "judicial errors" involving anarchists simply as the "usual suspects"),[23] one may very well argue that on balance it was rather the state that killed the anarchists, not the other way round.

In sum: to term the "first wave" of modern terrorism, intending the frequent assassinations of the time, "anarchist" in inspiration, is definitely problematic, as is the relation between anarchism and "nihilism" as an amoral "creed." The dominant trend of anarchism at the time, though not "pacifist," was certainly neither "terrorist" nor "nihilist" in any meaningful sense. What seems to have been "transported" or "globalized" with the "first terrorist wave," then, was rather a strategy of political struggle than an ideology (something that would be repeated in a way when Russian bolshevism was first received in China primarily as an obviously "successful" method of struggle).[24] And this "terrorist" strategy could be made to serve various ideological commitments.

Political Violence in East Asia

Although conventional knowledge tends to stress the traditional preference for the civil and cultural (*wen*) over the military (*wu*) in China, thus arguing for a culturally engrained self-censure against applying violence, this is certainly too simplistic.[25] As briefly mentioned, assassinations were deemed morally acceptable in cases where they were directed against a "culprit," at least in ancient China (i.e., up to the early Han dynasty, 206 BC–AD 8), before the monopoly of the legitimate use of force switched to the state exclusively. Later, violence "from below" was usually expressed in violent uprisings (vertically) or private feuds (horizontally). Again, terms are important here. "Violence" in this case is represented by the term *bao*,[26] meaning rather "excessive violence," which was negative in connotation, since not "measured" as Confucian values would demand. The main ideological back up for political violence "from below" like

assassinations could be found in strands of Confucianism, which value personal integrity higher than social obligations to one's superiors, and in Buddhism, which—though fundamentally against killing—has historically been used for legitimizing violence to oneself or others if it served "deliverance" (cf. the Bodhisattva ideal of offering oneself for the sake of others, or the inner Buddhist discussions about whether one may kill a culprit if one thus redeems the many—an argumentation that was taken up by several Chinese revolutionaries who advocated assassination tactics in the first decade of the twentieth century).[27] That Buddhism was connected to and used in the context of suicide attacks (which link self-killing and the killing of others) in Japan in the kamikaze mode later in the twentieth century need not be stressed here any further.[28] As for Daoism, the third great tradition in China, it—or rather folk religion—inspired revolts frequently in Chinese history, but the driving force was rather millenarianism here, not a direct legitimization of violence per se. Thus, even though the "official" self-representation of Chinese "traditional culture" stresses the image of an overpowering civil-cultural paradigm, violence was a factually important factor, but it is identified with the negatively connoted *bao* only if not "officially recognized or sanctioned."

At the turn of the twentieth century, what was new in China was not so much the reappraisal of assassination tactics, but that outright assassinations corps were organized by the anti-Manchu nationalist activists. This group tactic, copied from the Russian *Narodnaia Volia*, was new as was the medium: the bomb.[29] (One may note that exiled Russians taught Chinese revolutionaries in Japan how to build bombs!) Still, the basic moral thrust—this man is a culprit and deserves to die—was retained, as was the basic acknowledgement that the assassin will die as well and "pay" for it, as has been seen in the above cited example of Wu Yue. (Therefore there was always much talk on behalf of the perpetrators about *gan si*—"dare to die"). But—unlike earlier—the aim now was not only to do away with the particular person but also to achieve political change in the system and to "awaken" the populace. Thus, the meaning of the act changed into a call for action, be it for those targeted (the "rulers") or be it for those (the "people"), who were thought to be shaken by this heroic self-sacrifice of the assassins into realizing that they could do something if they only dared to, instead of submissively bearing with the intolerable. In this sense, the "new" quality lay in the shift to the foremost symbolic value of the act, and the conviction that "assassination-ism" was in accord with historical necessities (the "period of assassinations" as a precondition of "revolution").

Another interesting feature of this period of assassinations was the new role of women. Traditional Chinese assassins were male, but one of the things that struck the East Asian audience most about the Russian *Narodnaia Volia* was the figure of woman "terrorist" (and "martyr") Sofia Perovskaia, who became an instant celebrity. Her figure embodied the revolutionary potential of women—and their practical convenience (since they were the least expected to be violent and were thus "predestined" to carry explosives). Chinese nationalists thus trained women in bomb-throwing, and one woman, Qiu Jin, made herself famous as the Chinese "Sofia," participating in a revolutionary plot—though not assassinating anybody herself—and dying consciously a "martyr." She styled herself with a dagger and had bought a samurai sword when

studying in Japan. Furthermore, she participated in a group of Chinese revolutionaries who learned bomb-making in Japan from Russian revolutionaries. This gender factor in revolutionary and "terrorist" violence at the time is interesting and has been noted already for the Russian case.[30] In China, the model of "Sofia" was complemented by the ancient indigenous story of Mulan into the reframing of women's relationship to violence. Different from Sofia, Mulan is merely a fictional character who went to war out of loyalty (!), having to hide her femaleness for doing so, and after accomplishing her task switched back to the traditional female role. Thus, with regard to their motivation and deeds, both figures were widely apart. That they were combined rhetorically nevertheless demonstrates that the main point lay in arguing for physical violence not being "improper" for Chinese women at all, if it served some "higher cause." But for the nationalist revolutionaries, in Chinese anarchism at the time there was the peculiar case of a woman, He Zhen, who advocated violence, too, having herself participated in the anti-Manchu nationalist revolutionaries' courses in military skills for women before. (She, however, never attempted any violent attack herself.) Ideologically, she proposed an outright anarcho-feminism and saw women as important agents of change in a wide array of social fields, being very well able to take up violence as much as men.

Thus, the first decade of the twentieth century saw a high appreciation of political violence and great sympathy for the assassination method in the whole revolutionary spectrum, including—as stated—also more "moderate" reformers (with no notable female participation) in the beginning. This may very well be called a "wave." However, after the abdication of the Manchus and the end of imperial rule in China, this trend came to an end, and in "mature" Chinese anarchism as in other revolutionary circles of the time, assassination tactics were not seen any more as very attractive—if not to say as basically "outmoded" (i.e., implicitly assuming that the "period of assassinations" was over). Rather it was the state that took up this "method" now, notably with the assassination of the Nationalist prime minister *in spe*, Song Jiaoren, in 1913, and the Nationalists would—when finally in power—continue this "policy" on their part. In fact, this period would be much more violent than the late imperial had ever been. The role of women in connection to political violence became more and more obscure after the revolution of 1911/12. Thus, the peculiar mix of gender and violence in the first decade of the twentieth century died down.[31]

In Japan, not the least due to the elite position of the samurai in the preceding centuries, violence was not abhorred per se, and political assassinations occurred. Again, however, targets had to be "guilty" somehow (i.e., a legitimization was necessary) and no shift in system was aimed at—or rather a "restoration" of earlier times. The *shishi* or "men of high purpose" of the late Edo and early Meiji era (i.e., mainly the 1860s and 1870s), asserting their dissenting political views with violent means, thus were in fact much more outgrowths of an older tradition than "modern revolutionaries." With the modernizing effort of the Meiji era and the building up of a nation-state, however, the Tennô (Emperor) became head and symbol of the state again. His position rose to unprecedented heights, and the modern institutions, including the new jurisdiction, now prohibited explicitly any attack on the Tennô, even meeting out the death penalty if found guilty of having only considered an attack without any concrete attempt made—a

rather peculiar law that stressed the sacrosanct position the Tennô had achieved by then. It was under this law that Kôtoku and his fellow socialists (including the female "martyr" and consort of Kôtoku, Kanno Suga) were convicted and executed. Ôsugi and his wife were, in the anarchists' view, the next "victims" of the state, even though it was officially claimed that their murder—without being based on any law—was a "solitary and arbitrary" act by the police without any involvement from "above." (The responsible police officer was, however, soon released from prison and transferred to a minor position in Manchuria.)[32]

Looking at the whole picture of political assassinations in the early twentieth century, be it in China or Japan, most cases were committed not by the "anarchists" (or the "political left"), but first by nationalists and then (i.e., in the 1920s and 1930s) by right-wing activists in Japan or the state in China. The latter, namely in the context of the so-called "White Terror," used political assassinations strategically to "terrorize" its (real or perceived) dissidents into obedience. However, since there was no appeal to legitimization in this case, because the state could not claim any "emergency" that prevented it from following the usual juridical path and which thus also never publicly identified with these deeds, these assassinations did not acquire any "lore" but just were considered "crimes" by the general public. Political assassinations "from below" at least could—at times—capitalize on a kind of "David against Goliath" image, since at the time focused upon here, "indiscriminate killing" (which would have antagonized the general public) was not the aim: targets were specific and "justifications" were given. Thus, political assassinations "from below" were the only ones capable of gaining any symbolic value.

The Problem of Modernity

Now, what kind of relation exists between "modernity" and "terrorism" in the "anarchist first wave"? First of all, is there any, and if so, what exactly is "modern" terrorism? Returning to Rapoport's model, he suggests that "modernity" means "technology and doctrine." In other words, there is a new technology: the bomb, and the first explicit self-identification (with Vera Zasulich) as being a "terrorist" (though she still used the gun), which can be claimed for defining the 1880s as the beginning of this "modern terrorism."[33] In the case of bombs (vis-à-vis the gun), one could argue that with the higher risks of the assassin being killed together with his victim, the assassin "expiates" his "sin" of killing—which, however, is an ancient motif, even if earlier the dagger was the weapon used. This aspect suggests that we could also very well—with Martin A. Miller—speak of a "transitional" character insofar as the intent was not that different, but the way it was done, was.[34] The bomb as the new weapon of choice, however, transfers "modernity" in the sense of "science" into the realm of political struggle, since building bombs needs some sophistication and study. It also leads to more "concerted action" and thus favors the "modern" tactic of groups of people being involved with an internal "division of labor." What seems to be new, furthermore, is that terrorist acts are designed (partly or

foremost) as a symbolic gesture, a call to "awaken" "the people" (which needs the media for achieving this aimed-at symbolic power), not just to eliminate a person, and thus are positioned on a continuum of various means of struggle. "Terrorists" are well aware that killing a representative of an evil "system"—even if rhetorically possible to morally legitimize—does not solve the problem. Therefore, it is more of a symbolic act. But this symbolic act is designed to get "really" effective violence started.

When we look to East Asia and the reception of ideologies like anarchism or later Marxist communism, we see that one did not necessarily have to wait for a society to be "modernized" for taking these ideologies over, though their first occurrence in the West was predicated on industrialization, and that their local adaptation looked slightly different. Similarly, strategies of political struggle could be taken over into different developmental settings. Thus, a wave could be "received" in a globalized world also in areas which did not correspond to the preconditions of its place of origin, but the ripples did not look alike everywhere. Due to the media globalization of the time, everybody wanted to be at the forefront of the age, but the situation into which things were adapted differed. Wu Yue's "scientification" of political methods as prescribed by developmental historical laws ("now is the period of assassination-ism") is such a sign. An important factor for applying strategies like terrorist violence—from whatever ideological background—was that it is easily repeatable to all and that it is bound to guarantee attention beyond the immediate spatial and temporal context.

Weinberg and Eubank furthermore have argued that, at least during the "first wave" we are concerned with here, terrorism was necessarily related to globalization and democratization.[35] Globalization is an obvious correlate. Without it, anarchism and "terrorism" would not have developed in the way they did. Its appearance in East Asia in the middle of the nineteenth century was clearly related to the "wave" in the West. "Democratization" is more complex. Weinberg and Eubank allow also for the "somewhat different" Russian case.[36] Of all three East Asian countries, only Japan could claim a mildly "democratized" development, China had tried for it but failed, and Korea had lost out totally due to Japanese colonization. As for terrorist means, they were taken up by many political actors, as we have noted. That the strategy was dropped after the establishment of the Republic can hardly be said to be due to the latter's democratic "successfulness," even though it had been driven earlier by the imperial "autocratic" system. In Japan, notwithstanding all the talk about anarchist Kôtoku and his alleged conspiracy against the Tennô, those who practiced political assassination most since Japan's reform took off with the Meiji restoration were on the political right subscribing to rather authoritarian views. In Korea, again, assassinations were linked to the nationalists, whether "leftist" or "rightist." Thus, a link between democratization and "terrorism" is not straightforward in the East Asian case. It however suggests that nationalism was much more of a motivation to attack specific targets than rather vague and broad visions of the future like the anarchist one, which at most took to violent rhetoric to cover political impotence, and usually also lacked organizational efficiency to carry out attacks on a greater scale. I therefore would argue that those most prone to use assassination tactics were those with very concrete political objectives, including the state.

Conclusion

What can we learn from looking to East Asia for our question about the connection between modernity and terrorism/political violence?

First of all, one has to acknowledge that the role of the media and technologies make for a new quality and speed in international flows of concepts, ideas, and practices. Even though waves need some time to "arrive" at certain places, the gaps become rather insignificant. Most of the exchange at the turn of the twentieth century is nearly in real time.

Second, one has to acknowledge that this does not mean that things, though "globalized," are working and meaning the same everywhere. As Robertson's concept of "glocalization" indicates, things remain global but at the same time are adapted in peculiar ways.[37] Thus, terrorism (like ideologies such as anarchism or Marxism)—while remaining a global phenomenon or "wave"—was reflecting specific cultural (including linguistic) and historical settings in each East Asian locale, and the necessities and motivations of local agents.[38] Reception thus developed—as we have seen—its own dynamics.

Third, what was received and interested the East Asian receptors most was the perceived "new" strategy of systematic assassination campaigns as lived out by the Russian *Narodnaia Volia*, and its potential for "new" groups of people to join political violence, namely women. This strategy was attractive for a time to many kinds of ideological commitments, but most of all to the Nationalists who wanted to "modernize" China into a "self-governed" sovereign state.

The case of China with its difficult and somewhat belated path to modernization thus suggests that global trends very well can be adapted to a different setting. Nevertheless, political violence in China very soon moved from the also traditionally inspired individual assassin over the group tactic in the first decade of the twentieth century to basically mass-based revolutionary violence. Assassination as a tactic was later used in China mainly by the Nationalist government in its "White Terror" against ideologically "dangerous" people. The anarchists, being few in number anyhow, rather advocated propagandistic means. This, again, suggests that political assassinations are not necessarily a product of "desperation" but more often than not of cool calculation and rather linked to nationalism or similar "clear-cut" ideologies with equally "clear-cut" enemies.

In the cases where assassinations were committed "from below," the "newness" lay in the shift from the traditional assassin, who "punished" a "tyrant," to the symbolic act of attacking a "representative of the system," that is, aiming at a transformation of the system but realizing as well that the killing of one figure would not change the course of events per se. It was therefore designed to trigger a spiral of "really effective violence." Since this did not happen, the strategy thus proved less "successful" than hoped. However, for the traditional "revenge"-type assassinations, which have to be set apart from the "success" paradigm, assassinations were soon given up as ineffective tools for furthering political change (until a later "wave" took on, namely in Japan in the 1970s with the Japanese Red Army, or in the 1990s with Aum Shinrikyô, though in different contexts and with other "models"). At most, assassinations were revered as symbolic or

"heroic" acts (e.g., in literature). They therewith remained in the stock of potential threatening means in anarchist or other revolutionary rhetoric, but in practice other means and forms of violence seemed more feasible in political contest. For the time being, the "period of assassinations" was over.

Notes

1. There were different kinds of people termed "*shishi*," and only some of them were political assassins, most notably the "four assassins" who aimed at the restoration of the Tennô (Emperor) and the abdication of the Shôgun—the hereditary military dictators of Japan from 1192 to 1867—in the 1860s, attacking outstanding supporters of the Shôgun. However, their motivation in restoring the Tennô to supreme power was rather to make Japan stronger to resist foreign encroachment. Thus, it would be misleading to interpret them simply as "modernizers," since many were rather "anti-Western" in orientation.
2. Not all revolutionaries, however, were convinced of this tactic. Sun Yat-sen, the most outstanding figure and arguably the most Westernized one, e.g., rather opted for insurrections than assassinations. Between Sun and Zhang Binglin, a cultural traditionalist (!), who published the testament, there were a lot of personal and ideological tensions.
3. For a general survey, see Franklin L. Ford, *Political Murder: From Tyrannicide to Terrorism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985).
4. David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, eds. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 47.
5. For a long listing of definitions proposed already before the mid-1980s, see Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman, *Political Terrorism: A Research Guide to Concepts, Theories, Data Bases, and Literature* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1984).
6. See, e.g., the argumentation of Primoratz and Coady in Igor Primoratz, ed., *Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). Obviously, according to this view, terrorism would be a much more restricted phenomenon and would not include most of the historical cases on which a "history of terrorism" before the very last decades is usually built. In this view, any discussion of a "modern terrorism" in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries would be illogical. Furthermore, Flükiger—who terms this position "innocentism"—has objected recently that terrorism thus would be defined over the alleged status of its victims only. See Jean-Marc Flükiger, "Terrorisme: Réflexions définitionelles et 'urgences suprêmes,'" *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 54, no. 1–2 (2007): 125–145.
7. See *Shiji* (Records of the Scribe), written by Sima Qian. For a very brief summary on this "pre-history" of assassinations and violence in China, see Gotelind Müller, *China, Kropotkin und der Anarchismus: Eine Kulturbewegung im China des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts unter dem Einfluß des Westens und japanischer Vorbilder* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 127–130.
8. The locus classicus for this interpretation is the Confucian classic *Mengzi*, 1 B/8.
9. One of the most contested classical cases is Wu Zixu who took "justice" into his own hands, attacking the king for having killed his father "illegally" and not admitting his wrongdoing. This deed provoked an intense debate about the pros and cons of the monopoly of power of the state in ancient China. See Hans van Ess, *Politik und Gelehrsamkeit in der Zeit der Han: Die Alttext/Neutext-Kontroverse* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 265–269.

The Robin Hood type is frequently addressed in the Chinese popular "knight errant tales" (James J. Y. Liu, *The Chinese Knight-Errant* [London: Routledge, Paul, 1967]).

10. The Russian "terrorists," who started the "wave," never claimed any adherence to "nihilism" but tried to explain their acts politically and morally.
11. Here we have the tricky problem of whom to "count" as anarchist, since in- and out-group assignments are in the end forms of "authority" and thus "un-anarchist." There is neither a "pope" to "excommunicate" nor a party organization with membership badges, i.e., there are only "soft" criteria available for distinctions, and the history of representation plays an extraordinary role in the case of anarchism for "identity constructions/ascriptions." For my view on this formation, see Müller, *China, Kropotkin und der Anarchismus*, chap. I.1.
12. For the inner socialist rivalry, we may recall that the historical context was the struggle over domination of the Socialist International. As the Marxists moved on to parliamentary tactics, they tried to ascribe everything violent to the "black sheep," i.e., the anarchists, and managed to throw them out of the International or—to stick to the anarchist version—to split it.
13. For reasons of space I cannot go into details here, but this problematic confusion has been addressed sufficiently in scholarly literature, though not achieving to end successfully these "short-hand" equations.
14. The most outstanding case is Johann Most whose position, however, was controversial among anarchists.
15. The usually cited cases happened in France, Germany, Italy, and the United States.
16. Interestingly, later anarchists partly succumbed to this force of "received knowledge"—and consequently always struggled to distance themselves from these "problematic" features that often simply had been ascribed to their camp. An interesting case is Kropotkin, the leading "theoretician" in the self-consciously anarchist movement until World War I. Even though he time and again had stressed that the assassination wave around 1900 was not "anarchist" in inspiration, in 1910 when he was commissioned to write the entry "anarchism" for the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, he had to include remarks on violence and had to integrate also people that had been commonly assigned to anarchism though not self-consciously being those or being counted as anarchist by other anarchists. However, Kropotkin's leeway to "received knowledge" he had to give for an encyclopedia's sake obviously did not yet satisfy the editors. Therefore they "amended" Kropotkin's article specifically with a long note on violence, including all recent cases of political assassinations they knew of! (See Peter Kropotkin, "Anarchism," in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. [1910], 1:914–19). On the other end of "ascriptions" lay the so-called "individualist anarchists" like Stirner, who had been first ascribed by Engels to the anarchists, thus suggesting anarchists were only interested in their ego—a glaring contradiction to the dominant Kropotkinian anarcho-communism, which at the time was a competitive rival to the Marxist communists in the socialist camp.
17. The book was Kemuriyama Sentarô, *Kinsei museifushugi* [Modern Anarchism] (Tokyo, 1902) (reprint Tokyo: Meiji bunken, 1965). Kemuriyama's explicitly referred-to Western sources consisted mainly of German, French, and English secondary literature, including also two books by Kropotkin. However, as Herbert Worm has demonstrated, his main information on "anarchism" was taken over almost literally from Zenker: *Der Anarchismus* (Herbert Worm, *Studien über den jungen Ôsugi Sakae und die Meiji-Sozialisten zwischen Sozialdemokratie und Anarchismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Anarchismusrezeption* [Hamburg: Ges. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1981]).

18. For the case of outstanding reformist Liang Qichao, who was able to influence Chinese public opinion via his various journals published in safe Japan after his flight from China due to the crushing of the 1898 reform movement in China, see Gotelind Müller, "Terrorists or Heroes? Liang Qichao and Early Chinese Perceptions of Anarchism (prior to 1903)," in *Liang Qichao Yu Jindai Zhongguo Shehui Wenhua* [Liang Qichao and Modern Chinese Society and Culture], ed. Li Xisuo (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2005), 441–458.
19. Later anarchist publications, however, took the topic up.
20. For Shifu, see the excellent biographical study of Edward Skinner Krebs, *Shifu: Soul of Chinese Anarchism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998).
21. This fact was commented upon by the influential Austrian chronicler of the anarchist movement Max Nettlau—quite chauvinistically for an anarchist!—as the incredible development that the "imitating Japanese" even won the prize of having the highest number of "martyrs" in the anarchist movement at a stroke!
22. For an English study on Ôsugi, see Thomas A. Stanley, *Ôsugi Sakae, Anarchist in Taishô Japan: The Creativity of the Ego* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1982).
23. These cases include, e.g., the Haymarket Affair and the Sacco-Vanzetti verdicts where death penalties were meted out in spite of the fact that no unquestionable proofs of personal guilt had been produced.
24. Knowledge about Leninism only followed later and basically remained secondary to revolutionary practice even then.
25. For an assessment of views on violence in China, see Barend J. ter Haar, "Rethinking 'Violence' in Chinese Culture," in *Meanings of Violence: A Cross Cultural Perspective*, eds. Göran Aijmer and Jon Abbink (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), 123–1-40. Ter Haar has also assembled a bibliography on violence in China (not including assassinations however as a topic!) with added commentaries on his website http://website.leidenuniv.nl/~haarbjter/violencecontents.html (accessed June 2, 2008). The website has in the meantime been moved to http://website.leidenuniv.nl/~haarbjter/violencecontents.html
26. See Virgil Kit-yiu Ho, "Butchering Fish and Executing Criminals: Public Executions and the Meanings of Violence in Late Imperial and Modern China," in *Meanings of Violence: A Cross Cultural Perspective,* eds. Göran Aijmer and Jon Abbink (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), 141–160.
27. One may note that Zhang Binglin, who hailed Wu Yue by publishing his testament, as was (Liu) Shifu in his pre-anarchist phase when he participated in the assassinations corps, were strongly influenced by Buddhism.
28. By the way, journalist Croitoru has argued that kamikaze has been the birth moment of modern Arab suicide attacks, the Japanese terrorists in the 1970s building up the direct link to the Palestinians. See Joseph Croitoru, *Der Märtyrer als Waffe: Die historischen Wurzeln des Selbstmordattentats* (Munich: Hanser, 2003). I thank Dr. Maik H. Sprotte for drawing my attention to this author.
29. See Edward S. Krebs, "Assassination in the Republican Revolutionary Movement," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 4, no. 6 (December 1981): 45–80. Krebs, however, notes that in the phase of 1903–1907 in China the majority of assassinations were attempted "traditionally" by individuals.
30. See Andreas Kappeler, "Zur Charakteristik russischer Terroristen (1878–1887)," in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, new series, 27 (1979): 520–547.

31. One might well argue that propaganda was predominantly male, while women were "allowed in" rather than used "in action." With the establishment of the Republic, the anarchists as other radicals critical of the new order again rather retorted to propaganda means, and it would be only well into the 1920s when the Communists started to appeal directly to women.
32. The anarchists who wanted to take revenge for Ôsugi's murder, though, served their prison terms or died in prison, if they were not executed immediately.
33. Others have argued to start somewhat earlier, with the Carbonari or the Fenians. For the Carbonari as "institutional origins of modern terrorism," see Martin A. Miller, "The Intellectual Origins of Modern Terrorism in Europe," in Martha Crenshaw, *Terrorism in Context* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 27–62, esp. 32–34; for the Fenians, see Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism* (London: Harper Press, 2008), chap. 1.
34. Cf. Miller's "The Intellectual Origins of Modern Terrorism in Europe," esp. 30–32.
35. Leonard Weinberg and William Eubank, "Everything That Descends Must Converge: Terrorism, Globalism and Democracy," in *Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements & Failures*, ed. Andrew Silke (London and Portland: Cass, 2004), 91–103.
36. Ibid., 96.
37. Roland Robertson, "Glokalisierung—Homogenität und Heterogenität in Raum und Zeit," in *Perspektiven der Weltgesellschaft*, ed. Ulrich Beck (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1998), 192–200. I refer to the German version since the newest English reprint in Robertson and White, eds., *Globalization: Critical Concepts in Sociology* (London: Routledge, 2003), reproduces an older version than the reworked German one. (It may be recalled here that the term "glocalization" has been coined with a view to the Japanese term "dochakuka" used in economics for an adaptation of globally distributed products to target markets.)
38. For a deliberation on the advantages of applying the glocalization approach to the study of Chinese anarchism, see Gotelind Müller, "Chinese Anarchism and 'Glocalization,'" *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 29 (2005): 223–234.

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CHAPTER 16

TERRORISM AGAINST MODERNITY

The Amakasu Incident and Japan's "Age of Terror"

MARK DRISCOLL

This chapter will examine the political history of terrorism in Japan. I will argue that the "top-down vs. bottom-up" binary paradigm for configuring terrorism, currently hegemonic in academic work on terrorism, is largely inapplicable to East Asia. There, as in most regions colonized or semi-colonized by the West, the consolidation of the nation-state required both bottom-up terror against threats by Euro-American imperialist regimes and top-down terror against enemies of the state often seen as complicit with those same Euro-American imperialists. I will argue that the mix of top-down and bottom-up terrorism deployed by the Japanese state needs to be seen as fairly normative for modern, non-Western states resisting colonization and gunboat imperialism. Furthermore, this combination in the modalities of terrorism in the case of Japan's history will expose a strong Eurocentric bias of the top-down vs. bottom-up binary.

For example, although in their sweeping *History of Terrorism*, Chaliand and Blin are briefly critical of the Anglo-American refusal to configure any act of Western state violence as terrorism, they nevertheless follow U.S. and U.K. orthodoxy in limiting their inquiry to a "focus on bottom-up terrorism."[1] For them, as in most Western discussions of terrorism, contemporary top-down, or state terrorism, is restricted to the activities of "rogue regimes" like Iran or Syria. This problematic top-down/bottom-up binary effectively installs Western regimes as defenders of international law, while identifying postcolonial states (Iran, North Korea) and non-Western militant groups (Al-Qaeda, Hezbollah) as enemies of the global order. As Bobby S. Sayyid has argued, this contemporary binary recapitulates the nineteenth-century European colonial division of the world into civilized (the colonizing powers of the modern West) and savage (the colonized victims in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East).[2]

Before advancing an argument that supports Anglo-American ideology, Chaliand and Blin pause to warn readers that "the boundaries between top-down terrorism and bottom-up terrorism are often blurred,"[3] but offer no further commentary. It has been postcolonial scholars like Sayyid, Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and others who have most thoroughly investigated this blurring. *A fortiori,* postcolonial critics have gone so far as to invert the civilized vs. savage binary first consolidated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and recently redeployed for the U.S./U.K. "global war on terror." For example, in a large body of work, Edward Said has insisted that the modern European nation-state would have been impossible to establish without countries like France and England pillaging, looting, and violently extracting surpluses in their colonial peripheries. Aime Césaire and Homi K. Bhabha have found the barbaric actions of the European powers in "their" African, Asian, and Latin American colonies as causally related to the consolidation of modern Euro-American nationalism and political terror directed at internal enemies of these regimes. Whether the terrorism took the form of the *Massacre de la Saint-Barthélemy* directed against Protestants in Paris in 1572, or of the Sand Creek massacre of Native Americans in Colorado on November 29, 1864, modern nationalism is secured both through the top-down terrorism characteristic of Euro-American state formation and by the requisite forgetting of this same terror, what Bhabha calls "the obligation to forget" necessary to install modern nationalism.[4] In other words, opposed to the contemporary Euro-American cleavage of (Western) modernity against terrorism, postcolonial scholarship comes close to predicating central aspects of Western modernity itself as terroristic.

This postcolonial reversal and displacement of the civilized vs. savage binary is crucial for a historical investigation of East Asia. With China the wealthiest country in the world from roughly AD 1300 to 1750, and Asia the destination of traders everywhere because of its silk, tea, and "china," European states did much to challenge China's hegemony and reverse their long-term trade deficits.[5] Spain's terror-laden conquest of the Americas and subsequent theft of gold and silver—resulting in the genocide that killed 65 percent of indigenous Americans—allowed its elites to consume Asian goods until the mid-1700s. However, England's practices of military colonialism and human trafficking were not enough to catch up to China. After two futile centuries of trying to find some commodity that East Asian consumers were willing to purchase, the British forced colonized Indian farmers to grow opium that was then sold by British merchants onto black markets in China. The popularity of opium quickly drained silver out of Chinese and into British pockets, creating China's first negative trade balance in 1826. When Chinese authorities cracked down on the drug trade, Britain started the First Opium War. In their subsequent campaign to terrorize East Asians into unequal trade, Britain imposed a system of treaty ports and colonies on the China coast; "every one of them," the enraged Rosa Luxemburg wrote in 1913, "paid for with streams of blood, with massacre and ruin."[6]

With China humiliated and the prosperous Sino-centric trade system in ruins after the Second Opium War (1856–1860), elites in nearby Japan were shocked and awed by the arrival of this same imperialism in 1853. The military occupation of Tokyo (Edo) Bay

by the U.S. Admiral Perry led to sociopolitical upheaval and civil war in Japan; the ruling Tokugawa samurai clan was subsequently overthrown and the Emperor regained political leadership in 1867 after two centuries of political irrelevance. This incursion by the U.S. Navy in 1853 was the humiliating culmination to real and imagined assaults on Japan's sovereignty by Westerners beginning at the turn of the nineteenth century when British militarists and hustlers interrupted the lucrative trade between Japan and its Asian neighbors. As a result of this crisis, scholars rushed to write new policy of how best to defend Japanese sovereignty in the face of this threat of Western "terrorism from above." The most influential anti-Western policy came from Mito, one of the three domains of the Tokugawa rulers.

In the mid-1600s, the Tokugawa leadership had embraced both Chinese Neo-Confucianism and select aspects of European science and technology in the form of "Dutch knowledge" (*Rangaku*). However, as Western imperialism began to be felt, some of the Mito scholars, the same ones the Tokugawa leaders relied on for the philosophical basis of their rule, took advantage of their position by criticizing Western borrowings.[7] Specifically, Fujita Fûkoku began to question the Tokugawa's increasing reliance on Western techno-science. When this critique of the West was joined to a heretical recentering of the Japanese Emperor, the attack on the Tokugawa leadership was made public. The Mito scholar Aizawa Seishisai coined the slogan *sonnô jôi* (Worship the Emperor and Banish the Western Barbarians) in 1825, which became the unifying cry for several groups promoting opposition to the West.

Fujita understood that the prosperity of the 250-year Pax Tokugawa was reaching an end. Although sensing that domestic economic problems were exacerbated by the interruption of East Asian trade, Fujita placed sole blame on the Tokugawa leaders. By failing to protect Japan both from the external threat of the West and from internal economic collapse, Fujita insisted on radical reform.[8] When demands for immediate change went unanswered, a younger generation of Mito radicals took up arms, assassinating representatives of the Tokugawa including the powerful Grand Councilor Ii Naosuke in 1860. This phenomenon, which Peter Duus calls "nationalist terrorism," was memorialized later in the 1870s and 1880s as the heroic actions that established Japan's nation-state.[9] Therefore, different from the "obligation to forget" the acts of terror that installed the nation in the West, in Japan there was something close to a celebration of nationalist terrorism. Beginning with the first actions to overthrow the Tokugawa, a legitimate object of terrorism became anyone, Japanese or white European, who refused the sovereign authority of the Emperor.

Modern Japan = Terrorist Japan

It is important to keep in mind the ways in which this mid-nineteenth-century history of Japan's modern state depended to a large extent on anti-Westernism as its ideology and political terror as its practice, because ignoring this makes it impossible to under-

stand what is called in Japanese the "fifteen-year war" (*jûgonen sensô*; 1931–1945) that constitutes the longer sequence of World War II in Asia. The events of that 1931–1945 period were preceded by the decade following World War I, when Japan emerged as a major economic power due mainly to selling industrial goods and pharmaceuticals to all sides in the European conflict.

One of the surprising effects of Japan's attaining modern developmental levels was that rightist nationalists began to denounce the consumerism and proletarian activism newly visible in Japan's metropoles. Led by the journal *Otabeki*,[10] the organ of the terrorist group Yûzonsha headed by Ôkawa Shûmei[11] and Kita Ikki, rightists started to argue that Westernized Japanese were demanding too much in the way of personal freedoms and private liberties. This was one aspect of their broader campaign against Westernization and secular "decadence," which they claimed was weakening Japan's sense of organic community and undermining respect for the Emperor. The larger political background to the rightists' campaign was the period called Taishô democracy, after the reign name for the Emperor who ruled from 1912 to 1926. Politically, the Taishô system moved Japan away from oligarchic rule and in the direction of parliamentary democracy. Taishô democracy also heralded the arrival of a vibrant mass culture featuring the sudden appearance of independent women and an explosion in the number of white-collar workers in the cities.

When the post–World War I economic boom collapsed in early 1920, rightists blamed the ensuing recession on parliamentary democracy and the blind pursuit of profit, which they monocausally linked to Western capitalism and democracy. They also denounced the intensifying divisions in Japanese society embodied in the expanding numbers of nouveau riche (*narikin*) flaunting their wealth to poorer Japanese.[12] It was around this time that attacks against prominent leftists and politicians began to occur in the most Westernized of Japanese sites, Tokyo and Osaka. Although largely unorganized, this first wave of rightist terror was not unconnected to Japanese military circles.[13] Furthermore, there is general agreement among historians that when the liberal champion of Taishô democracy, Prime Minister Hara Takeshi, was assassinated in November 1921 there were few Army officers who weren't celebrating. With the Hara assassination occurring one year after the appearance of Japan's first pro-terror journal, *Otabeki*, Japan entered what Honjô Yutaka calls its "Age of Terror."[14]

Born in 1856, Hara was the first commoner appointed to the office of Prime Minister. When Prime Minister and former Army officer Terauchi Masatake was forced to resign due to the Rice Riots, Hara, as the head of the largest political party, was appointed as Terauchi's successor on September 28, 1918. In addition to being the first commoner leader, the ascension of his party the Seiyukai represented the first administration in Japan run by an elected political party. Furthermore, Hara was the most prominent Christian politician in Japan and was public about his faith until his death. Finally, in what many Japanese militarists perceived as the final insult, he became the first civilian to head a branch of the armed services, when he temporarily took over the Navy Ministry in 1920.[15]

The sum total of perceived threats to Japan's Emperor-centered polity was compounded by Hara's internationalist foreign policy, which seemed deliberately designed

to infuriate anti-Western rightists. Thanks to Hara's influence, Japan was an enthusiastic participant in the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and joined the League of Nations as a founding member. Civilians had unexpectedly assumed control in Japan's first colony of Taiwan in 1898 and, adding insult to injury, Hara worked diligently to undercut the authority the Army enjoyed in dictating colonial policy in its Korean colony. When Korean nationalists organized a peaceful protest against colonial rule on March 1, 1919, Japan's Army ruthlessly crushed it, killing at least seven thousand unarmed Koreans and arresting another forty thousand.[16] When an international outcry ensued, Hara used the opportunity to try to liberalize colonial policy and muzzle the Army. By the end of 1919, planning for a more lenient colonialism was under way, which many rightists feared was a first step toward a humiliating withdrawal from Korea.

Blind in the Right Eye

Rumors swirled around Tokyo of rightist plots against Hara from his first days as Prime Minister. By the time he was fatally stabbed by the conservative railroad worker Nakaoka Konichi on November 4, 1921, many were not surprised. In fact, the economic uncertainty had led even some socialists to question what most perceived to be Japan's aping of Western capitalist modernity. Unfortunately for him, Hara was the public face of Japan's adoption of venal aspects of the West. What did surprise pundits was the sentence handed down from Tokyo's Metropolitan Supreme Court for Hara's assassination: Nakaoka was not to be executed, but was given a qualified life sentence and was eventually released from prison just thirteen years after the murder. This bold killing of Japan's head of state initialized a bloody period in Japanese history, the "Age of Terror." Including Hara, rightist terrorists murdered three Japanese Prime Ministers in fifteen years. None of the assassins or their accomplices received the capital punishment or lifetime sentences and all three were released from prison quickly. The rightist killers of Japan's Finance Minister Inoue Junnosuke, murdered in 1932, and the leading industrialist in Japan, Dan Takuma, killed the same year, received only five and ten years in prison, respectively.[17]

In contrast to the light sentences given to rightists, those on the left were routinely sentenced to death, often with flimsy evidence. In what came to be known as the High Treason Incident, on May 20, 1910, the police searched the room of Miyashita Takichi, a young lumberjack, and found materials they thought were intended to make bombs. Investigating further, the police arrested several of his accomplices, including Japan's founder of anarchism, Kôtoku Shûsui, and the feminist Kanno Suga. The prosecutor's office soon linked them to a suspected conspiracy against Japan's monarchy. In the subsequent investigation, many well-known leftists were brought in for questioning. Ultimately, twenty-five men and Kanno were put on trial for violation of #73 of the Criminal Code (harming the Emperor or members of the imperial family); four of those arrested were Buddhist monks. Although there was a fairly strong case of an intent to

kill against five, on January 18, 1911, twenty-six anarchists were convicted. Twenty-four of them were sentenced to death, twelve of whom were actually executed—Kôtoku and Kanno among them.[18] While some speculate that Kôtoku and Kanno may have heard of the plot in its initial stages, their lawyers presented evidence proving they were completely unconnected to its planning and actualization.[19]

The famous Toranomon Incident was an assassination attempt on Prince Regent Hirohito (who became Emperor in 1926) on December 27, 1923, by the leftist Namba Daisuke. Namba, a Communist Party member whose father was a member of the Diet, carried out that attack to avenge the unjust death of Kôtoku. The incident took place at the Toranomon intersection near the Imperial Palace. Hirohito was on his way to the opening of the 48th Session of the Diet when Namba fired at his carriage. The bullet shattered a window, but Hirohito was unharmed.[20] Namba was executed on November 26, 1924, after a short trial. In an attempt to humiliate Namba's family, the body was brought to an isolated wooded area outside Tokyo and buried in an unmarked grave. Several reports claimed that the police mutilated his body before they buried it.[21]

The Incident

Similar to Germany during the same period when critics accused the government of being "blind in the right eye,"[22] both the civilian and military courts in Japan during the 1920s and 1930s were "easy on the rightists, and harsh to the leftists" (*migi ni amaku, hidari ni kibishi*[23]). The most important example of rightists carrying out terrorism with near impunity was the Amakasu Incident of September 16, 1923. This incident should be seen as influencing two well-known attempted coup d'états in 1931, and all three incidents share an intellectual architect—the scholar and editor of *Otabeki*, Ôkawa Shûmei. Amakasu Masahiko is arguably the most well-known Japanese military-police (*kempei*) after Tôjô Hideki, the Prime Minister from 1941 to 1944, who led Japan into the Pacific War. This is largely because of Amakasu's notoriety gained from his murder of the important leftists Ôsugi Sakae and Itô Noe on September 16, 1923, following the Tokyo Earthquake of September 1. In this incident, Ôsugi and Itô were roughed up, strangled to death with Amakasu's judo belt, and then thrown down a well. Ôsugi's 7-year-old Japanese-American nephew was also killed the same night.

Amakasu was born in Yamagata Prefecture in 1891 as the eldest son of a former samurai. He was educated in military boarding schools and entered Japan's Military Academy in 1912. There, Amakasu formed a close bond with his teacher Tôjô Hideki. After serving in several positions inside Japan, Amakasu's first important assignment was as a *kempei* captain in colonial Korea, where he participated in the crackdown against the March 1919 protests for Korean independence. When he was transferred back to Tokyo in 1921, he began working on a theory of national security, which fixated on Western anarcho-syndicalist thought as the gravest threat to Japan. He also consulted with colleagues working at the notorious Special Higher Police (Tokkô), who issued an important report in 1921 as one aspect of their mission to harass "thought criminals" in Japan.[24] Applying

his colonial experience of pacification to his research on urban leftism, Amakasu and several others seized on the earthquake crisis to carry out a series of assassinations against Japan's important leftists.[25] Several years before Amakasu's murders, the idea of taking advantage of some crisis as cover for a wave of terror against leftists and Koreans in Tokyo was already circulating around elites in the Japanese Army. Therefore, Amakasu's "bottom-up" actions need to be seen as linked to this larger "top-down" conspiracy, fundamentally blurring the distinction.[26]

The deadliest natural disaster in Japan's history, the Great Earthquake struck the main Japanese island of Honshû on September 1, 1923. Most of Tokyo and Yokohama were destroyed and approximately one hundred and twenty thousand people died; half of Tokyo's population of five million was left homeless. Most of the *kempei* from outlying areas were ordered by the High Command to rush to Tokyo in their Army trucks. Nakamura Kyutaro, one such officer, came to the capital from his station outside Yokohama and later related that Tokyo resembled a hell on earth.[27] The *Tokyo Daily News* managed to distribute a special issue by 5 p.m. that evening. This issue and the *kempei* equipped with bullhorns, arriving in Tokyo from the relative calm of the suburbs, were the only sources of information that Tokyoites had. Although the newspaper warned people to be on the lookout for "troublemakers," Nakamura and other *kempei* later claimed that they were instructed to be more specific when barking out information: troublemakers were identified as "Koreans and anarchists." Although anarchists had been targeted since the High Treason Incident, Koreans had only recently come under surveillance. As I mentioned above, the Japanese military responded harshly to the March 1919 movement in Korea. The international outcry against the brutal response echoed a similar reaction among liberal Japanese. For the first time, a large segment of Japanese dared to criticize the Army. This sudden shift in popular sentiment enraged the High Command, who refused to accept responsibility for what had happened in Korea and, instead, blamed the "Westernized" Korean leaders. With their hands tied by Hara's policy of demilitarization, military elites were forced to wait patiently for chance at revenge against Koreans.

After the earthquake, organized killings of Koreans and leftists by Japanese civilians, police, and military went on for some time. As many as eight thousand Koreans were killed in the ethnocide, one-quarter of the Koreans living in the Tokyo metropolitan area.[28] In addition to the press and *kempei* inciting panic about so-called troublemakers, rumors spread that Koreans and anarchists had risen up against the Japanese government and were carrying out acts of arson, rape, and the poisoning of wells. Government officials facilitated the spread of these rumors and organized and armed vigilante groups. Elsewhere in the city, a dozen labor leaders "disappeared" in the Kameidô Incident; it was later learned that they had been jailed without charge by the police and murdered. Again, "blind in the right eye," when the atrocities subsided the police arrested only four hundred for vigilante violence against leftists and Koreans. Of those prosecuted, only a handful served time in prison, and all were released in the (selective) amnesty declared for the coronation of Hirohito as Emperor on December 25, 1926.

Amakasu's trial opened on October 8, 1923. Legal changes pushed through by Hara's democratization meant the military could no longer conduct trials in secret; Amakasu's was the first military tribunal where seats were made available for the public. On the first day, there were five hundred people hoping to get one of the hundred public seats. It is important to state that before the trial began mainstream opinion was solidly against Amakasu. Even those in the military who backed his actions could not openly express support for a man represented in the media as a monster who had murdered internationally known Japanese nationals with his bare hands. The trial changed all that. What became the first media spectacle in Japan saw armies of reporters and photographers in and around the courtroom, with more people attempting to gain entrance as the trial progressed. The three daily newspapers carried front-page stories printing each word Amakasu spoke, the range of his emotional reactions, and the impact his presence had on the judges and lawyers. In a little over two months, the consensus on political terror had shifted significantly. From approximately 85 percent of the public opposing Amakasu, it concluded with about half of the public supporting him. The legal historian Tamiya Hiroshi argues that the Amakasu Incident and trial "holds a profound significance as a site of political reversal in Japan's political history."[29]

The presiding military judge, Ôkawa Tôjiro, opened the proceedings by asking Amakasu to give his impression of socialists. Amakasu no doubt surprised many in the crowd with his intellectual presence:

> "As far as the main issues that concern intellectual life today, I have been researching them for some time. Although I certainly haven't undertaken any specialized scholarship, I feel confident in stating that today's world of ideas in Japan has fallen into chaos. Although I can't say for sure that every aspect of our intellectual world is in crisis, it's clear that there are almost no intellectuals concerned with assisting their state. Because of this condition, I saw myself as someone coming in to rescue and improve our intellectual and social chaos.
>
> Although one fundamental aspect of socialism holds that humans originate from the spirit separate from the flesh, we should ask ourselves whether most of the other aspects of Western leftism are correct or not. This is particularly the case with anarchism, which explicitly calls for rebellion against the authority of the state—rejecting the essence of the Japanese nationalism. Anarchists thereby make themselves poisonous to the Japanese body politic and should be seen as a great threat to our race. Since these dangerous thoughts cause trouble for the state, we should keep them out of Japan. And because these anarchist parasites reject the cardinal principles of the founding of the nation in the name of the Emperor, they should be punished appropriately."[30]

Ôkawa continued his questioning by asking Amakasu if he had any "conclusive evidence" connected to alleged illegal actions of leftists after the Great Earthquake. Amakasu answered immediately, continuing to follow the script of his submitted affidavit.

> After the Earthquake, we investigated and arrested people who had carried out arson. Hiding in the shadows of this arson were leftists making links with Koreans; we heard that they were trying to foment chaos and terrorize Japanese citizens. I also heard that Itô Noe was carrying a bomb hidden in her breast pocket and was covertly carrying out acts of terror.
>
> — What kind of methods did you decide to use against these irrational people?
>
> After the Earthquake the people were in shock. As for me, I was completely focused on trying to understand every aspect of the situation, up to the point of not eating or sleeping. I felt keenly that the state was verging on a dangerous collapse because of the shock to our population. At first, because the Army was directly involved in security under the martial law, leftists probably weren't able to do much of anything. But after the Army withdrew, leftists began preparing for violent actions. (53)
>
> — What kind of evidence did you have related to Ôsugi's activities?
>
> We had an acknowledgement that he was involved in actions with Itô. (54)
>
> — Who were the leftists who were inciting Koreans and arsonists?
>
> I'm not exactly sure, but it was clear to us that Ôsugi was one of them. Because Ôsugi hadn't yet been detained, it seemed obvious that there wasn't anyone else with the authority to direct those actions. (54)
>
> — Just who was it that ordered the investigation of Ôsugi's whereabouts?
>
> Although it probably came from the experts in the Army High Command, none of the regular police knew that *kempei* were responsible for whacking (*yattsukeru*) Ôsugi.…As I said before, the fact that Ôsugi was still on the loose worried me. I thought that if I could find some way to get rid of him forever, then this would terrify the remaining leftists and slow them down. (55)

At this point, Amakasu explained in some detail the surveillance operation on Ôsugi. He stated: "On the evening of the 15th, I decided that if Ôsugi was at home, I would break in and strangle him or shoot him" (56). The judge then interrupted Amakasu to ask:

> —After you apprehended the three, what kind of *kempei* methods did you employ to kill them?

Amakasu answered this question almost before Ôkawa finished it.

> *I* wasn't going to kill them as a *kempei*; because it was my intent to whack them as a private individual it was difficult for me to think of how I was going to do it. As there were lots of *kempei* around, if I used a gun I knew that people would find out immediately. (59).
>
> —After the murders, what were you preparing yourself for?

Amakasu also answered this question immediately.

> Because I knew that people would realize what happened at some point, I was preparing myself to be accused of a crime. Even so, I didn't think that killing only Ôsugi was going to be enough. As there were other dangerous elements like Fujita Kyôji and Sakari Gen still on the loose, I was planning on whacking leftists off starting at the end (*katappashi*) and working my way into the middle. (59–60)

Amakasu's biographer Sano Shinichi argues that Amakasu's use of peculiar phrases, like "whacking leftists off starting at the end," was a deliberate act to shield top military officials who were involved in the crackdowns—trying to disguise top-down terrorism as bottom-up. It seems as if he was trying to appear like a brutal, cold-blooded killer[31] and, in using well-known gangster idioms, he hoped he would be seen as an insubordination to Japan's military hierarchy and a "lone wolf" pathological *kempei*. With eight years of military school training needed to rise to Amakasu's rank of captain, the strategy seemed aimed at convincing the Japanese public that no normal Army officer would conduct himself in this way.

> —Where did you finally kill Ôsugi?
>
> It was in the building of the Kempei High Command. There I ordered my assistant Mori to bring Ôsugi in to see me. When Mori brought him, I just turned him around and put my right hand around his throat and used my left to hold him, grabbing his right wrist. Then I started strangling him. (62)

While he spoke this last sentence, Amakasu raised both of his arms in the air and tilted his head backwards, dramatizing Ôsugi's gestures as he was first being strangled. Then the judge showed the audience Amakasu's judo belt, and then asked him if this was what he used to kill Ôsugi.

> —Yes. The day before I killed Ôsugi I was thinking I might use that. When it came time I decided to finish him off using the judo belt. (63)

Although most were initially outraged that a military officer would hunt down and kill Japanese citizens, a significant segment of the Japanese public was won over during the trial. Needless to say, liberal-left opinion remained firmly opposed to this expression of premodern samurai warrior values. However, Amakasu deftly articulated ideologemes of individualism then hegemonic in Taishô democracy—my personal beliefs, my individual actions undertaken without orders, and so on—to older, anti-individualistic Japanese and Neo-Confucian codes of honor and sacrifice. Moreover, as he was able to differentiate the more acceptable reformism of socialism (which, he argued, strives to strengthen the state) from chaos-inducing and nation-destroying leftism, he provided two reasons for ridding Japan of the latter. The first expressed the ideological "obviousness" of anarcho-syndicalism's foreignness to Japan; its purported Western origin was reason enough to outlaw it in Japan. The second rationale built on the first. In denouncing the "parasitic" nature of anarchism, Amakasu drew on the code of the Japanese "family-state" (*kazoku kokka*), which was officially inscribed in Japan's first constitution of 1890. Both juridical and ideological, family-state discourse was designed both to naturalize the ethno-racial similarity of all Japanese as children of the Emperor, and to update an early modern Neo-Confucianism in Japan which insisted on obedience to authority and respect for one's proper place. It was the success of this strategy that, more than any other event, contributed to the overcoming of the liberalism of the Taishô period.

During the closing argument in the trial Amakasu's lawyer, Tsukazaki Toshio, seemed to intuit this emerging ideological shift. After the military judges recommended a fifteen-year sentence for Amakasu, Tsukazaki made his closing arguments, telling the two hundred people present that he wanted to communicate directly to all Japanese people:

When you are a career military officer and you violate the national law by committing murder, most people would argue that you must be punished. However, we need to consider the unique circumstances of a *kempei* commander like Amakasu trying to maintain order during the post-earthquake chaos in Tokyo. Given that, it's impossible to take seriously the insistence that Amakasu murdered Ôsugi and Itô based solely on his personal beliefs and private motivations. In fact, Amakasu committed murder primarily because of his deep love for the Japanese nation. If we punish Amakasu to the full extent of the law, then that excessive punishment will consequently adversely impact the Japanese public's own morality and sense of patriotism.…Of course the national law should be respected, but because physiology exists only because bodies exist, similarly the national law only exists because Japanese people exist. The crucial question is: is the Japanese nation more important, or is juridical law? Even a child wouldn't hesitate to answer that the Japanese nation is much more important than the law. (93)

Here then, was the justification for rightist terror: defending the security of the Japanese nation against internal enemies waging continual war against it. This is similar to what Michel Foucault called a "partisan" anti-universalist discourse of the European right intent on inciting race war in the name of "defending society."[32] When Amakasu presented his justification for murdering the two leftists—they were parasites living off the generosity of the Emperor like selfish children, while they simultaneously plotted to destroy the Japanese family-state—this resonated with an expanding demographic. And when the lawyer Tsukazaki expanded on this rationale, the initial effect was to cleave the Japanese public in two. The more patriotic side of the Japanese public saw Amakasu as the defender of order and praised him for ridding Japan of anarchists. This increasingly nonsecular public saw Ôsugi and Itô as having the potential power to overturn Japan's public security.

Prison Notebooks

The ideology positing an ethno-racial belonging of all Japanese to the family-state was de rigueur in rightist circles in Japan after World War I. As Amakasu stated during his trial, Western epistemologies were construed as the main threat to the family-state. He was more explicit about this in the diary he kept during the twenty-eight-month sentence he served for the murders, arguably the most egregious instance of the Japanese state being "blind in the right eye." Received with critical acclaim when it was published in October 1928, Amakasu's *My Reflections from Prison* became a kind of terror manual

for Japanese rightists. Although it did not offer the nuts and bolts of explosives and satellite communication like contemporary manuals, it provided an ultra-nationalistic rationale for suicide missions and patriotic justifications for pre-emptive strikes against enemies of Japan. It also featured one of the first public cries for Japan to wage a war of liberation against the Euro-American colonial powers in the Asia, what would later be called in Japanese *Daitôa sensô*—"Greater East Asia War."

In *My Reflections* Amakasu links his own acts in "defending Japan's sovereignty" against the Western philosophies of anarchism and individualism to those of other Japanese terrorists like the Mito activists in the 1850s. What I would call a terrorist tradition in Japan is rearticulated by Amakasu to mobilize violence against anyone supporting European imperialism in Asia. As was the case in the 1850s and 1860s in the uprising against the Tokugawa rulers, Amakasu writes, "Japanese must be willing to spill our own blood" to protect Japan's integrity and "rid Asia of white people."[33] Similar to Japanese Pan-Asian rightists like Tôyama Mitsuru, Amakasu identifies the Opium Wars as the beginning of East Asia's troubles. "When we recognize the chaos and catastrophe that French and British solders brought upon the Qing government, it's astounding that we are still forced to listen to Westerners' hypocritical claims about philanthropy and civilizing missions.…We need to always keep in mind the violent atrocities the West has inflicted on Asia" (37). In order to protect the future of Japan and begin the struggle to pull Asia out from under the boots of Euro-Americans, Japanese men must draw on all the resources available to them.

The main resource that Amakasu identifies is the purported Japanese endowment of sacrifice for a higher cause, the cause in most cases being the Emperor. Completely opposed to the selfish individualism of the white race (*hakujinshu*), Japanese are taught to be respectful and dutiful. This fundamental respect explains why Japan has "over its long history, successfully incorporated many different cultures" (22). It also explains why Japanese are much better suited than white people to be the leaders of the world, as the "egocentric arrogance of the white race" makes them ill-suited for global leadership (85). "White people attempt to force a culture of individualism on the rest of the world, and they don't shy away from using military means to do so" (86). The second resource Amakasu identifies is the Japanese quality of faith (*shinkô*), especially an unwavering faith in the righteousness of the Emperor. However, faith also impels Japanese to strive for a better future and gives them confidence that their actions will contribute to this future (58). For Japanese rightists, it was this synthesis of faith and willingness to sacrifice that positioned the Japanese as the only people capable of stopping the devastations caused by white imperialism. Amakasu insists that because of the deep-seated arrogance of whites, "a future race war is inevitable" (22). This race war waged against white people completely lacking in respect for other cultures will require a suicidal faith, one that Amakasu understands Japanese alone to possess. "When we are forced to wage war against the barbaric West, Japanese will fight to the death if necessary" (23). This inscription of a suicidal war waged against what the Japanese saw as the terrorism supporting the expansion of white modernity was articulated most concisely by Ôkawa Shûmei.

Ôkawa Shûmei and the Philosophy of Terror

More than just doing the hegemony work of pulling a segment of popular opinion toward the nationalist right, the Amakasu trial worked to energize those already there. From the trial onward, Amakasu became what Sano Shinichi calls the "darling of the extreme-right."[34] One rightist charmed by Amakasu was Ôkawa, who was able to attend the second day of the trial. After he graduated from Tokyo University in 1913, Ôkawa worked for the Japanese Army doing translation work in Hindi and English. Teaching himself French and German, he was hired by the East Asian Research Bureau of the Manchurian Railway Company in 1917, which was Japan's equivalent of Britain's East India Company; in 1927 he became its director. Together with the Kita Ikki, he used his resources and influence to found both journals like *Otabeki* and ultra-nationalist terrorist groups. But it was the publication of his first book in October 1923, *Questions Concerning the Revival of Asia*, during the middle of the Amakasu trial that got the attention of influential Army officers like Hashimoto Kingoro.

The success of Ôkawa's second book, *Asia, Europe, Japan*, published in October 1925, brought him recognition as the most important rightist intellectual in Japan. Among several pioneering notions, arguably the most important was "Ô"kawa's insistence on the inevitability of war between "the leading power of the West, the United States, and the leading power in the East, Japan."[35] As a logical effect of Ôkawa's philosophical identification of the a priori of war, he naturalized the coming conflict between Japan and the United States as "fate": "fate will lead Japan and the United States into a huge war just like East and West was destined for battle in the classical period" (873). Drawing on his reading of Japanese religious philosophy, together with his research in Vedic, Ancient Greek, and German idealist philosophy, Ôkawa established the most well-known Asian version of the axiom of violence grounding all socio-historical transformation. Right at the beginning of *Asia, Europe, Japan*, he polemicizes: "Everything and everyone is waging war at all times" (840). Although Ôkawa does not appear to have read Hobbes, his work should be seen to be the most insistent call for the regenerative nature of violence in Japanese political philosophy. "Violent conflagration" for Ôkawa, as he continued in his introduction to *Asia, Europe, Japan*, "is the only necessary condition for human culture and life itself" (842). Since all human and social being is an effect of the ontological generativity of war, "it is self-evident that the nation-state is merely the systematization of violence—war is the womb [*botai*] of all states" (842).

His ontologizing of violent war led him to firmly reject liberal democracy. Furthermore, he claimed that the worldwide spread of democracy is merely another aspect of European imperialism. By contrast, in Asia democratic politics of the "ignorant and weak masses" is nothing but a scourge exported by foreigners (846). Completely opposed to governments voted in, the dominant form of Asian political rule has historically been characterized by brave Mongol warriors, proud Arab armies, and heroically

selfless Japanese samurai. And only by drawing on these traditions of noble warrior rule can Asia begin the process of freeing itself from a Euro-American modern world order that has "enslaved 900 million Asian people."[36]

Using his influence as the in-house philosopher at the East Asian Research Bureau, in combination with his important professorship at Takushoku University in Tokyo, Ôkawa was active on two different fronts. The first was his centrality in creating rightist groups and secret societies, which normally included a youth or student association. The first of these was Yûzonsha, but Ôkawa collaborated in establishing two or three others including the famous Sakurakai, which attempted to overthrow the Japanese government twice in 1931. Sakurakai's first coup attempt was a botched effort in March, but the second was a more serious attempt in October 1931 to force totalitarian military rule following Japan's invasion of Northeast China on September 18. When the second attempt failed after a violent crackdown by the military, the leaders of Sakurakai, including Ôkawa, were rounded up for a trial. This trial would find Ôkawa himself in the public spotlight and he was grateful for the opportunity, using the attention to call for the overthrow of Western colonialism in Asia, simultaneous with overthrow of Westernized democracy in Japan.[37]

Sekioka Hideyuki argues that starting right after the 1925 publication of *Asia, Europe, Japan*, Ôkawa became "devoted to planning terrorist actions and scenarios for overthrowing the Japanese government" (64). He had many opportunities to raise funds and attract sympathizers from the end of 1925, as he regularly gave one presentation each week at fora ranging from the general public to private presentations to the Army High Command. It was at one such presentation in Tokyo in December 1926 that he made the first systematic argument calling for a Japanese military invasion of northeast China (62–63). Ôkawa was so persuasive in his call that in just two years time many Army officers were echoing his insistence on using Japan's sword on China. But it was Ôkawa's calls for targeted assassination and urban terrorism inside Japan that brought him notoriety. With a confidence bolstered by watching Japanese public opinion endorse Amakasu, in the summer of 1925 he began fundraising for an armed overthrow of democratic rule. When Ôkawa was given full control of the East Asian Bureau in March 1927, including its significant financial resources, he began concrete planning for urban terror. His efforts reaped rewards with two coup attempts in 1931, followed by the infamous League of Blood Incident in March 1932 and the major coup attempt in 1932 known as May 15th Incident, where the plotters assassinated the Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi.

Sakurakai was headed by Ôkawa's acolyte Hashimoto Kingoro. When Sakurakai's active Army officer membership increased to fifty by February 1931, Ôkawa and Hashimoto decided to act. Their plan for the takeover of the government involved three steps. The first called for massive rioting in Tokyo, including random terrorist violence. The goal here was to force the government to call in Army troops to intervene and declare marital law. The second step was to use this martial law so that officers allied with Sakurakai could execute a coup and assume power. At this point, an all-military cabinet would be installed headed by Army Minister Ugaki Kazushige.[38] Ôkawa and his civilian co-conspirator, Kamei Kanichiro, together with student members of Sakurakai,

tried to start a riot outside Japan's Diet Building on February 22, 1931, shooting off pistols and threatening to ignite explosives. However, due mainly to logistical problems, the action failed to attract a sufficient number of people and the riot did not materialize. Hashimoto consulted with Ôkawa, who wrote to Ugaki on March 2, explaining the plot and demanding that troops be called out immediately. Ugaki, either lukewarm from the start or having a sudden change of heart, refused to cooperate—Ôkawa was crushed. Rather than retreating, though, he decided to push on, telling his younger followers that he was "ready to die" (71). As there were others willing to give their lives for this "restoration of Asian military rule," Ôkawa and Kamei tried a second time to start a riot outside the Diet on March 17. Although they were able to gather a thousand rioters, the plotters had agreed to call off the coup with anything less than ten thousand. Ôkawa, Kamei, and Hashimoto were arrested, but Ugaki intervened and made sure they were not seriously charged. Ôkawa was immediately released from prison, but Sakurakai was banned.

Despite being considered failures by the ringleaders themselves, Ôkawa's 1931 collaborations mobilized elements of the right that had been heretofore unwilling to take direct action. One civilian who became involved in terrorism influenced by Ôkawa was the Buddhist priest Inoue Nissho. Inoue spent his young adult life as a soldier of fortune and adventurer, ending up in China working for Japan's military. After a series of mystical experiences in 1923, Inoue became convinced that Japan required spiritual rebirth and that he was destined to be its savior. He founded a school in Ibaraki (formerly the Mito domain) to promote agrarianism and social reform, which quickly transformed into a training center for terrorists. This center was responsible for the League of Blood Incident of February and March 1932 and, finally, the more famous May 15th Incident. On the evening of May 15th, eleven well-armed military officers forced their way into Prime Minister Inukai's residence and killed him in his bed. The original plan called for multiple assassinations to take place across Tokyo, including a headlines-making hit against Charlie Chaplin, who was visiting Japan at the time. When Inukai was killed, the assassins had intended to murder his son Takeru as well, but fortunately he was out late attending a sumo match with Chaplin. The insurgents also attacked the residences of several political and business leaders, in addition to carrying out urban terrorism by bombing electric generators in Tokyo. With the exception of the successful hit on the Japanese head of state, the coup proved to be yet another failure. The participants took a taxi to police headquarters and surrendered.[39]

Although Ôkawa was not in the streets for the May 15th Incident, he was identified as its intellectual architect. After extensive negotiations between civilian leaders and the Japanese Army, Ôkawa was sentenced to fifteen years in prison on February 3, 1934, but his lawyers appealed and the sentence was reduced to five. While supposedly under house arrest, he devoted nine months to intensive fundraising work before finally entering prison in June 1936; he was released just sixteen months later.[40] However, far from ending Japan's "Age of Terror," the release of Ôkawa was simultaneous with Japan's war in China, which by 1940 had blossomed into the Great East Asia War for liberation from white imperialism. The ideological and material support for terror would reap positive decolonial rewards as one after another Euro-American power fell to Japan's military onslaught.

Conclusion

The discourse of Japanese terrorism was explicit in opposing Western imperialism in all its inflections. As Japan became the dominant power in Asia after its 1905 victory over Russia, it is impossible to map terrorism carried out by Japanese nationals onto the contemporary top-down vs. bottom-up binary opposition. When Japanese *kempei* like Amakasu murdered leftists in cahoots with Army officials, it is apparent that this qualifies as a kind of top-down terrorism. But when Japanese agents influenced by the writings and deeds of Amakasu and others assassinated British colonial officials in Singapore and Hong Kong before Japan's full-scale invasion in late 1941, this needs to be seen as bottom-up terrorism—Japanese state *cum* Asian terrorism against Western military colonialism in Asia. Obviously, in the case of this kind of bottom-up Japanese/Asian terrorism, we need to reject the ideological assumption currently hegemonic in Anglophone terrorism studies that the West represents justice and respect for the law and non-Western radical actors are necessarily positioned as outlaws. As Japanese rightists Amakasu and Ôkawa Shûmei insisted, the spread of Western modernity was inseparable from the top-down terrorism carried out by Western imperialists in the form of drug trafficking in the Opium Wars and in gunboat imperialists refusing to distinguish between civilians and soldiers when waging war in China. While this situation of Western gunboat imperialism in Asia makes the top-down vs. bottom-up binary unclear, what it does do is provide a new way of configuring the modalities in which terrorism supported Europe's conquest of Asia. As Ôkawa insisted until the end of World War II, what was needed to rid Asia of the scourge of Western barbarism was an Asian military state (Japan) willing to resort to terror as one tactic in anti-imperial resistance, together with a suicidal commitment from Japanese men to end the terror of Western modernity.

Notes

1. Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to al Qaeda* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 7.
2. Bobby Salman Sayyid, *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism* (London: Zed Press, 2003), xvii.
3. Chaliand and Blin, *The History of Terrorism*, 7.
4. Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge,1990), 310.
5. Andre Gunder Frank, *Reorient: Global Economy in a Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
6. Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, trans. Agnes Schwarzschild (New York: Modern Readers Paperback, 1968), 394.
7. Victor J. Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology: Discourse, Reform, and Insurrection in Late Tokugawa Japan, 1790–1864* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 987).
8. H. D. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

9. Peter Duus, *The Rise of Modern Japan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), 71.
10. On the journal and Yûzonsha, see the important essay by George Wilson, "Kita Ikki, Ôkawa Shûmei and the Yûzonsha: A Study in the Genesis of Shôwa Nationalism," *Papers on Japan* 2 (East Asian Research Center) (1963): 139–181.
11. All East Asian names will be written with the family name first followed by the given name.
12. See *Iwanami Nihonshi jiten* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1999), 165–166.
13. Eiko Maruko Siniawer, *Ruffians, Yakuza, Nationalists: The Violent Politics of Modern Japan, 1860–1960* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).
14. Honjô Yutaka, *Teroru no jidai* (Tokyo: Gunjôsha, 2009).
15. Tetsuo Najita, *Hara Kei in the Politics of Compromise, 1905–1915* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).
16. On the March 1, 1919, Korea-wide demonstrations against colonial rule, see Moriyama Shigenori, *Nikkan Heigô* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1992).
17. Hata Ikuhiko, *Shôwa no gunjintachi* (Tokyo: Bungei shunjusha, 1982), 93–95.
18. The High Treason Incident is indirectly related to what is known as the Red Flag Incident of 1908, where even more spurious evidence was used to jail leftists. During the High Treason investigation, anarchists previously incarcerated under suspicion of a similar plot to kill members of the royal family, were questioned about possible involvement. The fact that many leftists were already in prison saved them from facing further charges in the High Treason Incident.
19. Wagatsuma Sakae, ed., *Nihon Seiji Saiban Shiroku, Taishô* (Tokyo: Daiichi Hôki shuppan, 1969), 35–37.
20. Herbert B. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2001), 141.
21. Nakahara Shizuko, *Nanba Daisuke, Toranomon Jiken: Ai o Motometa Terorisuto* (Tokyo: Kage shobô, 2002), 137.
22. Leftist critics in Germany in the 1920s used this phrase when they criticized the conservative state's tendency to prosecute leftists almost exclusively for political violence, blind to violence perpetrated by rightists. Thanks to the editors for pointing this out to me.
23. Nakahara, *Nanba Daisuke, Toranomon Jiken*, 429.
24. Nihon kindai shiryô kenkyûkai, ed., *Taishô kôki Keihokyoku kankô shakai undo shiryô* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1968), 10–11.
25. Sano Shinichi, *Amakasu Masahiko: Ranshin no kôya* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 2008), 16–19.
26. Ôta Naoki, *Manshû rishi: Amakasu Masahiko to Kishi Nobusuke ga seotta mono* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2005), 271.
27. Tsunoda Fusako, *Amakasu Taii* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobô, 2004), 21–22.
28. Kum Byong-dong, *Kanto daishinsai chôsenjin gyakusatsu mondai kankei shiryô I* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1989).
29. Wagatsuma, *Nihon Seiji Saiban Shiroku*, 413.
30. Yamane Takuzô, *Mondai no hito Amakasu Masahiko* (Tokyo: Konishi shoten, 1925), 52–53. Subsequent page numbers will follow in the text.
31. Sano, *Amakasu Masahiko*, 90.
32. Michel Foucault, "Society Must Be Defended," *Lectures at the College de France, 1975–1976*, trans. David Macey (New York: Palgrave, 2003).
33. Amakasu Masahiko, *Gokuchû ni okeru yo no kansô* (Tokyo: Amakasushi chosaku kankôkai, 1928), 23. Subsequent page numbers in text.
34. Sano, *Amakasu Masahiko*, 254.

35. Ôkawa Shûmei zenshu kankôkai, ed. *Ôkawa Shûmei zenshu*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Ôkawa Shûmei zenshu kankôkai, 1961), 872. Subsequent page numbers in text.
36. Ibid., 321.
37. Sekioka Hideyuki, *Ökawa Shûmei no Daiajiashugi* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2007), 171. Subsequent pages in text.
38. Richard Sims, *Japanese Political History since the Meiji Renovation 1868–2000* (London: Palgrave, 2001), 155.
39. Nagayama Yasuo, *Tero to Yu—topia: Goitchigo jiken to Tachibana Kôzaburo* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 2009), 142–179.
40. Sekioka, *Ökawa Shûmei*, 75.

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Wagatsuma Sakae, ed. *Nihon Seiji Saiban Shiroku, Taishô*. Tokyo: Daiichi Hôki shuppan, 1969.
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Yamane Takuzô, *Mondai no hito Amakasu Masahiko*. Tokyo: Konishi shoten, 1925.

CHAPTER 17

AN ARCHIVE OF "POLITICAL TROUBLE IN INDIA"

History, Anticolonial Violence, and Counterinsurgency

DURBA GHOSH

At the turn of the twentieth century, a campaign of terrorism emerged across India to overthrow British rule. This revolutionary terrorist movement was propelled by modern practices such as mass-produced printed pamphlets, posters, and flyers, new bomb-making technologies, and the circulation of transnational ideologies of revolution and anarchism.[1] To contain this threat, British colonial officials dramatically restructured police and intelligence departments and transformed what had been a largely local and amateurish network of local police officers and detectives into an intelligence bureau that would coordinate counterinsurgency efforts. Inaugurated officially in 1904, the establishment of the Department of Criminal Intelligence was intended to suppress anticolonial political insurgencies across India by modernizing the police, in terms of collecting and organizing information and how the police were trained to deal with political violence.[2] The Intelligence Bureau's new headquarters were established in the city of Calcutta, in the province of Bengal, then the capital of British India. Secret intelligence about the emergent terrorist threat was to be circulated through mass printed (but confidential) reports that would synthesize information and provide guidelines for future policies.[3] Local Intelligence Bureaus were established across the subcontinent, and by 1913, the Intelligence Branch, charged with coordinating between the Indian police and the intelligence services, became an important arm of the colonial administration in India. Surveillance was coordinated between London and Calcutta and attempted to combat a new kind of anticolonial political insurgency, one in which elite and educated Indians used newly available technologies such as bombs and revolvers to

assassinate colonial officials, and commit assaults and robberies against government offices such as railways, post offices, and banks.[4]

The simultaneous growth of modern policing and terrorism coincided with the emergence of another characteristic of modernity, which was the practice of history-writing, primarily used as a form of rationalizing the expansion of the modern state.[5] This putatively new form emerged in the nineteenth century and was marked by the collection of facts, the narration of events, and the construction of a chronology that was seen to be empirical, authoritative, and "scientific."[6] As scholars of colonial India have shown, British civil servants wrote numerous histories of India in order to rationalize British occupation. The perception that Indians lacked a modern historical sensibility, one that demonstrated a commitment to facticity or chronology was often used to explain why Indians could not be considered modern.[7] By the middle of the nineteenth century, the idea of creating a historical chronology for British India that marked the progress of a liberal colonial state to improve its colonized subjects became an important feature of colonial rule, legitimating colonial intervention in the name of inserting India into a universal timeline of progressive and positive development.[8] In its own historical narrative, the colonial government imagined it was in the process of introducing liberal reforms such as rule of law, representative government, and various individual freedoms to India and Indians; thus, crime and violence were never cast as political insurrection, but rather a failure of Indians to achieve the consciousness of appropriately constituted subjects of civil society.[9] The endpoint of this liberal and colonial history was that when Indians were able to govern themselves, the British would leave India.

During the first four decades of the twentieth century, the colonial government's liberal narrative was disrupted by the history of radical Indian terrorism and acts of political violence were explained as a disruption that threatened the progress of liberal constitutional reforms and British withdrawal.[10] In the histories put forward by revolutionaries, terrorists, militants, and Indian historians, a different progression was documented, one in which various revolutionary figures accelerated historical change in India and succeeded in overthrowing an oppressive government by undertaking a campaign of political violence.[11]

This chapter critically analyzes a series of pamphlets, reports, official memoranda, and "notes," written and circulated by colonial officials in India as they battled a four-decade long campaign against revolutionary terrorism and political violence in India. The Intelligence Bureau's reports and memos were marked "confidential" and circulated to a limited group of about a hundred officials across the Intelligence Departments in the capital and in the provinces. The weekly reports were synthesized into policy memos that repeatedly argued in favor of the growth of the modern police force and laws that would enable the police to expand their authority without the burdens of upholding the rule of law. Using archival evidence that terrorism in India had a long history, colonial officials rationalized suspending the rule of law with established judicial precedents for jury trials, prison sentences, and *habeas corpus*.[12] Revolutionaries and those active in the movement used this archival evidence in a different way, which was to argue that the radical upheaval of political violence had a long history in India and would be successful in provoking the British to leave India.[13]

Until India gained its independence in 1947, confidential printed reports by the Intelligence Bureau were filed away in archives across India and in Britain and read by a select few who had access to classified information; since the early 1950s, the many copies of these reports have been available in libraries and archives. In the postcolonial period, this voluminous archive has been used for an Indian nationalist narrative in which revolutionaries and terrorists were cast as important historical actors.[14] Many of the documents I examine below were reprinted after 1947, to amplify the place of revolutionary terrorists in securing India's independence from the British. In the 1990s, the West Bengal State Archives brought out a six-volume compendium of this printed material from the Intelligence Bureau titled, *Terrorism in Bengal*, so that scholars could use colonial sources to study the movement from a postcolonial perspective.[15] Using the historical accounts produced by colonial intelligence officials, Indian nationalist historians in the postcolonial period were able to remake terrorists into freedom fighters, ironically relying on documents collected by the Intelligence Bureau.

Written in the period from 1905 until 1937, with titles such as "Notes on Terrorism," "Political Trouble in India," or "Historical Note on Terrorist and Revolutionary Movements," the history of Indian terrorism told from the perspective of British intelligence officers was repetitive, citing the same events and turning points and often using exactly the same language and sequence of events. The repetitions were foundational to the claim that these were authoritative and objective histories in which certain "facts" were relatively stable and that the cycle of repression and violence was predictable. Put together in a closed loop, this history of terrorism was self-referential, consolidating the knowledge of previous officials and their reports, and providing new evidence for the same argument: that terrorism was always in a state of being reproduced and that the liberal aims of the British government were actively being thwarted.

In these reports, acts of political violence were situated as plot points in a history of terrorism against the colonial state and the British Crown. Over time, these accounts linked disparate events such as armed robberies, attempted bombings and assassination, and the circulation of seditious materials across the subcontinent, and across many decades, to demonstrate how terrorists were mobilizing a campaign—or more precisely, a conspiracy—against the liberal aims of British rule. The language of conspiracy in these accounts had an important legal effect: under the terms of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Acts of 1908 and 1913, the government could begin a prosecution against someone who had planned an attack against the Crown but had not been present at the moment the crime was committed.[16]

The first printed report was published in 1917, titled *Political Trouble in India, 1907–1917*, and it declared that a decade of fighting terrorism had been won by police and intelligence officers through careful surveillance, multi-sited investigation, and the use of extra legal powers to detain those suspected of sedition. This first report was followed by a half dozen others, including the publication of the Rowlatt Committee Report in 1919, weekly and annual reports from 1920 through the 1930s, and finally, a second version of *Political Trouble in India* in 1936. By the latter reports, there was an established sequence of acts that produced the revolutionary terrorist movements of the early

twentieth century: the 1872 assassination of Lord Mayo at the Andaman Islands by a political prisoner; the 1897 assassination of Lieutenant Rand, the plague commissioner in Pune, by the Chapekar brothers, who had been inspired by nationalist Bal Ganghadhar Tilak; and the shock of an assassination of a British official in London in 1909. The 1905 victory of the Japanese over the Russians was often noted as an inspiration to revolutionaries who applauded the success of an Asian power over a European one. Although the histories were careful to distinguish the differences between different regions of India—Madras, in southern India, seemed to be calm, while Bengal (in the east), Bombay (in the west), and Punjab (in the northwest) were always in turmoil—the collection of information into these historical compendia made the crisis of insurgency appear as a violent and coordinated conspiracy against British rule, one that would need to be pacified before the British could hand over the reins of power to moderate political forces and leave India.

Political Trouble, Volume I

The first of these official histories was written by J. C. Ker, titled *Political Trouble in India, 1907–1917*. Ker's colleagues in the Intelligence Branch were much like him: they had been well-trained in writing, critical analysis, and historical research, having been educated at elite universities such as Oxford and Cambridge. Ker began his career as a college lecturer at Cambridge; he left this position at the age of twenty-three to go to India.[17] He started as the personal assistant to the director of the Criminal Intelligence Bureau in 1907 and went on to become Director of Criminal Intelligence, generating weekly reports for officials in India and Britain, perusing surveillance and history sheets of those who were under suspicion, and reading the monthly reports of the provincial officials who were monitoring revolutionary and politically suspicious activities locally. In his first few pages of *Political Trouble*, he made his historical method clear: he called his book a "connected account" that synthesized the many records that had been kept by his office in the first decade of its existence. He specified that his account could not be comprehensive—"It would be impossible to follow the ramifications of every conspiracy in detail"—but he maintained that there was indeed a conspiracy against the British.[18] His "standard for evidence" rested on facts that had been presented in courts of law, although many defendants had not been convicted (or had their convictions overturned on appeal).

Political Trouble spanned over 500 pages, beginning with an account of India in 1907 and ending with chapters such as a "Who's Who" of important "political agitators," a chronology that listed all of the key events and crimes that might be categorized as terrorism, and an appendix that listed the compilations of "history sheets" of important suspects who had been kept under surveillance by the Criminal Intelligence Division. In the appendix, important historical events in the history of Indian terrorism range from a Coronation tree being sawed in half in the Central Provinces to the murder of Colonel

Curzon-Wyllie in London in 1909. Ker's account drew from earlier reports produced by those who worked in the Intelligence Branch of the government, F. C. Daly, R. H. Sneyd-Hutchinson, and H. L. Salkeld, among others.[19] By producing a recent history of terrorism, *Political Trouble* quickly became the foundation for the colonial government's histories and policies that followed and many of the "facts" were reproduced in the versions that followed. Its publication suggested that Bengal's terrorism had been successfully put down, yet police and intelligence forces still felt their powers were weakened and pressed for legal measures to continue surveillance and arrest of those who were involved in revolutionary violence. Ker's account was central to shaping the most controversial legislation put forward by the colonial government.

In 1919, shortly after the end of World War I, the British government in India proposed the promulgation of the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, or the Rowlatt Act. The legislation recommended repressive measures such as limiting the right to a jury trial in the case of certain political offenses, the suspension of *habeas corpus*, and a provision that suspects might be detained but not charged and tried because they were suspected of sedition. The provisions of the Rowlatt Act were a continuation of many of the provisions with the Defense of India Act, which had been promulgated in 1915 to authorize the detention of those who were defined as a threat to Britain's security while it was involved in fighting a war. Due to expire six months after the war ended, the Defense of India Act was considered a temporary and "emergency" piece of legislation, intended as a "preventive" measure to contain those who were opposed to Britain, particularly Germans.[20] In India (as in Ireland), the legislation was used to detain terrorists, revolutionaries, and political insurgents who challenged Britain's colonial state.

Before the war ended, the colonial government authorized the formation of a commission to consider how to put into place repressive legislation that would be targeted toward the terrorist movement, even though it seemed to have been successfully suppressed by the Defense of India.[21] Headed by S. A. T. Rowlatt, and advised by J. C. Ker, J. C. Nixon, C. Tindall, and J. D. V. Hodge, the commission issued its report in April 1918 and recommended the extension of repressive legislation.

Much like J. C. Ker's report, the Rowlatt report began with a lengthy historical account of revolutionary conspiracies in late nineteenth-century western India. Part I, titled "Historical," comprises the bulk of the text, or about 180 pages, providing evidence of a long-standing conspiracy that would continue into the future if the colonial government did not intervene. The first fifteen pages constructed a lineage that began with events in western India from the 1880s and linked them to events that occurred nearly a generation later in Bengal in eastern India. Ker had acknowledged in *Political Trouble* that the government's claim that there was a terrorist conspiracy might be difficult to sustain; similarly, the Rowlatt report noted that making historical connections with such disparate events and a thousand miles apart might be problematic: "It may be true to say that there was not one conspiracy in the sense that the individual of one group or party could not be held legally responsible for the acts of another group.… But that there was one movement, promoting one general policy of outrage and intimidation and working very largely in concert is, we think, perfectly clear."[22]

The Rowlatt report drew liberally from Ker's report, detailing the early events of the terrorist conspiracy that had appeared in *Political Trouble*, going year by year, but this micro-historical method lost steam. By 1913, the Rowlatt report noted there were so many attacks on police officials, government buildings such as railway ticket and post offices, and witnesses that "it is unnecessary to describe all the dacoities of the year in detail, since in all respects they conformed to what had by this time become a recognized type of crime."[23] By abandoning what was seen as needless repetition, the logic of the Rowlatt report was that the violent activities of the previous decade were likely to be repeated without repressive legislation in place.

The shortest part of the Rowlatt report was perhaps the most consequential: in part II, which the committee labeled "Difficulties and Suggestions," officials recommended the extension of what they called "extraordinary powers" in order to detain those accused of trying to bring down the British government.[24] The commission recognized the government's inability to successfully prosecute those who had wanted to overthrow the British government and recommended that changes to the law should be enacted before the movement revived.[25] Anticipating the need for emergency regulations before there was an emergency, the Rowlatt report noted: "The powers which we shall suggest for dealing with future emergencies must be ready for use at short notice. They must therefore be on the statute book in advance.… To postpone legislation till the danger is instant, is, in our view, to risk a recurrence of the history of the years 1906–1917."[26] The Rowlatt Act was thus framed as a preventive measure for the future, using a particular history of past terrorism. There was no immediate threat of insurgency except by the circular reasoning that the lack of repressive measures would cause the return of terrorism.[27]

In March 1919, the Rowlatt legislation was promulgated by the Government of India. Although the colonial government felt it had the weight of history behind it—their history of Indian terrorism showed that it would recur without such legislation—the legislation provoked a nationwide *hartal* (work stoppage) organized by Mohandas Gandhi, on April 6, 1919.[28]

A week after Gandhi's nationwide work stoppage, British military forces killed nearly 150 unarmed Indians who were peacefully assembled at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar.[29] The killing of innocent civilians spurred Gandhi to lead the Indian National Congress into the Noncooperation Campaigns the following year, which started in September 1920 and continued until February 1922. Built on the principle of nonviolent protest, Indians from across the subcontinent withdrew their labor and support for British enterprises, from administration, universities, schools, factories, and so on. Ultimately, the legislation recommended by the Rowlatt report was never enforced on a national level and the legislation was repealed quietly. At the end of 1919, terrorists, radicals, and revolutionaries who had been detained under these various emergency powers were released under the terms of a royal amnesty authorized by the colonial government. By 1920, what the British called the "terrorist threat" seemed to subside and it appeared that the process of allowing Indians to enjoy what the British called "responsible government" was beginning.

In the history of Indian terrorism written by British intelligence officials, the years between 1917 and 1920 became an important turning point that was marked by the failure of the Rowlatt bills to pass. Through the histories they produced, intelligence officials

openly accused their own colonial government of being overly optimistic and lily-livered in using repressive laws.[30] Intelligence officials reported that those who had been detained in the 1910s and then released and amnestied in 1919 began working within the local Congress Committees. As Congress party workers, former "detenus" mobilized more recruits, published seditious materials, and became more daring in planning conspiracies.[31] Mindful of Gandhi's mass nationwide campaigns based on nonviolence, these radical members of the Congress stayed out of legal trouble but planned their next political actions in accordance with the principles of militant nationalism that had been articulated from the earlier part of the century.[32] They printed seditious materials, this time drawing on history of the radical and revolutionary historical change in India, to argue that it needed to be reinvigorated.

Histories of Terrorism Produced by Revolutionary Terrorists

After Gandhi's Noncooperation Movement ended in February 1922, the vernacular press in Bengal began to publish celebratory articles about revolutionaries and radicals. In their own historical narrative, revolutionary terrorists challenged the sequence of events put forth by the colonial government. Several well-known political convicts, Upendra Nath Banerjee, Ullaskar Dutta, and Barin Ghosh published their memoirs, which were then widely circulated in cheaply printed volumes by Calcutta publishers. The men had been convicted for their participation in the two major conspiracies of the 1910s, the Alipore and Manicktolla conspiracies, in which dozens of young men had been convicted for writing and publishing seditious materials, planning to make bombs, committing robberies to raise funds, and collecting names as possible recruits. Released after a decade of hard labor in the Andaman Islands prison, their memoirs explained how they became conscious of their radical and revolutionary leanings.[33] Their slim monographs were written in English, subsequently translated into Bengali, and serialized into periodicals that were widely read by the local population. They detailed their conversions to political violence, explaining how each man came to understand his responsibility to sacrifice his life for the nation and plan an attack on a government official or building.

Soon after the publication of a number of these life histories, Bhupendra Kumar Dutta, an ex-detainee, argued that the revolutionary movement of India needed more than memoirs and autobiographies: it needed a history so that when India gained its independence from British colonial rule, India's future as a revolutionary society could be attained. He wrote:

> I have said that it is highly necessary to write a contemporary history, as its absence will render difficult the preparation of history in the future. From practical political experience I know that whatever gains currency among the people or is printed in

> books, does not constitute history. Actual facts remain for the most part unknown to the people, and historians fail frequently to discover the truth about them.…The revolutionary movement is extinct to-day in India and the people have accepted non-violence as their creed; and it is time, therefore, to examine the records of our own activities.[34]

Drawing from his understanding of Marx, in which the history of "the people" would be achieved by revolution, Bhupen Dutta announced that his effort to write a history of the movement—one that was "for the most part unknown to the people"—would bring about the kind of political change that nonviolence, commonly associated with the programs of Gandhi, could not. Published shortly after the end of Gandhi's nationwide noncooperation movement, this statement (and the four-part history that followed) was intended to reinvigorate the revolutionary terrorist movement and offer an alternative to the trajectory imagined by British officials or by the mainstream Indian nationalist movement led by Gandhi.

Not surprisingly, Bhupen's historical coordinates were entirely different from those offered by colonial officials. He made no mention of events that had occurred in western India, but rather focused on revolutionary moments in Bengal's precolonial past, dating from the centuries before British rule. If the British imagined that the history of India only began when they arrived, Bhupen presumed that Britain was a footnote to India's history. He invoked the religious saint, Chaitainya, from the late sixteenth century, and traced his religious teachings to the humanistic thinking of Rammohun Roy, an early nineteenth-century Bengali intellectual.[35]

The circulation and publication of histories of terrorism written by Bengalis sympathetic to the revolutionary cause coincided with a dramatic resurgence of terrorist activity and showed that colonial officials were losing control of the historical narrative. In the latter half of 1923 alone, four armed robberies took place across Bengal at post offices, railway stations, and government offices, and a half-dozen people were killed. These events became the catalyst for police and intelligence officials in Bengal to ask for a new round of emergency legislation to authorize the police to detain suspects without warrants, to suppress the publication of seditious materials, and to keep societies and groups under surveillance.

British officials were particularly alarmed that support for militant and violent nationalist acts seemed to be growing. In January 1924, Ernest Day, an unarmed British man who worked for a European company was killed in broad daylight. He was mistaken for Charles Tegart, the much-despised commissioner of police in Calcutta.[36] Day's assassin, Gopi Mohan Saha, was captured and executed; his death was immediately recognized as a patriotic act by the local Congress committee, who noted, "this Conference realises the high and noble ideal of Gopi Mohan Saha and makes known its respect for him for the noble self-sacrifice." The statement drew the ire of colonial officials as well as Gandhi.[37] In response, on October 24, 1924, the Government of India passed an executive ordinance that allowed the government to ban secret societies, take their leaders into custody, and to actively suppress the terrorist movement by detaining anyone

whose activities suggested sedition. The ordinance limited the right of Indians to free press, particularly the publication of histories or memoirs of the revolutionary movement.

Ordinances were temporary executive orders that were to be used only in situations when there was no time for legislative deliberation, and they were intended to be in place for no longer than six months. Although this ordinance was not due to expire until April 1925, police and intelligence officials made the case that permanent legislation should be drafted before the ordinance expired, much as officials had argued before the Defence of India Act expired at the end of the war.[38] In January 1925, the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act was proposed to the Legislative Assembly for a period of five years.

The measure was roundly and vociferously rejected by Indian representatives on the Legislative Assembly on the grounds that it contradicted the principles of the rule of law. The most active opposition was against clause 6, which suspended the High Court's demand for *habeas corpus*. As Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League and a prominent barrister noted, "The Bengal Act gives the Executive and the police the power to arrest any citizen and to detain him indefinitely or for as long a time as they desire."[39]

In contrast to the collective and individual histories of radical violence that were invoked by Bhupen and recently released terrorist convicts, Indian legislators took a politically moderate position and invoked British history. Noting the long tradition of *habeas corpus* in British law that had been inculcated among Indian lawyers, G. A. Natesan noted, "I do not think this is a procedure [the suspension of *habeas corpus*] in which you can expect this House and men like me who have been brought up in the best traditions of British rule…to give support to this measure."[40] Another legislator, Bipin Chandra Pal, reminded the British government of what he called "universal history" and the principle that political changes brought about by "the people" could never be successfully suppressed: "It is the universal verdict of history that wherever Governments have tried to put down legitimate movements of freedom in the people by brute force, the result has been that force met force; the latent force of the people is quickened into activity by the repressive and oppressive laws and measures of government."[41]

In spite of the protests by assembly members, the legislation was enacted, and it allowed nearly all of the emergency powers that had been rejected when the Rowlatt bills had been repealed in 1919.

Political Trouble, Volume II

By the late 1920s and early 1930s, there was a distinct difference in how police and intelligence officials sequenced the history of repression and revolutionary activity. Legislation passed in the early decades of the 1900s, such as the Defence of India Act of 1915, was passed after a spike in "seditious" activities and the declaration of war. By the

time the Rowlatt Commission was convened, emergency legislation was being written and imagined before there had been a declaration of emergency or crisis. This normative shift depended on the official histories produced by colonial intelligence officials as they reported their activities to their superiors: even when police and intelligence officials declared that the legislation to detain suspects had worked to suppress terrorism, as they did in 1917, and again in 1928, they claimed that repressive legislation should be made permanent, rather than temporary.

A 1933 Memorandum that compiled the evidence of the previous decades argued that the continuing threat of violence necessitated that repressive legislation be kept in place:

> Plot after plot was discovered and foiled and one leader after another was captured. The position at present is that though some very dangerous leaders are still at large and are plotting outrages, their hope of carrying out anything on a large scale has been wrecked. A stage has at last been reached when in spite of dangerous conspiracies which every now and again come to light, the situation is definitely under control, so far as large scale organized outrages are concerned. But there are a large number of individuals abroad who are prepared to commit or take part in isolated outrages and have apparently no difficulty in securing arms. *Hence, constant vigilance and continual action are required not only against old members who are plotting outrages, but also against new recruits who appear still to be drawn into the movement in fairly large numbers, and to be ready for any kind of crime.…* These are tragic reminders of the fact that Government are a long way yet from having been able to suppress the terrorist movement in Bengal.[42]

The memo offered evidence of three cycles of temporary legislation to suppress terrorism and the resurgence of political violence. The first cycle terrorism-repression-decline was between 1907 and 1919; the second between 1920 and 1929; the third from 1930 onward. According to this analysis, when temporary legislation lapsed, there was a resurgence of political violence. This could only lead to the conclusion that repressive legislation should be made permanent. What the summary did not make clear was that the colonial government's officials argued that the legislation should be renewed even before the legislation expired, and in a period when the terrorist threat seemed to have subsided. For instance, although there were no longer many suspects in detention by the late 1920s, in December 1929, police officials viewed the expiration of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 in March 1930 with trepidation. Officials admitted that the terrorist networks and conspiracies of the 1920s had been successfully broken up or prosecuted, yet they argued that the terms of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act should be renewed in case the terrorist groups had successfully reorganized.

As in 1919, in 1930 the Government of India began to consider further constitutional reforms with an eye toward expanding them. The Simon Commission, named after its chairman, John Simon, was preparing to devolve more power to provincial governments and after a series of conferences between the Viceroy, John Irwin, and Gandhi, a plan to proceed with further reforms was drafted. Many high-ranking officials, the

Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy among them, expressed concern that suspending the rule of law again might alienate Indian elites at such a delicate moment of negotiation over constitutional reform and the devolution of administrative authority to the provinces. In short, officials in the India Office in London were reluctant to replay the history of the Rowlatt agitations in 1919 in which repressive legislation had been enacted at a moment of constitutional reform when there was no visible threat of political violence.[43]

When the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act expired on March 31, 1930, intelligence officials found their worst fears confirmed: a dozen revolutionaries stormed the city of Chittagong and were able to capture the armory for four days beginning April 18.[44] Within a few months, several more high-ranking officials were assassinated in their offices, there were attempted assassinations on race courses and cricket grounds, and there was another attempt on the life of Charles Tegart, the deputy police commissioner of Calcutta. By July 1930, officials in Bengal were calling for repressive legislation to be permanently enacted, so that those under suspicion could be kept under preventive detention.

A series of legislative acts was quickly passed in order to supplement already existing legislation—the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1930, the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1932 added to the terms of the Indian Arms Act of 1878, the Explosives Substances Act of 1908, and the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931. The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930 was later supplemented by the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act in 1932 and another Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1934. Each of these measures modified what were perceived to be weaknesses in the previous legislation, and expanded the authority of police officers and district magistrates across the province to detain suspected terrorists. For instance, the Criminal Law Amendment Supplementary Acts allowed officers out of their own jurisdiction to search and seize anyone they suspected of harboring terrorist beliefs. Gandhi noted the Ordinances passed in 1930 were "more objectionable" than the Rowlatt Act and were "legalized Martial Law."[45]

During the early 1930s, high-level discussions between the colonial government and Indian officials continued about how to transfer power from the British to Indian elites. As the timetable for the British withdrawal became clearer, speeches in legislative assembly debates pointed out that repressive measures were antithetical to the principles of rule of law and representative government. Anticipating a significant constitutional shift in power from British colonial officials to Indian civil servants, B. C. Chatterjee, an Indian member of the Legislative Assembly noted, "I understand we are going to have full provincial autonomy within a measurable distance of time—within a year or so. If that is so—if you are going to give us full provincial autonomy in a year or so, if you are going to transfer the portfolio of law and order under the control of a popular Minister, why not do it now?"[46] Chatterjee argued that transferring the authority of political prisoners to a Bengali official might resolve targeted assassinations of British officials: "My honest opinion is that the miracle, the miraculous sight of a Bengalee minister, say, like Mr. Mookerjee being in charge of the portfolio of law and order … would act as a moral solvent to the problem."[47]

British intelligence officials, nonetheless, kept up a steady procession of proposals to expand repressive laws, arguing that they should be made permanent given the long-standing history of terrorism against the British colonial state. By the late 1930s, intelligence officials were armed with nearly four decades of experience and a large archive of reports, notes, and memos that confirmed the strong connection between repressive legislation and a decline in terrorism. They argued even more forcefully that those espousing political violence would continue to be an obstacle to the kind of civil society and representative government that the British were attempting to introduce to India.

By 1937, when *Political Trouble in India, 1917–1937*, by H. W. Hale was published, the link between terrorism and repressive laws was made somewhat moot because provincial elections had occurred and Indians were in the process of being appointed to run the major administrative units, including the Intelligence Bureau. The foreword by J. M. Ewart, the outgoing Director of the Intelligence Bureau, noted that the reason for a comprehensive account of the revolutionary terrorist campaigns was so that officials who had been in charge could offer informed advice to those who were going to take over the reins under provincial autonomy. Drawing from their historical knowledge and archive of the terrorist movement, the Intelligence Bureau offered the second *Political Trouble in India* as a manual, noting that they planned to leave those in charge (Indian officials, presumably) with lessons drawn from history. Ewart noted, "The present book consists of a narrative…which is intended to assist those, mainly police officers, whose duties require them to make a detailed study of the whole or portions of the past history of terrorism."[48] If the foreword acknowledged the awkward temporal juxtaposition of writing a history of colonial policing near the end of colonial occupation, the main text was written with the confidence that repressive laws would continue and the Intelligence Bureau would function as it had for over three decades.

Shorter than its predecessor by several hundred pages, *Political Trouble in India* drew very liberally from memos, reports, and historical notes that had been produced since the first *Political Trouble.* Indeed, on p. 38, Hale repeated the memo from 1933 word for word: "Plot after plot was discovered and foiled and one leader after another was captured.…but constant vigilance and continual action are required not only against old members who are plotting outrages, but also against new recruits."[49]

Although *Political Trouble in India* was obsolete by the time it appeared in print, it had a postcolonial afterlife: instead of being a textbook on how to handle political insurgency, it shaped a postcolonial imaginary about the importance of revolutionary activity in the Indian nationalist movement. When the Indian edition came out in 1974, a foreword written by an Indian scholar, Dr. Ishwari Prasad noted, "Before India became free, it would have been impossible to produce a work of this kind…a history of those brave men who worked, suffered and died for the freedom of the country."[50] Disrupting the chronological sequence that a generation of British intelligence officials had established, Prasad noted (much as Indian politicians did in the 1930s) that "the terrorist activity [*sic*] came to an end with the announcement of Independence."[51] Similarly, the first volume, *Political Trouble in India, 1907–1917*, also had an important resonance for historians of India who were writing after 1947. The modern editor, Jamna Das Akhtar, noted in his 1973 foreword: "The book contains details of revolutionary activities which

are generally unknown to modern historians.…this documentary collection [reveals] to hitherto unknown young men who had devoted their lives to the armed struggle for liberation of the motherland."[52] Akhtar was "proud to state" that he had met many of those whose lives were described in the book, and that he had even been their protégé. Using records from the Intelligence Branch, scholars writing in independent India hoped to restore the history of revolutionaries, whose violent acts and sacrifices had been forgotten.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued for a link between three modern practices—terrorism, the establishment of intelligence organizations, and history-writing—as they produced an archive of "political trouble in India." During the first four decades of the twentieth century, historical reports produced by British intelligence officials legitimized the growth of emergency legislation. Through the continuous production of historical reports documenting terrorism, its causes and effects, its temporary suppression and the likelihood of its resurgence, British intelligence officials created a new series of sequential events in which repressive legislation was required before terrorism occurred. Histories produced by the revolutionary terrorists themselves undermined the liberal imaginary and chronology of British colonialism, arguing that India would gain its independence through radical and revolutionary politics rather than nonviolent protest and constitutional reform. In the postcolonial period, this archive of political trouble has been reprinted, revived, and transformed from a set of documents about colonial counterinsurgency into an archive about an anticolonial movement that was based on political violence and revolutionary terrorism. Newly repurposed, this version of India's independence movement was intended to serve as an object lesson for a revolutionary future.

Notes

1. Hiren Chakravarti, *Political Protest in Bengal: Boycott and Terrorism, 1905–18* (Calcutta: Firma, 1992); Peter Heehs, *The Bomb in Bengal: the Rise of Revolutionary Terrorism in Bengal* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993); Maia Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Dalia Ray, *The Bengal Revolutionaries and the Freedom Movement, 1902–1919* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1990); Sukla Sanyal, "Legitimizing Violence: Seditious Propaganda and Revolutionary Pamphlets in Bengal, 1908–1918," *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 3 (August 2008): 759–787.
2. Richard J. Popplewell, *Intelligence and Imperial Defence: British Intelligence and the Defence of the Indian Empire, 1904–1924* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1993), ch. 2.
3. Michael Silvestri, "The Thrill of 'Simply Dressing Up': The Indian Police, Disguise, and Intelligence Work in Bengal," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 2, no. 2 (2001): paragraphs 9–11.

4. Shortly after the 1909 assassination of a British official in London by an Indian student who had belonged to a group espousing political violence, the India Office authorized the founding of the Indian Political Intelligence (IPI) in the United Kingdom to monitor and coordinate a British response to anticolonial activities by Indians, and report to the recently founded MI5. These secret files have been recently released to the British Library with permission from MI5 and Scotland Yard. C. Andrew, *The Defense of the Realm: An Authorized History of MI5* (London: Allen Lane, 2009); see also Kate O'Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire: Indo-Irish Radical Connections, 1919–1964* (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2008), Introduction.
5. Michel Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972). In pressing that a history provides a vision of the future, I am indebted the influential work of Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985) and *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, trans. Todd Samuel Presner (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002); see also David Scott, *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Postcoloniality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
6. Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).
7. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Ranajit Guha, *Dominance Without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Vinay Lal, *The History of History: Politics and Scholarship in Modern India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003).
8. Partha Chatterjee and Anjan Ghosh, eds., *History of the Present* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2007); Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996); Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts: Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700–1960* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2007), ch. 1; Javed Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings: James Mill's The History of British India and Orientalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Rama Mantena, *The Origins of Modern Historiography in India, 1780–1880* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), chs. 1–2.
9. Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983) perhaps most clearly articulates the fine line between crime and insurgency.
10. Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest* (London: Macmillan, 1910) exemplifies this sense of temporal disruption. Until well into the 1970s, the liberalism of British imperial historiography depended on drawing a sequence between a series of constitutional reforms (Morley-Minto Reforms in 1909, the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919, the Government of India Act in 1935) in which the responsibilities of governance were transferred from British colonial officials to Indians who had been appointed or elected to legislative institutions. See Judith Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power, Indian politics 1915–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). Peter Robb, *The Government of India and Reform: Policies towards Politics and the Constitution, 1916–1921* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).
11. Bhupendra Nath Datta, *Bharatiyer Dwitiya Svadhinatar Sangram* [India's Other Independence Campaign] (Calcutta: Barman Publishing, 1949) is just one example.

12. Nasser Hussain, *The Jurisprudence of Emergency* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).
13. By voicing the importance of political violence, they anticipated the critiques offered by Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963).
14. R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vols. 1–3 (Calcutta: Firma Mukhopadhyay, 1971–1977).
15. Amiya Samanta, ed., *Terrorism in Bengal* (Calcutta: West Bengal State Archives, 1995).
16. Partha Chatterjee, "Terrorism," in *Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon*, ed. Carol Gluck and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 248–249; National Archives of India (hereinafter NAI), Home Poll. 4/41, "Historical note on proposals made from time to time for dealing with the terrorist and revolutionary movement and its members in Bengal," Typewritten note written by PC Bamford, March 31, 1932.
17. Popplewell, *Intelligence and Imperial Defense*, 68.
18. J. C. Ker, *Political Trouble in India, 1907–1917* (original published by the Government of India, 1917; Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1973, reprint), 1–2.
19. These reports have been made publicly available and reprinted by the West Bengal State Archives, *Terrorism in Bengal*, Vols. 1 and 2. F. C. Daly, "Notes on the Growth of the Revolutionary Movement in Bengal (1905–1911)," in 1:1–216; H. R. Salkeld produced a four-volume study of one revolutionary association, the Dacca-based Anushilan Samiti, which appears in *Terrorism in Bengal*, vol. 2; R. H. Sneyd-Hutchinson, "Note on the Growth of the Revolutionary Movement in Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, and United Bengal," *Terrorism in Bengal*, 3:219–349.
20. Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2005), 18–19.
21. *Sedition Committee Report*, No. 2884, Resolution, Government of India, Home Department, Delhi, December 10, 1917, i.
22. Rowlatt, *Sedition Committee Report*, 102.
23. Ibid., 59.
24. Ibid., 181.
25. Ibid., 195.
26. Ibid., 200.
27. Ibid., ch. 17; Robb, *Government of India and Reform*, 153.
28. Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power*, ch. 5.
29. The massacre and Jallianwala Bagh produced a massive literature, particularly because martial law was declared in Punjab. Hussain, *Jurisprudence of Emergency*, ch. 4; Vinay Lal, "The Incident of the 'Crawling Lane': Women in the Punjab Disturbances of 1919," *Genders* 16 (1993): 35–60; Derek Sayer, "British Reaction to the Amritsar Massacre, 1919–1920," *Past and Present* 131 (1991): 130–164.
30. *Terrorism in Bengal*, vol. 1, "Memorandum on the history of terrorism in Bengal, 1905–1933," 789–847.
31. *Terrorism in Bengal*, vol. 3, "Brief Note on the Alliance of Congress with Terrorism in Bengal," 931–957; also in NAI, Home Poll. File 4/21; APAC, L/PJ/12/391, Revolutionary Activities in India dated 1932, 87–104: P&J (S) 599/1932.
32. *Terrorism in Bengal*, vol. 3, "Brief Note on the Alliance of Congress with Terrorism in Bengal," 931–957.
33. Upendra Nath Banerjee, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* (Calcutta: KL Chakraborty, 1924); Ullaskar Dutta, *Twelve Years of Prison Life* (Calcutta: Arya Publishing, 1924); Barindra Ghosh, *The Tale of My Exile* (Pondicherry: Arya Publishing, 1922).

34. Bhupendra Kumar Dutta, *Aghrayan* 1331 BS, in West Bengal State Archives (hereinafter WBSA), Intelligence Branch (hereinafter IB) File 108/25.
35. WBSA, IB 108/25. He subsequently published several volumes in Bengali, including *Bharatiyer Dwitiya Svadhinatar Sangram* [India's Other Freedom Struggle].
36. Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections at the British Library (hereinafter APAC), L/P&J/6/1870, No. 306/24, Copy of telegram, from Viceroy, Home Department, to Secretary of State, India, Dated Delhi, January 19th, 1924.
37. APAC, L/P&J/6/1870, J&P no. 3052 Copy of letter no. 6624-P, dated Calcutta, July 8th, 1924, from the Chief Secretary of Government of Bengal, Political Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Political. The statement that was approved by the leaders of the Bengal Congress at their conference in July 1924 read: "Although eschewing all kinds of violence and accepting the true character of the basic principle of non-violence, this Conference realises the high and noble ideal of Gopi Mohan Saha and makes known its respect for him for the noble self-sacrifice he, misguided though he was, has made in the matter of the preservation of the interests of the Motherland."
38. APAC, L/P&J/6/1886, includes P&J 3118/24, "Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, 1924 and Bengal Criminal Law Amendment and Act, files from 1924–1925," see especially P&J 605/1925, "Legislative assembly debates on whether to supersede the Bengal Criminal Law ordinance of 1924, due to expire on April 25, 1925, with a legislation by the GOI."
39. APAC, L/P&J/6/1886, Extracts from the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, dated March 24th, 1925, 3.
40. APAC, L/P&J/6/1886, Extracts from the proceedings of the council of state, dated March 26th, 1925, 5.
41. APAC, L/P&J/6/1886, Extracts from the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, dated March 24th, 1925, 9–10.
42. APAC, L/PJ/12/397, pp. 124–125; "Memorandum on the history of terrorism in Bengal, 1905–1933," 822, emphasis added.
43. APAC, L/PO/6/49, Indian Roundtable Conference, 57–59.
44. The Chittagong Armoury Raid has produced its own body of historical scholarship: Manini Chatterjee, *Do or Die: the Chittagong Uprising, 1930–1934* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2000).
45. *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, 54:245.
46. APAC, L/PJ/7/395, 6.
47. APAC, L/PJ/7/6, 28.
48. H. W. Hale, *Political Trouble in India, 1917–1937* (Allahabad: Chugh Publications, 1974, reprint), x.
49. Ibid., 38.
50. Ibid., v.
51. Ibid., vi.
52. Ker, *Political Trouble*, 1973, v.

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CHAPTER 18

"ORIENTAL" TERRORISM, COUNTERINSURGENCY, AND THE END OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

RYAN GINGERAS

Robert Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts* was a genuine publishing success story of the 1990s. As a first-hand travelogue of the Balkans at the end of the Cold War, *Balkan Ghosts*' vivid yet accessible depiction of the region added color and texture for popular audiences seeking to understand the many Balkan crises of the last decade of the twentieth century. President Bill Clinton, as well as members of his inner circle, read the book in the midst of the Bosnian crisis. According to one Washington insider, Kaplan's take on the region's hopeless history of violence provided Clinton a pretext to forestall American military action in the Bosnian civil war.[1] As one of the *New York Times*' "Best Books of the Year," *Balkan Ghosts* remains in press and continues to receive glowing endorsements from Washington insiders and academics alike.

Tucked toward the beginning of the book, in a chapter that immediately follows a rather bloodcurdling personal account of Kosovo in 1989, Kaplan introduces the reader to the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. It is a chapter that in many ways echoes the conclusions and observations of Rebecca West, a travel writer from the interwar period, whose opus, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon,* served as one of *Balkan Ghosts*' primary inspirations. For both Kaplan and West, Macedonia represented the absolute dividing line between East and West, a place where the "tectonic plates of Africa, Asia and Europe collide and overlap." Macedonia's history, in the eyes of both visitors, truly epitomized the violence so inherent to the Balkans. The region was "a historical and geographic reactor furnace" that had been indelibly defined by centuries of oppressive and pitiless rule under the Ottoman sultans.[2]

Macedonia's greatest historical distinction goes beyond the provincial wars and acts of mass slaughter that seemingly accompanied each torpid century. It was a region, Kaplan argues, that produced the twentieth century's first terrorist organization, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (henceforth referred to by its Macedonian acronym, VMRO). The contemporary reader, Kaplan explains, could readily relate to the historical character of this organization. The VMRO was the 1920s equivalent of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. It comprised a gang of young hopeless men similar to the poor Shi'ites Hezbollah recruits from the worst slums of Beirut. Each man in the VMRO possessed all the fanaticism and mystical devotion of Iranian revolutionaries.[3] In other words, for Robert Kaplan, the VMRO could almost be characterized as some estranged grandfather to the Middle Eastern terrorists and madmen of today.

Several core fallacies lie at the heart of Kaplan's claim regarding the VMRO's originality, character, and contribution to the world of terrorism. The VMRO was an organization that was actually founded in 1893. Moreover, even if one is to discard the seven years that separate the origins of the VMRO and the beginning of the twentieth century, it is clear that the group's members were not innovators in the tactics of terror. If anything, the VMRO followed in the footsteps of a series of small, clandestine organizations seeking revolutionary change through violent means. Groups like *Narodnaia Volia*, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and other smaller (particularly anarchist) conspiracies can be found at various stages of the nineteenth century.[4]

If one seeks historical continuities between the VMRO and modern terrorism, one should look first to the Orientalist vantage point found within Kaplan's prose. *Balkan Ghosts*' depiction of the intertwined relationship between Macedonia, terrorism, and the legacy of the Ottoman Empire follows almost exactly the same line of reasoning put forth by commentators and journalists during the early twentieth century. Terrorism in Macedonia spoke to the inherent corruption, sadism, absurdity, and poverty that informed the land and its people. To understand the VMRO terrorist, as a number of outside observers would have it, one must first look to how the maladies of the East had fundamentally infected the region and contaminated its Christian population.

Looking beyond the impressions of Kaplan and others who came before him, a second and more concrete base of comparison can be drawn between the VMRO and the contemporary phenomenon of terrorism. The rise of the VMRO and other popular militant organizations sparked new innovations in state counterinsurgency methods in the Ottoman Empire. The impact of VMRO violence upon the Ottoman state and its ruling elite shares several similarities with the imprint the attacks of September 11th have left upon the United States. Bombings and massacres carried out by the VMRO ushered in new waves of laws and tactics utilized by elements of the Ottoman security service. More importantly, the violence carried out by Macedonian militants left a lasting mark upon the final generation of officers and officials tasked with defending the domestic security of the Ottoman state. As the Ottoman Empire entered its concluding death throes in the years between 1908 and 1923, many of the officers who would defend the state to the end (and establish the Turkish Republic in its place) would draw upon their experiences in

Macedonia as a blueprint to combat future outbreaks of dissent and popular resistance. In short, the historical relevance of the VMRO lies not only the historical continuities between past and present Western observers of violence and insurgencies in the greater Middle East. The rise and fall of the VMRO also offers insights into how governing elites (in this case the men who comprised the Committee of Union and Progress, the reigning party of the Ottoman Empire during the first decades of the twentieth century) utilized their experiences in combating "domestic terrorism" in forming new regimes of order and statecraft.

A secret meeting in the port city of Salonika in 1893 led to the formation of the VMRO. The founders of the organization were young men mostly drawn from small towns. Many were educated in the newly independent state of Bulgaria, a state they saw, at the very least, as a more legitimate patron of the Slav Orthodox Christians of Ottoman Macedonia. A series of historical events and precedents that had occurred over the course of the nineteenth century set them on the path toward violence. From the perspective of these seminal leaders of the VMRO, individuals such as Hristo Tatarchev and Dame Gruev, repeated cycles of rebellion, war, and diplomatic resolution had thoroughly demonstrated the illegitimacy and feebleness of Istanbul's rule over the southern Balkans. It was only through the courage and sacrifice of organized bands of rebels that the Ottoman yoke was lifted from Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Romania, and finally Bulgaria. In lieu of liberation from Ottoman rule, the second greatest threat came in the form of competing Serb and Greek efforts toward establishing a nationalist foothold in the region. As individuals with strong ties to both Bulgarian culture and the Bulgarian Orthodox Church (also known as the Exarchate Church), the VMRO leadership unanimously agreed that the proselytization of Greek and Serb nationalism could not be tolerated in Macedonia.[5]

The support of a European consensus was vital in securing Macedonia's liberation from Ottoman rule, a fact underscored by the abrogation of the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878 (which would have assured Ottoman Macedonia's inclusion into a nascent Bulgaria). The VMRO's first recruits were also clearly conscious of the exploits of Armenian revolutionaries. In 1896 the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) executed a series of spectacular bomb attacks in the imperial capital (with one attack nearly taking the life of the sultan himself). The bombings did serve to draw Europe's attention toward the ARF cause, but such audacity bore serious consequences for the Armenian population of Anatolia in the form of mass killings and mass arrests.[6] The VMRO's founders, in taking stock of the Armenian precedent, understood that if revolution was to take hold in Ottoman Macedonia, their activities had to proceed slowly and clandestinely.

Recruitment and organization efforts proceeded at a steady pace over the course of the first decade of the VMRO's existence. While potential leaders continued to be raised from a base of young professionals and intellectuals, most new cadres taken into the group's ranks were drawn from the southern and central portions of the Macedonian countryside.[7] Within a decade of the group's conception, the VMRO could boast several leaders who could reasonably be called "professional revolutionaries." Individuals like

Vasil Chakalarov, a district commander from the district of Kastoria, began his career without any military training. Yet through his contact and field work with senior leaders (particularly those who had received a military education in Bulgaria), Chakalarov learned bomb-making and developed his own personal network of arms smugglers and fundraisers.[8] As the fight against the Ottoman government and other rival organizations wore on, he and other band chieftains accrued reputations as stone-cold killers. Beheadings, house burnings, bombings, and shootings were regularly employed by *çete* (militia) or gang commandants as tools to enforce local discipline, exact revenge, or alter the political landscape of a region.

By 1903, the VMRO boasted an infrastructure that mirrored the services and veneer of a legitimate state. Territories that yielded to VMRO influence often possessed a locally recruited *çete*, criminal and civil courts, an internal postal system, weapons factories, and tax collectors.[9] While the group remained ideologically committed to the creation of a politically autonomous Macedonia (a region composed of the three Ottoman provinces of Selanik/Salonika, Manastır/Bitola, and Üsküp/Skopje, plus the region of Edirne/Adrianople), the national content or identity of such a demi-state remained undetermined. Between 1893 and 1903 the VMRO vacillated between advocating revolution in favor of Bulgarian Exarchist Orthodox Christians to promoting a pan-Macedonian identity inclusive of the region's many languages or religions. It may be safer to say, as proposed by Duncan Perry, that the leadership of the VMRO was more concerned with the process of the revolution, rather than the eventual institutionalization of a political order succeeding the Ottoman Empire.[10]

The use of violent measures as a means toward revolution became an institutional part of the VMRO's disposition early on in the group's evolution. Although a congress of early members in 1896 codified the VMRO's goal of promoting mass rebellion among the Macedonian Orthodox Christian peasantry, it was actually the emergence of rival organizations that pushed the VMRO's provincial cells to open revolt.[11] Activists based in Sofia founded a second organization called the Supreme Macedonian Committee in 1895. While initially finding much common ground between the two groups, leaders from both camps soon were at odds with one another over Bulgaria's future role in Ottoman Macedonia as well as the pace toward a violent uprising.[12] A third, more shadowy organization calling itself the Sailors (or *Gemici* in Turkish) also surfaced at the turn of century. During the Easter season of 1903, the Sailors launched a series of attacks around Salonika, sinking a French ship and bombing several cafés in the city center.[13]

The VMRO's reluctance toward initiating a popular rebellion gave way in the summer of 1903. Before the so-called Illinden (or St. Elijah's Day) uprising of that summer, incidents of communal violence, rebellion, and terrorism in Ottoman Macedonia were sporadic or short-lived. In the months leading up to August 1903, the VMRO's resistance to Ottoman rule and its opposition to rival nationalist movements appears to have been fairly localized. The Illinden uprising of 1903 by contrast posed new precedents in terms of the scope and ferocity of the VMRO's campaign toward violent revolution. Beginning in August 1903, VMRO units or *çete*s boldly confronted Ottoman securïty forces throughout the region. Bombs were planted on trains and civilians were massacred.

Regular detachments of the Ottoman military, with local gendarmes and volunteer militias in support, responded to the VMRO in kind, burning villages and killing prisoners and civilians over the course of the fall of 1903. By winter, the death toll of the fighting climbed into the thousands. Tens of thousands of civilians became displaced while large sections of southern and central Macedonia were put to the torch.[14]

The failure of the VMRO's first and only major push toward undoing the Ottoman order in Macedonia opened up a groundswell of political violence in the region. In response to the VMRO's surge in the summer of 1903, elements of the Greek, Romanian, and Serbian governments and militaries increasingly formed their own rival *çete*s as means of contesting the loyalties of Ottoman Macedonia's population. Meanwhile, the VMRO itself formally shattered into competing factions.[15] The sheer increase in the number of violent militant groups in turn transformed the period between 1904 and 1908 into an era of unrivaled bloodletting in the region. Although absolute figures are difficult to verify, it is estimated that at least eight thousand people were killed between 1903 and 1908.[16]

As acts of violence escalated in the Macedonian countryside, the region attracted increasing interest from both the imperial capital and the foreign observers. In 1902, Istanbul reorganized the administration of the three provinces comprising Ottoman Macedonia and placed it under one general inspectorate. As one peruses the files of the General Inspectorate of Rumeli (*Rumeli Umum Müfettisliği*), one finds a constant stream of "after-action reports" detailing the clashes between rival bands and the atrocities committed against the region's civilian population. In dealing specifically with the VMRO, Ottoman officers in the field and local administrators rarely spoke specifically of the VMRO (who they at times termed the "Macedonian Committee") or the ideology that drove them. Most groups such as the VMRO were more likely to be deemed as simple bandits (*eşkiya*).[17] Through the reams of internal reports and memorandums, it seems clear that Ottoman authorities were not willing to formally dignify the proposition that they were confronting an organized, let alone popular, movement in Macedonia. It is only upon past reflection that some Ottoman officers spoke of the VMRO in any explicit detail.[18]

Western observers, be they journalists or consular officials, tended to take a greater interest in the specific character and makeup of the VMRO. Foreign diplomats, reporters, and missionaries readily corresponded with group leaders. Some, such as the Russian consul general in the town of Manastır, made no secret of their attempts to aid the movement.[19] Elements of the foreign press corps and travel writers also tended to openly sympathize with the VMRO. In general, European and American observers found the organization's principle aim of unseating Ottoman rule in the Balkans as admirable and, in the long run, desirable. Yet whatever support outsiders extended to the VMRO often came with certain reservations. For those who witnessed the rebellion firsthand, the violence enacted by the VMRO was seen as brutal and often barbaric.[20] Those within the press who ultimately favored the VMRO's campaign often highlighted the degree to which Macedonia was contaminated by the iniquities of the "Orient."[21] Centuries of despotic rule under "the Turks" fundamentally denied Macedonian

peasants the "benefits of civilization."[22] "Bestial poverty" tainted the landscape and made the lives of the land's inhabitants cheap.[23] While the VMRO represented a movement that sought to elevate the plight of the region's Christians, journalists reported that "wild racial and religious feuds" between gangs belonging to either the Greek or Bulgarian churches were commonplace. Such acts of inter-Christian violence did admittedly reduce the revolutionary moment to a very "sordid plane."[24] Although a part of the same continent, Macedonia shared very little in common with Europe; like other portions of the Orient, time continued to stand still in "Turkish Europe."[25]

The year 1908 marked a definitive sea change in the evolution of the VMRO and its role in Macedonian politics. With civil violence now entering its fourth bitter year, imperial officials and officers aligned with the Committee for Union and Progress were able to convince both of the major factions of the VMRO to abide by a truce. As members of a newly founded clandestine party committed to the re-establishment of the Ottoman constitution (which had been abrogated by the sultan in 1876), the Young Turks, as they were more popularly known, promised VMRO leaders that they would have roles to play in a forthcoming parliamentary government.[26] Both sides would, in part, deliver upon their respective parts of the bargain after the Young Turk Revolution of July 1908. Violent acts committed by rival factions of the VMRO (as well as other armed groups) dropped off to a fraction of the numbers seen during the preceding four years.[27] Some guerrilla leaders, such as Jane Sandansky, gave up the armed struggle and became vocal supporters of the Young Turk agenda.[28] What remained of the rest of the VMRO fell into political disarray or was formally coopted by the Bulgarian state.

The Balkan Wars accomplished, in principle, what most members of the VMRO had long attempted to achieve under their own initiative: the total dismantling of Ottoman rule in southeastern Europe. Yet liberation from Istanbul came with dire costs for much of the region's population. Macedonia's apportionment into Greek, Bulgarian, and Serb territories, followed by the outbreak of world war, took a terrible tool upon the population in terms of both deaths and displaced persons.[29] In this atmosphere of physical and political loss, a new generation of young radicals reinvented the VMRO. Based largely in Bulgaria, the VMRO initiated a renewed violent effort to gather the lands of Macedonia. This new effort commenced in the early 1920s, at first only comprising hit and run attacks and propaganda efforts in Serb and Greek held territories of the old portions of Macedonia.[30] By the late 1920s, the political character and tactics of the VMRO changed dramatically. Under the leadership of Ivan (Vančo) Mihailov, VMRO activities instead became more direct, spectacular, and terrorizing. The most noted act of VMRO terrorism occurred in 1934, when a lone assassin shot and killed King Alexander I of Yugoslavia. The audacity of the attack, coupled with Mihailov's association with fascist Italy and Germany, ultimately compelled the Bulgarian government to crackdown and breakup the bulk of the VMRO camps found within its borders.[31] The VMRO however continued to live on, forming a basis of local support for the Nazi and Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia during World War II.[32] Following the Axis defeat and the rise of Communist governments in both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, the VMRO once again evaporated as an organized political force. Since the fall of Communism, the VMRO has

yet again taken on a new life as a moniker for nationalist parties in both Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia. While terrorism has ceased to be a tool for these inheritors of the VMRO, the violent tradition of the organization continues to be celebrated officially and unofficially in both countries.

Western observers during the interwar period did take note of the VMRO's ongoing campaign. Famed travel writer Rebecca West, for example, made a particular point of highlighting the group's activities in recounting her adventure through the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Like the Western journalists, editors, and statesmen of the turn of the century, West framed the VMRO as an organization steeped in the history of "Turkish oppression." There was something indeed very romantic in the ongoing revolutionary spirit that continued to pulse within this movement (which West interpreted as a renewed struggle for freedom against Serbian domination).[33] However, West's enthusiasm for the VMRO cause was heavily tempered by the viciousness of the organization's methods. More than any individual bombing, the VMRO's assassination of King Alexander particularly offended West's sympathies.

When viewed against the backdrop of *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*'s entirety, Rebecca West's portrayal of the VMRO must be comprehended with respect to two dominant themes that define the book. First and foremost, as a group with roots in Macedonia, the VMRO is principally tainted with the region's Oriental aura. Like Kaplan decades later, West's arrival in Skopje presented a visit to another world. Here, she asserts, one sees what the "Oriental does with Oriental themes."[34] Macedonia's history of violence, be it at the hands of the VMRO or otherwise, was a byproduct of five centuries of Ottoman rule.[35] Now, even in the absence of "Turkish oppression," West found Macedonia assuming all the dimensions of a museum disassociated from the modern world.[36]

Taking these interpretations into the present, the VMRO was further debased by its association with fascism. As an organization in part financed and supported materially by Mussolini's Italy, the VMRO was a harbingering of the evils of the 1940s. This West found especially unforgivable.[37] With the killing of Alexander I, the VMRO's flirtation with Italy (and later Germany) was a trope also picked up by other foreign journalists.[38]

In confronting the history and the legacy of the VMRO, scholars and commentators have tended to ignore the effect of the movement upon its principal adversary: the Ottoman state. Even though competing wings of the VMRO continued to cite its origins as primarily an anti-Ottoman organization, few have attempted to draw direct linkages between the VMRO's campaign of violence and the eventual collapse of the Ottoman Empire. To be sure, the former did not cause the latter. However, if one looks closely at several specific elements of the empire's demise, the VMRO occupies an important place within the story.

For much of the history of the empire, Macedonia was not a word frequently found within the Ottoman lexicon. Ottoman conquerors and administrators instead delineated and imagined Alexander's birthplace in a different, but no less classical, sort of way. The region, roughly encompassing the northern Aegean plains, the Vardar valley, and the Pirin mountains, was instead incorporated into the notion of Rumeli, or the lands of the Romans.[39] From the onset of imperial rule in the fourteenth century forward,

Macedonia, along with Thrace and Kosova, symbolized the most central pillars of the Ottoman state. The political legitimacy garnered by Gazi Osman's successors centered upon the capture of Rumeli and its use as a base for further expansion into Christendom. Many of the most privileged and established families of the Ottoman order would call Rumeli home over the centuries. By the twentieth century, the three provinces (*vilayet*) that embraced the bulk of Macedonia, Üsküp, Manastır, and Selanik, constituted the most densely populated, urbanized, cosmopolitan, and most politically integrated region within the entire Ottoman Empire.[40] For some at least, Ottoman Macedonia's long and storied heritage was critical to their outlook upon the region's place within the empire.[41]

Ottoman officials supposedly first got wind of the VMRO's violent campaign after an aborted uprising in 1895 by one of the VMRO's rivals, the Supreme Macedonian Committee.[42] Istanbul's first engagement with insurgents in Macedonia came at a time of continued militancy and chaos in the provinces. In 1895 local militias and imperial troops in eastern Anatolia unleashed a vicious campaign to smash Armenian nationalist opposition in the region. In 1897, a new wave of uprisings, backed by Greece, swept across Crete, ultimately leading to the island's separation from the empire. Officials in Macedonia and in Istanbul also understood the prospect for increasing violence in Rumeli within the context of more distant memories of revolt and imperial loss. Localized violence and armed resistance had each accompanied the loss of Ottoman sovereignty over Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Lebanon.

Istanbul responded to the VMRO's activities before the Illinden Uprising of 1903 with heightened security measures in both town and country. Elements of the regular army, the army's reserve corps, and local militias each served to patrol outlying villages and confront VMRO *çete*s wherever they were to be found. Although Ottoman security forces were able to turn the tide against the VMRO during their Ilinden offensive, local civilians bore the main brunt of Istanbul's effort to restore order. In response to the violence, the Great Powers of Europe, with Russia and Austria in the lead, imposed a new series of reforms aimed at improving law and order in Macedonia. Under great duress, Istanbul acquiesced to the imposition of British, French, Italian, Austria, and Russian security sectors in the region and allowed European officers to advise and monitor the anti-insurgency effort being waged by Ottoman forces. From the perspective of Europe, the Ottomans simply lacked the "science, political tact, high individual intelligence, [and] machine-like organization" needed to successfully combat rural guerrillas.[43]

Ottoman officers in the field drew very different lessons from the violence first wrought by the VMRO. One cannot understate the general impact of the VMRO had upon the young Ottoman elite in terms of the raw force of the organization's nationalist convictions. Many of those who would come to the fore of the Young Turk movement were born in Macedonia. Many were educated and lived in the region's major cities. Many professional careers were first forged during tours of service in Macedonia. Hard fighting in the field earned the VMRO at least a modicum of respect from future Young Turk revolutionaries. The desire to include the VMRO as a tactical ally in the lead up to

the Revolution of July 1908 underscores the fact that the Young Turks understood the movement as potent and powerful force in local (and indeed imperial) politics.[44]

For adherents of the Young Turk movement, the VMRO embodied more than just a potential (albeit short term) tactical ally. Each warring faction found in Macedonia collectively represented the profound force that nationalism could have in mobilizing the population. For officers such as Resneli Ahmet Niyazi, one the principle leaders of the Young Turk insurrection, events in Macedonia would ultimately reinforce the fact that a "sickness" plagued other "minority" regions of the empire.[45] While constitutional rule and a commitment to Ottomanism remained the official line of the CUP, some Young Turks based in Macedonia toyed with other manifestations of nationalism as a means to "save the state." The port city of Salonika served as the principle setting for Ziya Gökalp during his earliest musing on Turkish nationalism.[46] Sati' al-Husri, one of the future theoreticians of Arab nationalism, admittedly gleaned much from the nationalist struggles waged by the VMRO and others while he served as a provincial administrator in different portions of Macedonia.[47]

Rather than simply assume that Macedonia was a cockpit for the emergence of Turkish and Arab nationalism, one could also look at the Young Turk elite's thoughts on identity and nationalism in the region as a counterinsurgency strategy. No one within the middle or upper ranks of the CUP foresaw the formation of independent Turkish or Arab nation-states in the years immediately preceding or following 1908. As one surveys the words and works of intellectuals, officers, and administrators in Macedonia, it seems more reasonable that the development of a new national ethos in the empire could serve, at the very least, as a vehicle to undermine the power and clout of groups like the VMRO. In other words, the writings and thoughts of Ziya Gökalp and Sati al-Husri not only present a long-term solution to the larger question of how to save the empire *in toto*. Rather one can also read the contributions of Gökalp, Husri, and other Macedonian writers as immediate reactions to the short-term challenge of combating the violent insurgency and the threat of sedition that came from the Macedonian countryside.[48]

For others on the frontlines of the Ottoman campaign to destroy the VMRO and other nationalist groups in Macedonia, "saving the state" from rebellion and partition could only be done by matching the insurgents blow for blow. Şükrü Hanioğlu's innovative study of the CUP demonstrates that high-ranking members of the Young Turk movement had begun to think about forming their own guerrilla groups as early as 1907. The recruitment of local Muslim militias for state service was nothing new in the Ottoman Balkans; Muslim refugees, landless peasants, and local notables had played roles in countering rebellions in Bulgaria in 1876 and in Macedonia in 1903. Yet while earlier Muslim militias (often derisively called "bashi-bozuks" or numbskulls in the Western press) often served on a short-term, ad hoc basis, the gangs formed and supported by the CUP were intended to operate indefinitely and under the auspices of a much wider military and political agenda.[49]

The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 was among the fruits of the CUP's gang policy. Photographs lionizing the revolutionary *çete*s formed by Ahmet Niyazi and Enver, the

future minister of war, were circulated in the months and years after the July putsch. Despite the collapse of the VMRO into conflicting factions and the general demobilization of the various Christian groups in the aftermath of the revolution, CUP militias appeared to have remained active. In the district of Florina, for example, British sources claim that a Muslim band made little secret of their rule over both town and country. In addition to extorting weddings, the group, led by a CUP loyalist, methodically set out to assassinate individuals formerly associated with the VMRO. The case of Florina seems to underscore a general pattern of CUP behavior even after 1908. Although sectarian fighting had waned greatly since the restoration of the constitution, Young Turks continued to "pre-emptively" fight insurgents in the field.[50]

In the years preceding the Balkan War, paramilitary recruitment was also conducted outside of Macedonia. In northwestern Anatolia, for example, local imperial officials employed locally independent gangs as gendarmes and militiamen. Like Macedonia, most of the gangsters recruited into the security service came from local pools of landless peasants or refugees who had recently migrated into the empire.[51] Some of the recruits eventually found themselves in Macedonia, often serving in small paramilitary units under the command of officers loyal to the Committee of Union and Progress. One could say that by 1912 a milieu of battle-tested veterans of the struggle against the bands of Macedonia and the armies of the Balkan states began to form and take on cohesive dimensions. Over the coming years of conflict, this clique of *çeteci*s composed the nucleus of an expansive and powerful branch of the Ottoman war machine.

The fall of the ancient Ottoman capital of Edirne and the Greek occupation of western Thrace spurred this nascent coterie of paramilitaries to think beyond the confines of counterinsurgency warfare. At the behest of Enver Pasha, Minister of War and a veteran of the Macedonian theater, a clandestine organization entitled the Special Organization (*Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*) was formed in 1913. Largely composed of loyal CUP veterans from the fighting in Macedonia, the Special Organization undertook a covert campaign to rally local Muslims in an effort to undermine Greek rule in Thrace.[52] The offensive ended in failure but the Special Organization endured. Istanbul's entrance into World War I and the consecration of a massive enterprise bent on "re-engineering" the demographic landscape of the empire placed the group at the center of imperial politics. Tens of thousands of men were taken into the Special Organizations ranks (the most prominent of whom were CUP loyalists and/or long-time paramilitaries and bandits). An incredible array of diplomatic, military, and extra-judicial tasks came under the purview of the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*. Special Organization men were sent as far away as Central Asia, North Africa, and the Arabian Peninsula in the hopes of raising guerrillas and rebellions in Entente-occupied lands. Most notoriously, bands of Special Organization paramilitaries were at the forefront of gathering up and executing Armenians, Nestorians, Syriacs, and Greeks caught up in the Ottoman deportations of Anatolia.[53]

The final breakdown and partition of the empire following the Modros Armistice did not bring about an end to this imperial paramilitary unit. Instead, CUP commanders reconstituted the Special Organization into the backbone of a gathering resistance

movement against the Allied occupation of Anatolia. Internal politics, local conditions, and discontent with the direction of the resistance movement (which increasingly came under the control of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk) eventually caused a split within the ranks of the old Special Organization.[54] Even many who had remained loyal to the resistance were later politically sidelined in the struggle against foreign occupation.[55]

Mustafa Kemal's ascendency as founding president of the Republic of Turkey marked the final chapter of the Special Organization. By 1926, most of what remained of the Special Organization's leadership had been removed from power, imprisoned or perhaps executed in the midst of Mustafa Kemal's campaign to consolidate power under the auspices of his Republican Peoples' Party.[56] However, the legacies of Macedonia and Ottoman paramilitarism continue to live on. A number of natives from Macedonia and veterans from the fight against the VMRO managed to survive the purges of the 1920s and rose to become powerful members of Ankara's elite.[57] Erik Jan Zürcher reminds us that nostalgia for Macedonia remains vivid within the Turkish national consciousness.[58] Turkey's entrance into the Cold War and Ankara's ongoing struggle to pacify eastern Anatolia's Kurdish population has prompted the Turkish military to recreate and improve upon the paramilitary apparatus first pioneered by the Special Organization.[59]

Where does the VMRO fit within the history of terrorism? Considering the long history of terrorism in the nineteenth century, it seems clear, that—contrary to Kaplan's claims—Macedonia was by no means the birthplace of modern terrorism. The men who comprised the VMRO imitated more than innovated.[60] Therefore, I would argue that in direct terms, the VMRO's contribution to the terrorism of today appears rather thin.

Yet there are important lessons to be learned from the case of Macedonian terrorism. First, it presents profound lessons and allusions to the relationship between the West and the evolution of the greater Middle East during the last century. Like Al Qaeda, the VMRO seized the imagination of journalists, travelers, and policymakers during the turn of the twentieth century. The organization and the violence it inflicted both fascinated and repelled outside observers. Perhaps of greater importance, it was the atmosphere and context out of which the VMRO emerged that left the most lasting impact upon European and American witnesses. It seemed to embody both the inequities and mysteries of "Oriental violence" at that particular time and place. The VMRO reduced to caricature the political challenges confronting the Great Powers of the era and added yet another indictment against an Ottoman Empire that seemed on the verge of collapse. One could argue that many of the themes from this period continue to define Western impressions of terrorism in the Middle East.

Second, the case of Macedonian terrorism points to the fact that tactics used by terrorists, counter-terrorists, and partisans can be identical, that they can have a common genealogy. The only differences are the strategic aims, the ideology, and the status of those who employ this type of violence. The VMRO—from the Ottoman perspective—exemplified both a core crisis threatening the state and a potential solution for what ailed the empire. Violence of the sort the VMRO's partisans reaped upon Macedonia was truly endemic to various corners of the empire. Decades of reform and multiple attempts at civil and political conciliation of the empire's many constitutions proved

ineffective in quelling violent dissidents like those who composed the VMRO. To save the state, the young cohorts who made up the governing Committee of Union and Progress chose to employ similar tactics grounded in secrecy and assassination. Participants in Istanbul's *çete* policy gleaned much from their experiences in the field. For a select few, it proved to be a pathway into power once the empire had truly come to an end.

Notes

1. Elizabeth Drew, *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 157.
2. Robert Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 51.
3. Ibid., xxiii.
4. Oliver Hubac-Occhipinti, "Anarchist Terrorists of the Nineteenth Century," in *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, ed. Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 113–131; Yves Ternon, "Russian Terrorism, 1878–1908," in *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, ed. Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 132–174.
5. Duncan Perry, *The Politics of Terror* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), 31–41.
6. See Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).
7. Dimitar Dimeski, *Makedonskoto Nacionalnooslobоditelno Dvizhenje vo Bitolskiot Vilaet (1893–1903)* (Skopje: Studentski Zbor, 1981), 325–406; Perry, *Politics of Terror*, 145–151.
8. For biographical background on Chakalarov, see Vasil Chakalarov, *Dnevnik, 1901–1903* (Sofia: Sineva, 2001), 5–13.
9. Perry, *Politics of Terror*, 161–171.
10. Ibid., 201–202.
11. Nadine Lange-Akhund, *The Macedonian Question, 1893–1908: From Western Sources* (Boulder, CO: Eastern European Monographs, 1998), 93–99; Perry, *Politics of Terror*, 64–67, 155, 189–192.
12. Fikret Adanir, *Makedonya Sorunu: Oluşumu ve 1908'e Kadar Gelişimi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları), 121–125; Perry, *Politics of Terror*, 42–44.
13. Perry, *Politics of Terror*, 100–101, 127–128.
14. Adanir, *Makedonya Sorunu*, 172–213; Aleksander Hristov, *Sozdavanje na Makedonskata Drzhava, 1878–1978 Tom I* (Skopje: Misla, 1985), 169–209.
15. Hristov, *Sozdavanje na Makedonskata Drzhava*, 211–245.
16. Steven Sowards, *Austria's Policy of Macedonian Reform* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1989), 76. For further discussion, see Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia, 1897–1913* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1993), 198–374; Lange-Akhund, *The Macedonian Question*, 201–269.
17. One can find literally hundreds of documents in the Ottoman archives dealing with VMRO activity in Macedonia. Rather than speaking specifically of the VMRO as one single organization, officers and intelligence focused greater attention on the locations, leaders, and local movements of individual VMRO bands. Regular reports tend to offer little distinction between "Bulgarian bands" in terms of their factional allegiance (to either say the Jane Sandanski wing or the Supreme Committee). It was however often asserted

that the Bulgarian state was behind much of the VMRO's activities. See, e.g., BOA/DH/MUİ 93/49, May 30, 1910.

18. See, e.g., Kazım Nami Duru, *Arnavutluk ve Makedonya Hatıralarım* (Istanbul: Sucuoğlu Matbaası, 1951), 27–28.
19. See Duncan Perry, "Death of Russian Consul—Macedonia, 1903," *Russian History* 6 (1980): 201–212.
20. To one editor at the *Times* of London, events during the Illinden Uprising represented "the wildest scenes of the Thirty Years War." For a more extended discussion of Western press coverage of the Illinden Uprising, see Ryan Gingeras, "Between the Cracks: Macedonia and the 'Mental Map' of Europe," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 50, no. 3–4 (Fall 2008): 6–10.
21. Editorial, *The Manchester Guardian*, August 14, 1903. One editor explained VMRO "excesses" in the following way: "The fact is that centuries of Turkish cruelty have accustomed all these Eastern rebels to think lightly of pain and to treat life as something worthless, as indeed it is—under the Crescent."
22. "Smoking Them Out," *The Daily News*, September 7, 1903. In a report discussing the Ottoman intention of burning down the forests in order to keep the VMRO on the run, one journalist in the field had this to say: "It may have shocked some humane people in the Western countries. But there was nothing surprising in it. Everybody is familiar with the saying that no grass grows where the Turks have trodden. To destroy the forests in Northern and North-eastern Macedonia will be quite in keeping with the Turkish method of government from the day when the Sultans first crossed into Europe."
23. Editorial, *The Manchester Guardian*, August 9, 1903.
24. "Greece and Turkey," *The Daily News*, August 31, 1903; Editorial, *The Manchester Guardian*, August 18, 1903.
25. H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and their Future* (London: Methuen & Co., 1906), 1. In this rather iconic opening passage, Henry Noel Brailsford, a journalist and activist who was present in Macedonia in the immediate aftermath of the Illinden Uprising, described the region in the following terms: "That nothing changes in the East is a commonplace which threatens to become something tyrannical. Assuredly there is something in the spirit of the East which is singularly kindly to survivals and anachronisms. The centuries do not follow one another. They coexist. There is no lopping of withered customs, no burial of ideas. Nor is it the Turks alone who betray this genial conservatism. The typical Slav village, isolated without teacher or priest in some narrow and lofty glen, leads its own imperturbable life, guided by the piety of traditions which date from pagan times."
26. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902–1908* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 198–199.
27. While generally activity did drop off after 1908, factions associated with the old VMRO continued the war piecemeal well up to the outbreak of the Balkan Wars (in the form of assassinations and bomb attacks). See, e.g., PRO/FO 294/47/50, December 18, 1911; PRO/FO 294/47/58, September 7, 1912; PRO/FO 294/50/1, January 12, 1912.
28. Mustafa Karahasan, "Jane Sandanski i Mladoturskite Revolutsioneri," in *Jane Sandanski, 1915–1975* (Skopje: Institut za Natsionalna Istorija, 1976), 73–96.
29. For example, see Nikola Edrovski, "Shtip vo Vojnite," in *Makedonja vo Vojnite 1912–1918* (Skopje: Makedonska Akademija na Naukite i Umetnostite, 1991), 343–356.
30. See, e.g., "Kačaci i Komite na Delu," *Stara Srbija*, August 18, 1922; "Kačaci i Komite na Delu," *Stara Srbija*, August 19, 1922.

31. Andrew Rossos, *Macedonia and the Macedonians: A History* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institute Press, 2008), 155–177; Zoran Todorovski, *VMRO, 1924–1934* (Skopje: Robz, 1997). Often ignored within the retelling of the VMRO's history is the emergence of a counter group called VMRO United (VMRO Obedineta). Unlike Mihailov's VMRO, VMRO United largely avoided violence and advocated a united, autonomous Macedonian state that was not beholden to Bulgaria or any other neighboring power. See "Deklaratsia," *VMRO (Obedineta): Dokumenti i Materijali, Kniga I* (Skopje: Institut za Natsionalna Istorija, 1991), 55–57.
32. Rossos, *Macedonia and the Macedonians*, 183–197.
33. Rebecca West. *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (New York: Penguin, 2007), 595–596.
34. Rebecca West. *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (New York: Penguin, 1982), 647.
35. Ibid., 676.
36. Ibid., 482.
37. Ibid., 594, 1147–1148.
38. See, e.g., G. E. R Gedye, "King's Death Halts Yugoslav Strife," *New York Times*, October 11, 1934; G. E. R Gedye, "Terrorism Thrives Amid Dictatorships," *New York Times*, December 2, 1934.
39. Ebru Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 30–34. Boyar argues that the term *Rumeli* assumed greater use and significance in the Ottoman lexicon at the dawn of the twentieth century.
40. Erik Jan Zürcher, "Young Turks—Children of the Borderlands?" in *Ottoman Borderlands: Issues, Personalities and Political Changes,* ed. Kemal Karpat and Robert W. Zens (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 279–282.
41. Tahsin Uzer, an Ottoman officer born in Prizren, talks at some length about the pre-nineteenth-century history of Macedonia in his memoirs. While emphasizing the fact that the onset of Ottoman rule did radically change the political and demographic nature of the region, Tahsin nonetheless cites, with pride, Macedonia's historic connection with Alexander and his conquest of the known world. See Tahsin Uzer, *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi ve Son Osmanlı Yönetimi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1979), 82–83. The pairing of early Ottoman Üsküb (Skopje) and Roman antiquity is also evident in the offical almanac (*salname*) of 1896. See *Salname-i Vilayet-i Kosova* (Istanbul: Rumeli Türkleri Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği Yayınları, 2000), 111–113.
42. Perry, *The Politics of Terror*, 48–51.
43. Editorial, *The Manchester Guardian*, August 27, 1903.
44. Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution*, 222.
45. Resneli Ahmet Niyazi, *Hürriyet Kahramanı Resneli Niyzai Hatıratı* (Istanbul: Örgün Yayınevi, 2003), 191.
46. Ziya Gökalp, *The Principles of Turkism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 8–9. For an Albanian nationalist view of language issues in relations to Balkan politics, see Sami Frashëri, *Shqipëria: Ç'ka Qenë, Ç'është e Ç'do të Bëhet?* (Tirana: Perparim Xhixha, 1999), 58–62.
47. Sati' al-Husri served as a *kaymakam* or district official in the *vilayet*s of Kosova and Manastır between 1905 and 1906. While he was by no means an Arab nationalist at this point in time, the force and conviction of nationalist revolutionaries of the region impressed Sati'. From Macedonia, Sati' acquired a strong interest in the importance of language in the development of national education reform. These lessons, one would assume, would play a role in his crafting of the Iraqi public education system during the 1920s. See William Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottoman and Arabism in the Life of Sati' al-Husri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 19–20.

48. It seems clear that the fall of Ottoman Macedonia had less of a long-term impact in the Arab lands as opposed to Anatolia. While the plight of Muslim refugees from the Balkans was something of note within the Arab press, the Balkans generally appears to have disappeared from the popular consciousness of the Levant after World War I. Conversely, the political and historical significance of Macedonia continues to play an active part within the contemporary imagination of Turkish nationalists. See Eyal Ginio, "Exploring the Shared Ottoman Legacy in Arab Writings: The Place of the Balkans," presented at the 11th Mediterranean Research Meeting, March 24–27, 2010.
49. Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution*, 221–227.
50. PRO/FO 294/47/27, May 9, 1911; PRO/FO 294/47/32, May 31, 1911; PRO/FO 294/47/35, June 9, 1911.
51. See Ryan Gingeras, "Last Rites for a 'Pure Bandit': Clandestine Service, Historiography and the Origins of the Turkish 'Deep State.'" *Past & Present* 206, no. 1 (February 2010): 151–174.
52. Hüsamettin Ertürk, *İki Devrin Perde Arkası* (Istanbul: Sebil Yayınevi, 1996), 96–100.
53. Taner Akçam, *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide* (London: Zed Books, 2004), 143–144.
54. See Ryan Gingeras, "Notorious Subjects, Invisible Citizens: North Caucasian Resistance to the Turkish National Movement in the South Marmara, 1919–1923," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 1 (February 2008): 89–108.
55. Stanford Shaw, *From Empire to Republic: The Turkish War of National Liberation, 1918–1923: A Documentary Study* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000), 1197–1199.
56. See Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor: The Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish Nationalist Movement, 1905–1926* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 134–157.
57. Among those who had seen action in Macedonia (as well as perhaps natives of Macedonia) were Kazım Özalp, Eyüp Sabri Akgöl, Ali Fethi Okyar, and Fevzi Çakmak.
58. If one looks at many of the individuals who played major and minor roles in creating, as well as contesting, the Turkish Republic between 1918 and 1923, one is struck by the large numbers of individuals with Macedonian roots of some kind. Erik Jan Zürcher convincingly argues that, in many respects, memories of Ottoman Macedonia provided a model for those who eventually guided the Republic of Turkey post-1923. See Zürcher, "Children of the Borderlands," 282.
59. Daniele Ganser, *NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe* (London, 2005), 224–244.
60. If anything, if one surveys scholarly work on the history of terrorism as a political tactic or a social movement, the VMRO appears to follow somewhere toward the middle of terrorism's evolution during the nineteenth century. See, e.g., Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, "The 'Golden Age' of Terrorism," in *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, ed. Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 189–192; Bruce Hoffman, ed., *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 11–12.

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CHAPTER 19

FASCISM AND TERRORISM

The Iron Guard in Interwar Romania

CONSTANTIN IORDACHI

The upheaval of World War I led to the crystallization of a new style of politics in interwar Europe. The bloody military confrontations, sustained mass mobilization, unprecedented civilian suffering and deprivation, and radical societal transformations led to the militarization of politics, a phenomenon manifest in the widespread adoption of paramilitary violence as a form of political action and in a wave of terrorist attacks. Certainly, the militarization of politics was not entirely new: the turn of the century had already witnessed an increase in "social militarism" and the widespread use of terrorism for political purposes, mainly by nationalists and anarchists, but also by the Bolsheviks.[1] After the Great War, political violence continued to be widely used by adepts of nationalism, anarchism, and communism, but also of fascism, a new type of extreme-Right, revolutionary grassroots mass movement that militated for a radical transformation of society through violent cleansing.

Fascist movements had a radical, antisystem orientation. They originated on the fringes of the existing political systems and employed paramilitary violence and terrorist attacks to intimidate their enemies, assume power, and transform the nature of the existing political regime. The arsenal of the new fascist movements included a wide array of belligerent strategies that ranged from street violence against enemies to paramilitary putsches. This is illustrated, for example, by the staged "March on Rome" of the Italian National Fascist Party, October 22–29, 1922; the failed German Nazi "Beer Hall Putsch" in Munich, November 8–9, 1923; the Austrian Nazis' putsch on July 25, 1934; and Romania's Legionnaire rebellion on January 21–23, 1941. Other strategies include terrorist assassinations of archenemies, such as the murder of the socialist politician Giacomo Matteotti in Fascist Italy on June 10, 1924; the Nazi series of political

killings in Germany known as the "Night of the Long Knives" on June 30–July 2, 1934; the assassination of Engelbert Dollfuss in the failed Austrian Nazis' putsch; and regicide, as illustrated by the assassination of King Alexander by the Internal Macedonia Revolutionary Organization and the Croatian Ustasha on October 9, 1934.[2] Once in power, fascists continued to exercise lawless terror against ethnoreligious minorities and political enemies, as shown by the German Nazi pogroms against the Jews during *Kristallnacht* ("Night of Broken Glass") on November 9–10, 1938; the assassination of sixty-four former state dignitaries by members of the ruling Iron Guard in November 1940 in Romania; and the "wild genocide" against the Jewish population at the grassroots level in the Independent State of Croatia.[3] Terrorist combat strategies were central to fascist movements and regimes, allowing them to gain notoriety, annihilate their enemies, and reach their political goals.

The aim of this chapter is to reevaluate the importance of sacrificial missions for fascist movements and regimes, with a focus on terrorist practices. My approach builds on recent culture-oriented works on fascism, which assert that the essence of the fascist ideology was the palingenetic myth of rebirth and regeneration of the nation through violent cleansing.[4] However, while these works use the concept of palingenesis in a generic or metaphorical way to refer to the idea of rebirth and regeneration as a universal archetype of human thinking, my approach situates the fascist ideology within a concrete, long-standing tradition of palingenetic thinking.[5] Originating in the eighteenth century in discourses of social palingenesis by the Swiss philosopher and scientist Charles Bonnet (1720–1793) in *La palingénésie philosophique* (1769–1770) and continued by Pierre-Simon Ballanche (1776–1847) in *Essais de palingénésie sociale* (*Essays on Social Palingenesis*, 1820), this tradition was incorporated in a variety of new ideological forms, resulting in Romantic, conservative, fascist, and even socialist palingenetic doctrines of regeneration of the body politic. I argue that the interwar fascist ideology was an heir of theological discourses on social palingenesis that conceived of rebirth and regeneration in the form of religious sacrifice. Adopted by Romantic thinkers, this idea became an integral part of the matrix of modern nationalism as a collective belief system, centered on the glorification of blood sacrifice as a means of regenerating the nation.[6]

The fascists also attempted to appropriate and redefine the myth of self-sacrifice by pushing the boundaries of socially accepted violence to include new forms of terroristic armed combat. Fascist behavioral role models and practices of sacrifice had three main sources: the culture of chivalry, based on Christian concepts of love and self-sacrifice for others;[7] the cult of the fallen soldier in the Great War;[8] and new forms of political violence relating to modern warfare and terrorism.[9] The result was the development of a fascist culture of martyrdom, having at its core religious mechanisms of the expiation of sin through violent sacrifice, following the behavioral model of *imitatio Christi*, and imbued with elements of paramilitarism, the crusading spirit, and specific fascist ideological values such as anticommunism, anti-Semitism, and the fight against (racial) degeneration. For fascists, voluntary self-sacrifice was thus more than just a strategy of political struggle: in line with the original meaning of the Latin *sacrificum* (to make

sacred), it was a way of bestowing sacrality on the fascist community of sacrifice through martyrdom.

A main function of this violent self-sacrifice was the orchestration of martyrdom. Salvational self-sacrifice was the engine of the fascist political religion, since it provided fascists with the means of objectifying their claims to rebirth and regeneration. Thus, the employment of terrorism by fascist movements can be fully understood only if it is placed within the wider context of fascism's self-sacrificial ideology and practices. If, in view of its "carefully choreographed violence," "terrorism is theatre," as Brian Jenkins has argued,[10] fascist terrorist missions in general, and suicide missions in particular, were a way of orchestrating martyrdom, in line with the messianic ideology of national salvation through violent cleansing. Their main role was not simply the destruction of the enemy, but also the creation of martyrs. To this end, elaborate rites and rituals and concerted propaganda campaigns glorified the fallen comrades (whether terrorists or the victims of antifascist resistance) as behavioral role models to be emulated in order to forge the charismatic fascist community of sacrifice.

Until recently theories of terrorism in general, and of suicide terrorism in particular, have relied preponderantly on the theory of rational choice to stress the strategic logic of employing extreme forms of violence by insurgent organizations. Arguing that this approach is useful yet insufficient, new works on the topic combine instrumental rationality with axiological rationality and social networks perspectives to produce a Weberian ideal-type model of the "social mechanisms underlying the use of suicide tactics."[11] The new approach, which Ronald Wintrobe termed "rationality with a twist,"[12] notes terrorists' adhesion to specific values but also stresses "the importance of group dynamics and social networks in recruitment."[13] Students of terrorism should therefore not simply focus on "the coherence of the belief itself" but also study the culture of martyrdom and its social effects, namely the way extremist groups can provide a sense of "solidarity or social cohesion."[14]

The ideology and practice of the fascist Legion "Archangel Michael" for Defending the Ancestral Land (also known as the Iron Guard) in interwar Romania exemplifies this argument.[15] This movement is generally singled out in the academic literature as a semireligious form of fascism owing to its religiously charged language, symbolism, and rituals, the massive participation of clerics in its activities, and its emphasis on violent self-sacrifice.[16] The Legion practiced an ethnonationalist type of terrorism whose declared aim was to restore the "rights" and "dignity" of ethnic Romanians in relation to a perceived internal oppressor. It acted (in a self-appointed manner) on behalf of a dominant and "state-making" ethnic group; its aim was to consolidate Greater Romania, as fascists understood it, by removing ethnic minorities from positions of economic or sociopolitical influence and channeling resources exclusively in the interest of ethnic Romanians. To do so, however, the Legion fought not only against the country's most numerous ethnic minority groups—Jews and Hungarians, regarded as "high-status" or "imperial" minorities—but also against leading Romanian politicians, perceived as corrupt or "sellouts to the Jews," and thus held responsible for the subordinated status of ethnic Romanians "in their own home." The Legion's uncompromising fight against old

political elites imprinted it with an antiestablishment orientation, while its aim of dismantling the democratic political regime and building a totalitarian state granted it a revolutionary character. The Legion is thus an integral part of the gallery of interwar European terrorist organizations; study of it can contribute to a better understanding of ideologically driven apocalyptic violence.

From Student Counterculture to Terrorism, 1922–1927

It has been argued that terrorism in general, and suicide bombing in particular, are most likely to emerge "when a national community is occupied by a foreign power; the foreign power is of a different religion; the foreign power is a democracy; and ordinary violence has not produced concessions."[17] At first glance, Romania seems to have lacked the main conditions conducive to terrorism, because at the end of the Great War it was not only liberated from foreign occupation but also achieved national unification through the incorporation of the historical provinces of Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania, and the Banat. Moreover, major structural reforms, such as universal suffrage and extensive agrarian reform, remodeled the political regime into a pluralistic parliamentary monarchy supported by popular bourgeois-democratic parties such as the National Liberal Party and the National Peasant Party.

And yet, in the postwar period Romania experienced a series of structural crises related to the long and arduous effort of national integration, legal and institutional homogenization, and cultural assimilation of disparate territories. The process of reconstruction was therefore characterized by social unrest and political violence originating from the radical Right as well as from the radical Left. In the first postwar years, the main challenge was the radicalization of the socialist movement, marked by a general workers' strike and the emergence of the Comintern-controlled Communist-Socialist Party of Romania. Following a bloody terrorist attack in the Romanian senate by an anarchocommunist group led by Max Goldstein on December 8, 1920, Communist leaders were brought to trial for terrorism, and the party was subsequently outlawed.

The emergence of the extreme Right posed a more difficult, longer-term challenge to the new political regime. In Romania, the nucleus of the Far Right was not provided by war veterans but was instead rooted in the anti-Semitic and nationalist student movements that swept Romania's postwar university life. Its militant core originated from three regional universities: Cluj in central Transylvania, Iași in northern Moldova, and Cernăuți in Bukovina. Romanian nationalist students resented the fact that although Greater Romania was the nation-state of ethnic Romanians as the titular nation, in the newly incorporated territories the new Romanian order was unconsolidated, in the sense that members of ethnic minorities continued to dominate important social-cultural institutions, especially in cities. At a time when universities were perceived as

laboratories for the creation of the new national elite, Romanian nationalists demanded the implementation of a strict policy of *numerus clausus* in education and in the administration, which was to assure their numerical dominance and curb competition for upward social mobility from "rival" ethnic groups.

After 1923 student mobilization began to decline, but a nucleus of radical activists expressed their determination to take the national fight to another level.[18] Born mostly at the turn of the century, these young radicals had been unable to participate in the Great War but wanted to take up the banner of national struggle and to transfer the fighting spirit from the trenches to postwar political life. The first concrete violent plan of this radical group was the anti-Jewish plot organized in fall 1923 by Leonida Bandac, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, Ilie Gârneață, Corneliu Georgescu, Radu Mironovici, Ion I. Moța, Tudose Popescu, and Alexandru Vernicescu. In response to the adoption of a new liberal constitution in 1923, which consecrated the formal legal emancipation of Jews, the plotters pledged to assassinate the most important Jewish personalities (rabbis, bankers, and media owners) as well as a number of Romanian politicians who "collaborated" with the Jews and were thus guilty of "national treason." The group was arrested before they could execute their criminal plan and imprisoned at the Văcărești Monastery in Bucharest. Following a wave of public sympathy and press support, they were all acquitted in a jury trial, except for Mota, who remained in prison for an additional six months for wounding his comrade Vernicescu, whom he had accused of treason.

Although prevented by the authorities, this would-be terrorist action contributed to the crystallization of a new ethos of violent political struggle. Moreover, the plotters' prison experience strengthened their personal ties and further radicalized their political orientation. Encouraged by the acquittal, on October 25, 1924 Codreanu shot Constantin Manciu, the police prefect of Iași, as revenge for the "repression" and "humiliation" of the local nationalist student movement. This "heroic" terrorist deed and his acquittal by a jury in the subsequent trial assured Codreanu immediate fame, transforming him from a regional to a national leader of the nationalist youth movement. An impressive body of propaganda presented Codreanu as a popular hero chosen by predestination, which served to establish the foundations of his charismatic cult.[19]

The Legion "Archangel Michael" was founded in June 1927 as an elite organization of the radical nationalist youth. In line with the Romantic tradition of palingenetic nationalism, the Legion defined itself as "a movement based on a faith": "We do not do, and never have done, a single day in our lives, politics. . . .We have a religion, we are the servants of the faith."[20] The new political credo was to gradually develop into a fully fledged fascist political religion whose declared "ideal" was the salvation (*mântuirea*) of the Romanian people and—through Romanian messianism—of humanity.

The road to salvation was the devotional paradigm of *imitatio Christi*. In a programmatic article called "La Icoana" (To the Icon), Moța defined *imitatio Christi* as the foundation of the Legionnaires' messianic ideology: "What we are looking for, and what we wholeheartedly want, is light, is life as God wants it: rooted in truth, in justice, in virtue. 'I am the way, the truth and the life'—this is Jesus' firm, uncompromising

pronouncement. So to Him, to God, to His grace we run to get the spark of life to bestow on our damned nation."[21] The essence of the Legionnaire program of *imitatio Christi* was the idea that collective and individual salvation could only occur as a result of suffering: "Our Savior could not prevail without suffering and sacrifice.…How would the Legionnaire be able to prevail if he led a life full of serene, cloudless days, how would he be able to prevail if he led a life begotten by luck and personal satisfaction?"[22] The Legionnaires were challenged to imitate Christ by his or her own endeavors in order to achieve saintliness.

The driving force of the new fascist political faith was the idea of martyrdom through violent sacrifice. Moța went as far as to encourage Legionnaires to commit suicide terrorism as a way of achieving martyrdom: "The spirit of sacrifice is essential! We all possess the most formidable dynamite, the most irresistible weapon, more powerful than tanks and rifles: our own ashes."[23] Moța did not allude simply to the capacity of suicide terrorists to detonate dynamite and thus inflict heavy casualties, but also to the highly subversive—indeed, explosive—impact that martyrdom and dead bodies would have for the fascist cause and on the existing social order.

The implementation of this sacrificial ideology generated a panoply of legionary martyrs who fell into one of three main categories. First, there were Legionnaires imprisoned following their participation in terrorist political assassinations. Second were Legionnaires who sacrificed their lives "in the service of the cross" in international conflicts such as the Spanish Civil War. Third were Legionnaires killed in direct confrontation with Romanian authorities or as retaliation for their fascist activity. The Legion instrumentalized the cult of the martyr in order to articulate its charismatic ideology of national salvation and to implement it in a fully fledged totalitarian experiment during its short rule, 1940–1941.

Creating Legionnaire Heroes, 1932–1933

A first strategy employed by the Legion to assert its mission of national salvation and to "sacralize" the national community was to promote self-sacrifice through violent terrorist attacks. In the early 1930s the Legion established "death squads" (*echipe de moarte*) as combative units meant to promote fanatic devotion and the spirit of sacrifice within the movement. According to Codreanu, the death squad expressed "the decision of the youth to accept death, its determination to go ahead on to death."[24] The Legion's terrorist mode of operation was openly spelled out in April 1936, at the national congress of the National Union of Christian Students, organized in Târgu Mureş, when the Legionaries set up "death squads' for murdering defectors from the Legion or politicians considered "traitors" of the nation.

The first widely reported terrorist act occurred in July 1930 and was intimately linked to inter-Balkan nationalist conflicts and insurgency methods via the so-called Aromanian question. This question concerned the immigration to Romania of

Aromanian populations living in Macedonia and their colonization in southern Dobrudja, a province annexed in 1913 from Bulgaria. The effort of the Romanian authorities to control the flow of immigration led to a conflict with radicalized representatives of the Aromanian community, who accused the government of national treason.

In this context, in July 1930 the Aromanian George Beza—a journalist who frequented Codreanu's circles—attempted to kill Constantin Angelescu, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of the Interior, because he held him directly responsible for the stalemate in the immigration process. After wounding Angelescu, Beza was arrested; the police found in his pocket a written statement condemning himself to death in case he failed to kill his victim.[25] The Romanian press linked Codreanu to Beza's terrorist act, in view of the latter's political sympathies. Codreanu denied any involvement in the terrorist attack but refused to condemn Beza, pointing out that "my own past, in which I was forced, in similar circumstances, to shoot, deprives me of the right to condemn others."[26]

Beza's failed attack had deep consequences for the evolution of the Legion. Following the attack, Codreanu was arrested for complicity and imprisoned at the Văcărești monastery, where he became acquainted with a group of radical Aromanian activists who had been arrested together with Beza and also detained there. Codreanu recalled the encounter with the Aromanians and the alliance they forged:

> There in prison I got to know well these Aromanians who came from the Pind Mountains. They exhibited high culture and sound moral health, were good patriots, were built to be fighters and heroes, and were willing to sacrifice. There I came to know better the great tragedy of the Macedo-Romanians, this Romanian branch that for thousands of years, alone and isolated in its mountains, has defended—weapons in hand—its language, nationality and freedom.… There our thought and hearts united forever.[27]

The Aromanian group joined to the Legion and was to play an important role in its future terrorist missions.

The second failed terrorist act took place on December 20, 1930, when Constantin Dumitrescu, a teenaged Legionnaire from Iași, made an attempt on the life of Emil Socor, the director of the daily newspaper *Adevărul* (Truth), as punishment for his anti-Legionnaire stance and "antinational" orientation. The attack produced an uproar in Romanian political life. A few days afterward the Council of Ministers banned a number of "subversive organizations," such as the Legion "Archangel Michael," the Iron Guard, the Society of Macedonian Students, the Student Federation of the Polytechnic School, and the Youth section of the Far Right party called the League of National-Christian Defense, to which Dumitrescu was also linked. To curb youth deviance, the government mandated various ministries to enforce student discipline, depoliticize secondary schools and universities, monitor and discourage students' political engagement, and expel politically engaged students or draft them into the army.[28]

Although failed, these first ad hoc attentats had proven to the Legionnaires the powerful political and propagandistic impact of terrorist acts. This realization paved the way

toward the Legion's first major terrorist act: the assasination of Prime Minister Ion G. Duca on December 29, 1933 in the Sinaia Railway Station. On November 14, 1933, King Carol II had appointed a new National Liberal government led by Duca, that was tasked with organizing general parliamentary elections. On December 9 the Liberal government issued a decree banning the Iron Guard because the organization "aims, on the one hand, at changing by revolutionary means the legal order in the State and, on the other hand, at establishing a social and political regime contrary to the Constitution and the peace treaties." In addition, the Legion strove to reach its goals though "terror and violence": its terrorist acts were prepared in "conspiratorial, clandestine meetings" and executed by "armed paramilitary units, whose activity represents a permanent source of trouble, generating acts of rebellion against the state authority and leading to a state of anarchy in the country."[29]

Following the ban, the government took ample measures to paralyze the Legion's activity, ordering the closure of its centers, the confiscation of its archives, the cancellation of its electoral lists, and the arrest of its leaders and prominent sympathizers. The Legion was quick to condemn the governmental repression, blaming the authorities for instituting a regime of terror. According to Codreanu, the Legion was persecuted at the order of "the Judeo-Masonic bankers of Paris" for "no guilt at all" except its "work of constructive education."[30] As the main instigators of this unprecedented campaign of repression he singled out Prime Minister Duca, "the man with the soul of a beast."[31]

After Codreanu's ad hominem attacks an attack on the prime minister was imminent. On December 29, one day after securing his government's electoral victory, Duca traveled to the king's residence in Sinaia for consultations on the new cabinet. The details of the prime minister's train trip were leaked to the press, facilitating the assasins' job (but also fueling suspicions of a larger conspiracy in Duca's elimination involving the monarch and the secret services). Thus informed, a "death squad" composed of three Legionnaires—Nicolae Constantinescu, Ion Caranica, and Doru Belimace—armed with guns, explosives, and firecrackers embarked on the same train. Unable to attack Duca immediately upon his descent, they decided to wait until the prime minister's evening return. At 10:15 P.M., after seeing the king, Duca returned to the station and walked across to the platform in relative darkness. When he was halfway across, Belimace exploded a firecracker at one end of the station, while Constantinescu approached Duca and shot him in the head five times, killing him instantly. The terrorists were immediately arrested, and Duca's corpse was transported to the king's residence.

To paralyze the Legion, the government arrested fifty of its major leaders and put them on trial, together with the three captured terrorists.[32] Aware of the sympathy enjoyed by the Legion, the liberal government subjected the suspects to a military tribunal. The trial ended with the conviction of the three assassins but also the full acquittal of the Legion's leadership, because the government was unable to prove the existence of a larger conspiracy for Duca's assassination.

More important, the anti-Legion press campaign was not the decisive propaganda victory the government had hoped it would be. The Legion and the governmental press

disputed the meaning and political connotations of key notions, words such as "patriotism," "sacrifice," "terrorism," and "legal" versus "illegal" or "legitimate" versus "illegitimate" violence. The communiqué of the government and numerous leading articles in the official newspaper of the National-Liberal Party, *Viitorul* (The Future), glorified Prime Minister Duca as a hero killed in the line of duty, pledging that "his memory will be kept alive forever in the Romanian people's consciousness as a supreme example of abnegation of patriotism and sacrifice."[33] Moreover, the government called for a "wall of defense against those who through terror and murder aim at suppressing the country's leaders, at the destruction of the state and at the collapse of the country's borders."[34] At the same time the official press condemned the Legion's acts of violence as abominable terrorist crimes.

Against these claims, the Legion presented itself as the *victim* of abusive governmental policy, portraying its use of violence as a legitimate form of defense. First, Legion propaganda denounced Duca as a traitor, accusing him of plans to sell Romania out to international finance; later allegations were made that Duca intended to allow massive immigration of foreign Jews into Romania. Second, Codreanu rejected the accusations of terrorism advanced in the press;[35] he instructed the Legionnaires instead to assert the idea of Legionnaire martyrdom, on the basis of the notion that their organization was a victim of lawless state violence.[36] Third, the Legion claimed that its terrorist acts were in fact "heroic acts of sacrifice" leading to the redemption of the nation. Legion propaganda was centered on the figures of the three assassins, proclaimed heroes of the national cause. The terrorist team was referred to by the acronym NICADORI, composed of the first syllables of their names (*Nic*olae Constantinescu, Ion *Ca*ranica, *Dor*u Belimace). They thus acquired a collective identity, and their biographies and "heroic" deeds were glorified in innumerable songs and press articles and presented as embodiments of Legionnaire values and exemplary behavioral models, to be emulated by all Legionnaires. Postcards bearing their images in the Jilava prison were sold as souvenirs to members and sympathizers. Jailed together with the leading Legionnaires at Jilava for alleged complicity in Duca's assassination, the university professor and journalist Nichifor Crainic witnessed the process of mimetic radicalization that took place among the imprisoned Legionnaires, centered on the cult of terrorist heroes: "These boys were all wearing the icon of Jesus Christ or of the Virgin Mary, prayed regularly in the morning and evening and still spoke with infinite tenderness of the 'heroes' who killed!"[37]

Ritual Execution for Treason, 1936

The Legion's punishing actions were directed against not only its enemies but also its defectors. The Legion was organized as a totalitarian movement, based on the principle of total and unconditional devotion to the charismatic Codreanu as the undisputed leader. Defections from its ranks and treason were punished with executions.

The most relevant example in this respect was the assassination of the former Legionnaire leader Mihai Stelescu. A young and dynamic leader who advanced rapidly in the movement—he became a Legionnaire deputy in the parliament at the age of twenty-five—Stelescu opposed the entry of new groups into the Legion, most notably the intellectuals grouped around the journal *Axa* (Axis) who joined in 1933.[38] In addition, he had numerous disagreements with Codreanu over the political strategy to be adopted by the Legion. On September 15, 1934, Stelescu and his collaborators were accused of high treason and of attempting to assassinate Codreanu and were excluded from the Iron Guard by its Council of Honor.[39] Stelescu founded a rival organization called Cruciada Românismului (Crusade of Romanianism) and started a vigorous press campaign against Codreanu, openly accusing him of opportunism, contesting his capacity for leadership and moral integrity, and calling him "the gangster of Romanian integral nationalism."[40]

In response to this audacious campaign, in April 1936 Stelescu was listed among the archenemies of the Legion, and a death squad was assembled for his assassination. On July 16, 1936, while interned in the Brâncoveanu Hospital in Bucharest, Stelescu was attacked by the death squad and executed with forty bullets;[41] his corpse was then hacked into pieces with axes. The death squad was made up of ten Legionnaires (hence subsequently called the Decemviri, a Latin term alluding to an official justice commission in the Roman Empire), all students of Christian Orthodox theology, led by the Aromanian Ion Caratănase. In line with Legionnaire "ethics" governing terrorist attacks, the death squad gave itself up to the police. To justify the assassination, Legion propaganda engaged in a defamation campaign against Stelescu, accompanied by a glorification campaign of the Decemviri.

Holy Warriors and the Pedagogy of Death and Resurrection, 1937

Another method of creating martyrs and bestowing sacrality on the Legionnaires as a chosen community was voluntary self-sacrifice through heroic death in battle. In 1936 the Legion sent a fighting mission to the Spanish Generalissimo Francisco Franco made up of seven prominent Legionnaires and headed by General Alexandrina Cantacuzino. By joining the global "crusade against communism," this propaganda action allowed the Legion to transcend the national scope of its political action and to actively contribute to the making of a new fascist European order. On January 13, 1937, two members of the delegation, Ion I. Moța and Vasile Marin, were killed at the front, at Majadahonda, near Madrid. Moța's death, in particular, appeared in retrospect to be a premeditated act, an orchestrated martyrdom according to a well-prepared scenario of "dying for the cross." Before leaving for Spain, Moța publicly announced his "imminent" death, said farewell to his family, and prepared his will, to be made public after his fall in battle.

The "voluntary sacrifices" of Moța and Marin were placed at the center of the Legion's ideology and ritual practice, with a focus on the meaning of their "holy sacrifice for Christ."[42] In early February 1937 the coffins of Moța and Marin were transported to Bucharest by rail; along the way the train stopped in the most important Romanian cities for mass commemorations. These religious ceremonies were followed by a collective oath-taking ceremony performed in front of the coffins, taken by Legionnaires in uniform and also by the audience: "I swear before God and our holy sacrifice for Christ and the Legion, to break with earthly joy and to renounce human love for the resurrection [*învierea*] of my people, and to be ready to die." These two "martyrs of the cross" were buried on February 13, 1937 in a mausoleum built at the Legion's center in Bucharest, known as the Green House.

The cult of the two martyrs consciously followed established ancient practices of venerating early Christian martyrs. Thus, in the Legion's propaganda Moța and Marin were explicitly called "martyrs of the cross" (*mucenici*) and "soldiers of Christ."[43] Just as in early Christianity, the deeds of the two martyrs were regarded as inspired by the Holy Spirit, following the behavioral model of *imitatio Christi*. Their blood sacrifice was thus not death, claimed the Legion's propaganda, but a form of witnessing their faith, entitling them to immortality and instant sainthood.

In January 1938 Codreanu established an elite corps called Moța and Marin as a distinct section within the "All of the Fatherland," meant to institutionalize "the pedagogy of death and resurrection" centered on the cult of the martyrs through self-sacrifice. Its members were to be carefully selected. They were to "love suffering, which fortifies the soul," and to despise a "sheltered life of pleasure and easy profit." The most important characteristics were to be their loyalty and capacity for sacrifice: "The fighter from the Legionnaire section 'Moța-Marin' is happy to face his death." The initiation ceremony was to take place in a historical site, the tomb of a national hero or legionary martyr. They had to swear on a sermon extracted from Moța's writings, which ended with the pledge: "I am ready to die. I swear."[44] That vow had to be displayed by each fighter in his room, under a Christian icon. Moța's and Marin's relics formed the base of the new fascist nation: "Let us place the heart, forehead, and body of Moța and his comrade Marin as the cornerstone of the Romanian Nation; the foundation over the centuries of Romania's future glory."[45] The cult of Moța and Marin was thus instrumental in forging the Legion's charismatic community of sacrifice.

Martyrdom through State Repression, 1938–1940

The Legion's antiestablishment orientation, its paramilitary style of politics, and its employment of violence placed it in conflict with state authorities. Initially the ruling parties' attitude toward the Legion oscillated between hostile tolerance and manipulative

encouragement. Authoritarian-minded politicians such as Alexandru Vaida-Voievod (prime minister, 1932–1933) and, most notably, King Carol II encouraged the Legion's goals, eager to capitalize on its action in order to undermine the existing parliamentary regime. Their hopes of co-opting the Legion were, however, illusory, because they failed to grasp fascism's revolutionary, antisystemic nature. The Legion's uncompromising stance led eventually to a bloody confrontation with King Carol II, resulting in the almost complete physical elimination of the Legion's leadership in 1938–1939. Harsh state repression thus turned fascist demonstrative self-sacrifice into large-scale, state-inflicted martyrdom.

The bloody confrontation with the authorities was precipitated by the Legion's political accession. The propaganda surrounding the burials of Moța and Marin boosted the Legion's popularity, turning it into a key player on the national political scene: in the November 1937 general elections, the Legion became the country's third largest political force, with a share of almost 16 percent of the votes and additional potential for growth. In this context, animated by authoritarian ambitions, King Carol II made a final attempt to co-opt the Legion, but his secret negotiations with Codreanu were unsuccessful.[46] Codreanu's refusal to subordinate the Legion to the king led to a bloody collision. On March 30, 1938, soon after the establishment of the king's personal regime, known as the royal dictatorship (February 10, 1938–September 6, 1940), Carol II launched a major anti-Legion preemptive campaign. The repression was coordinated by Armand Călinescu (1893–1939), one of the king's most trusted collaborators, in his capacities as minister of the interior (December 29, 1937–March 6, 1939) and prime minister (March 7–September 21, 1939). On April 17, 1938, Codreanu and other Legion leaders were arrested and interned in camps across the country. After two consecutive summary trials by a military tribunal, Codreanu was eventually sentenced to ten years at hard labor. The second, more elaborate trial was conceived by official propaganda as an irrevocable public condemnation of the Legion's terrorist activities. The prosecutor charged Codreanu with rebellion against the state, high treason, collaboration with foreign agents against state interests, and acts undermining the existing social order, and he was eventually sentenced to an additional ten years at hard labor.

Although, as a result of these police actions, the Legion's activity was paralyzed, Carol II feared its political resurrection with German support. On the night of November 29–30, 1938, the king ordered Codreanu's assassination, along with the thirteen Legionnaires imprisoned for terrorism, the NICADORI and Decemviri. The prisoners were strangled in a forest near Bucharest. The following day a media communiqué claimed the prisoners were killed in an escape attempt during a transfer action to Jilava Prison.

Codreanu's killing shocked the Legionnaire community, generating a cascade of terrifying acts of political violence and counterviolence. After a series of failed attacks, on September 21, 1939, a death squad made up of eight Legionnaires led by the lawyer Dumitru (Miti) Dumitrescu (1913–1939) assassinated Prime Minister Călinescu in a Bucharest public square. The attackers ambushed the prime minister's car and fired over twenty bullets into Călinescu's head and chest, killing him instantly. After fulfilling their

mission of vengeance, the commando stormed the national radio station and announced that "the Captain has been avenged,"[47] after which the assassins surrendered to the radio guards. The killers were carried back to the public square and executed on the same spot without trial; their corpses were subsequently displayed in the open for three days, to public opprobrium, under a banner reading: "This is the fate of all traitors of the nation."[48]

Călinescu's assassination unleashed another wave of anti-Legion repression, organized by a temporary government led by General Gheorghe Argeşanu (September 21–28, 1938). During the night of September 21–22, over 252 legionnaires were executed without trial,[49] including the top leaders interned in camps and an additional 147 legionnaires arbitrarily selected from all over the country (two or three in each county). The recourse to lawless violence was a symptom of the failure of the Romanian state to deal with the terrorist menace.

The Legion in Power, 1940–1941

The massive territorial losses suffered by Romania in the summer of 1940 generated widespread discontent and led to King Carol's abdication. In early September, benefiting from its aura of martyrdom and victimhood, which were greatly amplified by the persecution suffered during the royal dictatorship, the Legion assumed power in alliance with General Ion Antonescu, an authoritarian-minded character who adhered to the principles of integral nationalism. The Legion's short rule (September 14, 1940–January 21, 1941) was marked by a frenzy of carefully staged exhumations and reburials of the movement's martyrs, culminating with the exhumation, on November 27, 1940, of the corpses of Codreanu, the Decemviri, and the NICADORI.

These ceremonies were a central component of the Legion's "psychological revolution," aimed at the spiritual transformation of the nation. They provided the ideological and ritual basis of the new regime by articulating discourses of divine election, victimhood, and martyrdom leading to national salvation. Legion propaganda focused on the killings carried out by authorities. The reburial of the charismatic leader and of the martyrs was meant to signal the entrance into a new historical era and to reorder time and space by resacralizing the nation and reassessing its immortality.

The affirmation of the Legion's doctrine of national salvation through martyrdom went hand in hand with calls for cleansing through violent revenge. Once in power, Legion ideologues praised the purifying effect of "Sorelian" violence, arguing that justice and rehabilitation could only be achieved through revenge. In line with these calls, during the night of November 26–27, 1940, while the exhumation of the corpses of the Legionnaire martyrs at the Jilava prison was under way, several hundred meters from the gravesite a Legionnaire squad executed without trial sixty-five former state dignitaries considered guilty of persecuting the Legion. These dignitaries had been arrested soon after the Legion's rise to power and had been awaiting legal punishment in prison.[50]

The assassinations were coordinated with Codreanu's exhumation ceremony. On November 26, 1940, at 8:00 P.M., a new shift of the Legionnaire guard, in fact an execution squad, departed from Bucharest and headed to Jilava. At 11:45 the chief of the Workers' Corps, Dumitru Groza, delivered a short speech urging the Legionnaire guard to avenge their captain before his reburial. He sent each member of the guard to separate cells where they were to carry out the executions. At 12:30, at a revolver signal, the Legionnaire guard stormed the cells and gunned down the prisoners, killing sixty-four of them and leaving behind only one survivor. The Legion's orgy of a vendetta was terrifying: according to the medical report released by the Commission of Investigation, each body was penetrated by up to thirty-eight bullets; some of the prisoners' heads were also chopped with axes, evidence of unleashed rage and ritual slaughter.[51] The next day other politicians were arrested and executed in Bucharest and in other locations, among them the historian Nicolae Iorga and the economist Virgil Madgearu.

A short government communiqué released the day after the crimes portrayed them as unplanned, spontaneous reactions of anger on the part of the Legionnaires who took part in the disinterment ceremony. A later official investigation clearly demonstrated the premeditated character of the executions, however. On the basis of these findings, General Antonescu repudiated the crimes, blaming the Legion for crossing the line separating legitimate legal revenge and rehabilitation from criminal behavior. In spite of later attempts by the Legion's leadership to deny the organization's full responsibility for these crimes by blaming only the perpetrators or the movement's more radical factions, it was amply evident that violent revenge was one of the Legion's main aims. Retrospectively, one can conclude that, in an arc of time, the initial goals of the first collective terrorist plot planned in 1923 were finally implemented in 1940: the elimination by violent means of the country's old political establishment.

Conclusions: Fascist Terrorist Acts as Martyrdom-Seeking Operations

The Legion's political evolution and its employment of terrorism points to the dynamics of youth radicalization in interwar Europe, the codynamism of fascist terrorism and state counterterrorism, and the spiral of violence that these intertwined processes generated. The process of "nationalizing the state" in Greater Romania generated as a side effect the confrontation between the hegemonic official culture and a radicalized student counterculture. In this context, a small but fanatical group of radical nationalists managed to articulate their discontent into ideological grievances, putting into place the basis of a violent youth movement and militating for salvation through terrorist revenge.

The founding acts of the Legion were terrorist acts. The 1923 student plot and the crimes committed by the two main leaders of the movement, Moța and Codreanu,

became models to be emulated by other fighters, channeling various kinds of lonely desperadoes' grievances into terrorist attacks as a prevailing form of political violence. In the early 1930s spontaneous grassroots acts of violence such as the assassination attempts by Berza and Socor pressured the Legion to systematize terrorist initiatives into a planned campaign of political violence. To this end the Legion set up death squads, conceived as a form of group martyrdom in the pursuance of terrorist missions of revenge. The assassinations of Stelescu and of the Prime Ministers Duca and Călinescu qualify as terrorist attacks because they were premeditated acts of violence committed for political purposes against noncombatant targets by clandestine perpetrators of an armed organization. In judging the tactical functions of terrorism, it is important to stress that the Legionnaires did not attack armed military objectives, but soft targets: unarmed civilians. They were not interested primarily in the military impact of their acts, but in the psychological effect of their spectacular attacks upon their enemies and society at large. They also benefited from—and exploited efficiently—the large amount of media attention devoted to these attacks, which increased their notoriety. This kind of "propaganda by deed" was meant to prove to the general public the Legionnaires' high degree of commitment, fanaticism, and determination to reach their political goals. Legion propaganda conflated various forms of sacrifice as integral, interrelated parts of its redemptive political action, purposely blurring the distinctions between war heroism, Christian martyrdom, and terrorist assassinations.

Notes

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2. Ryan Gingeras, "Oriental" Terrorism, Counter-Insurgency and the End of the Ottoman Empire" in The Oxford Handbook on the History of Terrorism, ed.by Carola Dietze and Claudia Verhoeven Online Publication, Feb 2014, DOI:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199858569.013.01.
3. On the latter issue, see Alexander Korb, "Nation-Building and Mass Violence: The Independent State of Croatia, 1941–45," in *The Routledge History of the Holocaust*, ed. Jonathan C. Friedman (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 291–302.
4. For the core of this approach, see Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), and *Modernism and Fascism: The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). For related models, see mainly Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Roger Eatwell, "On defining the 'Fascist Minimum': The Centrality of Ideology," *Journal of Political Ideologies* 1, no. 3 (1996): 303–319; Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (London: Allen Lane, 2004); Michael Mann, *Fascists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). For an overview of recent debates on generic fascism, see Constantin Iordachi, ed., *Comparative Fascist Studies: New Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2010), 21–29.
5. Constantin Iordachi, "God's Chosen Warriors: Romantic Palingenesis, Militarism and Fascism in Modern Romania," in *Comparative Fascist Studies: New Perspectives*, ed. Constantin Iordachi (London: Routledge, 2010), 320–321.

6. On this tradition, see Richard Koenigsberg, *Dying for One's Country: War as Sacrifice* (New York: Library of Social Science, 1996); Barbara Ehrenreich, *Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1997); Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Jim Donovan, *The Blood of Heroes: The Thirteen-Day Struggle for the Alamo and the Sacrifice that Forged a Nation* (New York: Little, Brown, 2012).
7. Allen J. Frantzen, *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice, and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
8. Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Nicoletta Gullace, *The Blood of Our Sons: Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
9. Angelo Ventrone, *La seduzione totalitaria: Guerra, modernità, violenza politica (1914–1918)* (Rome: Donzelli, 2003).
10. Brian M. Jenkins, "International Terrorism: A New Kind of Warfare," Rand Paper Series (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1974), accessed August 30, 2015, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/papers/2008/P5261.pdf.
11. Domenico Tosini, "A Sociological Understanding of Suicide Attacks," *Theory, Culture & Society* 26, no. 4 (2009): 67.
12. Ronald Wintrobe, *Rational Extremism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 10–12.
13. Tosini, "A Sociological Understanding," 69.
14. Wintrobe, *Rational Extremism*, 117.
15. The Legion "Archangel Michael" was founded on June 24, 1927, in Iaşi. On April 13, 1930, Codreanu established the Iron Guard as a larger political unit that was to also include the Legion "Archangel Michael." Soon, the Legion and the Iron Guard became interchangeable labels of the same movement. In this article, I use "the Legion" as a generic name.
16. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945,* 198–199; see also Eugen Weber, "Romania," in *The European Right: A Historical Profile*, ed. Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1965), 501–574; Eugen Weber, "The Man of the Archangel," *Journal of Contemporary History* 1, no. 1 (1966): 101–126; Zeev Barbu, "Rumania," in *European Fascism*, ed. S. J. Woolf (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 146–166; Zeev Barbu, "Psycho-Historical and Sociological Perspectives on the Iron Guard, the Fascist Movement of Romania," in *Who Were the Fascists: Social Roots of European Fascism*, ed. Stein Ugelvik Larsen, Bernt Hagtvet, and Jan Petter Myklebust (Bergen: Universitetsforlaget; Irvington-on-Hudson, NY: Columbia University Press, 1980), 379–394.
17. Robert A. Pape: *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005), and "Methods and Findings in the Study of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 102, no. 2 (2008): 275.
18. Ion I. Moța, *Cranii de Lemn. Articole, 1922–1936* (Bucharest: Editura Mișcării Legionare, [1936] 1940), 117.
19. National Central Historical Archives, Bucharest, Romania (Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, ANIC), Direcția Generală A Poliției (DGP), file 49/1925.
20. Moța, *Cranii de Lemn*, 53.
21. Ion I. Moța, "La Icoană," *Pământul Strămoșesc* 1, no. 1 (1927): 10.
22. Moța, *Cranii de Lemn*, 58.

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25. *Adevărul*, July 23, 1930, in Ideologie și formațiuni de dreapta în Romania, 1934–1938, ed. Ioan Scurtu, C. Beldiman, N. Tampa, T. Tănase, C. Troncotă, and P. D. Bordeiu (Bucharest: INST, 2003), 4:249–250.
26. Codreanu, *Pentru legionari*, 361.
27. Ibid., 362.
28. Ideologie și formațiuni de dreapta, vol. II, 294–95.
29. *Monitorul Oficial*, 9 Dec. 1933, no. 286 bis, 7644.
30. Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, *Circulări și manifeste, 1927–1938*, 5th ed. (Munich, 1981), 11–12.
31. Ibid., 13, 11–12.
32. Nichifor Crainic, *Zile Albe—Zile Negre* (Bucharest: Gândirea, 1991), 257–258.
33. "Manifestul guvernului către țară," *Facla*, January 1, 1934, 1.
34. Ibid.
35. Codreanu, *Circulări,* 1951: 12.
36. DGP 104/1933: 114.
37. Crainic, *Zile albe*, 257–258.
38. See the partisan account of Constantin Papanace, *Despre Căpitan, Nicadori și Decemviri: Crâmpei de amintiri* (Rome: Armatolii, 1963), 31.
39. Codreanu, *Circulări*, 18–21.
40. *Cruciada Românismului 2* (20 June 1936) 77, 7.
41. Armand Călinescu, *Însemnări politice: 1916–1939* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1990), 310–312.
42. Codreanu, *Circulări*, 233.
43. Codreanu, *Circulări*, 10; Ion Banea, *Ce este și ce vrea Mișcarea legionară. Cărticică pentru săteni* (Sibiu: Curierul, 1937), 46.
44. *Buna Vestire* 270, January 23, 1938: I.
45. Ibid.
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47. *Universul* [The Universe], September 23, 1939, 1, 3.
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49. Francisco Veiga, *La mística del ultranacionalismo: Historia de la Guardia de Hierron, Rumania, 1919–1941* (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1989), 261; Armin Heinen, *Die Legion "Erzengel Michael" in Rumänien: Soziale Bewegung und politische Organisation; Ein Beitrag zum Problem des internationalen Faschismus* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1986), 376.
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CHAPTER 20

THE EVOLUTION OF JEWISH TERRORISM

AMI PEDAHZUR AND ARIE PERLIGER

In his highly acclaimed article, "The Fourth Wave: September 11 in the History of Terrorism,"[1] David Rapoport portrayed the trajectory of the phenomenon of terrorism since the late nineteenth century, highlighting its undulating nature. As his main criteria for identifying each wave of terrorism, Rapoport chose the ideology and objectives of the terrorists. This led him to introduce a chronological typology that consists of four waves: anarchist (1880s–1920s), anticolonial (1920s–1960s), left-wing (1960s–1970s), and religious (1970s–present). Rapoport's objective was to find an organizing principle for a century-long global phenomenon rather than to focus on particular periods or regions. Indeed, Jewish terrorism in Palestine and later in Israel consists of only two periods: nationalist (1930s–1950s), which corresponds with the anticolonial wave, and its derivative, the nationalist-religious (1970s–present) which overlaps with the religious wave.[2] Yet Rapoport's framework is highly appealing, because the two missing waves, both of which were left-wing revolutionary, had a tremendous impact on political and social processes in Israel in general, and on the evolution of Jewish terrorism in particular. Hence, rather than focusing exclusively on the evolution of Jewish terrorism, this chapter will place it in the broader comparative context that Rapoport's framework provides.

For many centuries Jews constituted a religious and ethnic minority group in predominantly Christian and Islamic societies. Ceaseless outbreaks of anti-Semitic persecutions along with lasting institutionalized discrimination forced Jewish communities to develop sharp survival instincts. As a result, Jews generally refrained from taking part in activities that had the potential of directing the wrath of the authorities against their communities.[3] Religion, which some scholars consider to be the prevailing source of violence and terrorism,[4] served the opposite purpose for Jews in the Diaspora. The religious ruling of "Dina Demalchuta Dina" (the law of the land is the law) enabled the victimized minority to reconcile the differences between the *Halakha* (the Jewish religious law) and the law of the state.[5] It is nonetheless important to note

that Judaism never advocated pacifism. Ancient Jewish history was clouded by excessive violence.[6] Interestingly, Jewish violence and terrorism, both early and contemporary, are closely correlated with one particular territory—Palestine or Eretz Yisrael (Land of Israel).

Critical Juncture for the Jews

The late nineteenth century was a time of significant global upheaval that was manifested in, among other things, the first wave of terrorism. Indirectly, the first wave turned into a critical juncture in the history of the Jewish people. One of the most prominent agents of the anarchist wave was Narodnaia Volia, the anti-Tsarist group best known for the assassination of Tsar Alexander II.[7] After the assassination, Russia experienced a tide of anti-Semitism, as the Jewish population served as an ideal scapegoat. A pogrom that took place a month after the assassination in the city of Kirovohrad quickly turned into a tide of attacks against Jewish communities all over the Pale of Settlement.[8] The yearlong wave of violence was followed by the May Laws of 1882 (also known as the Temporary Regulations Regarding the Jews), which were enacted by Tsar Alexander III. The regulations, which imposed severe limitations on Jews' freedoms of movement and occupation, led to the mass emigration of Jews from Russia, mostly to North America. They also expedited the consolidation of Jewish nationalism. The most significant essay of the time was "Auto-Emancipation" by Leon Pinsker, in which he advocated the idea of self-determination for the Jewish people in their ancient homeland.[9]

Though only 3 percent of the refugees arrived in Palestine, and many of them left shortly after their arrival, they are considered the first wave of immigrants who were motivated by Jewish nationalism (Zionism).[10] Most of the immigrants settled in the cities,[11] while a minority decided to settle in rural areas and become farmers.[12] The scattering of new Jewish settlements in predominantly Arab areas generated friction. Initially, most of the conflicts revolved around such scarce resources as land and water. Damage to the properties and crops of the struggling Jewish farmers became routine.[13] Moreover, the authorities of the decaying Ottoman Empire were unwilling to provide the immigrants with adequate protection. The void generated a noteworthy debate among the Jewish settlers. Some farmers believed that they should dedicate all their energy to cultivating their farms and therefore chose to outsource the protection of their colonies to Arab subcontractors. This approach, however, lost much of its relevance once the clashes assumed an ethnic and religious nature.

The first organized Jewish defense groups in Palestine—Bar Giora and its successor, Hashomer (The Watchman)[14]—were established by socialist immigrants of the Second Aliyah who arrived mainly from Russia throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century (1904–1914). Like their predecessors, these immigrants were also traumatized by anti-Semitic violence, most notably the Kishinev pogrom of 1903. The prominent poet Hayim Nahman Bialik, who was sent to interview the survivors of the pogrom, was

rattled by their testimonies and subsequently wrote two influential poems, *City of the Killings* and *The Slaughter*.[15] Thus, it was not surprising that immigrant leaders, most of them members of the Poale Zion (Workers of Zion) party, argued that it was time for the Jews to establish independent military organizations. The groups were organized locally, and their main charge was to defend Jewish settlements.[16] By the 1920s, Hashomer was succeeded by a national body, the Haganah (Defense). However, the organizational transformation was not accompanied by a doctrinal one. Until the mid-1930s the defensive approach known as *havlagah* (restraint—basically focusing on defensive activities rather than being proactive) was the official policy of the Haganah.

Rapoport identified the 1920s as the point at which the second wave of terrorism appeared on the global scene and rightfully categorized the Etzel (National Military Organization in the Land of Israel, also known as the Irgun) and the Lehi (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, also known as the Stern Gang) as authentic representatives of this second wave.[17] Unlike violent conflicts in other parts of the world during that period, the Jewish struggle for self-determination in Palestine cannot be characterized as anticolonial, for two main reasons. First, while both the Etzel and especially the Lehi targeted British officials, Palestine was never part of the British Empire. The League of Nations gave Britain a temporary Mandate for Palestine, which was aimed at filling the void left by the collapse of Ottoman rule by the end of the First World War. Furthermore, one of the main initial objectives of the Mandate was to facilitate the implementation of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, in which Britain stated its official support for establishing a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine. Secondly, anticolonial struggles are generally associated with uprisings of indigenous populations against foreign rule. The vast majority of the Jews from the Etzel and the Lehi who struggled for the establishment of the independent state of Israel were immigrants, while their main opponents, namely, the Palestinians, were natives of the land.

In late August 1929, 133 Jews were murdered during a pogrom that spread from Jerusalem to Hebron. The slaughter generated a fierce debate within the ranks of the Haganah. Under the leadership of Avraham Tehomi, a group of Haganah activists from Jerusalem who had grown impatient with the policy of restraint split from the organization and formed the Haganah B, later renamed Etzel.[18] Although it advocated a militant line and called for decisive retaliation following Arab attacks against Jews, in its formative years, the activities of the Etzel did not deviate much from the defensive line of the *Haganah*.

The outbreak of the Arab Revolt in the spring of 1936 was a turning point for both the Haganah and the Etzel. Yitzhak Sadeh, the Haganah senior strategist came to the conclusion that the static defensive doctrine was no longer effective. Thus, he assembled a group of young men and formed Nodedet (Mobile Force). While the main objective of the new unit was defending Jewish civilians, the unit adhered to the notion that the best defense is an effective offense. Sadeh and his protégés introduced a new counterinsurgency doctrine. Rather than waiting for Arab attacks, they took the initiative and launched offensives against the insurgents' bases and ambushed their convoys on the roads.[19] These operations do not fall under the category of terrorism.[20] They were not

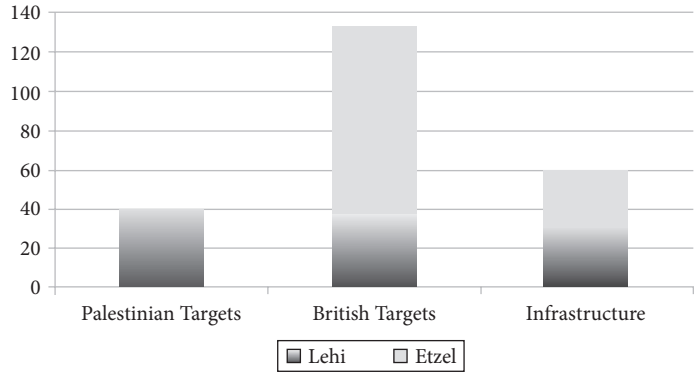

FIGURE 20.1 Number of Jewish Terrorist Attacks by Group and Target (1936–1948)

aimed at innocent noncombatants, and their objective was not to generate a widespread sense of fear.

That was not the case with the Etzel. While the organization did not officially acknowledge its decision to turn to terrorism, the random killing of two Arab workers on a banana plantation on April 20, 1936, indicated otherwise. Between 1936 and 1939 the Etzel initiated a campaign of terrorist attacks, mostly against Arab civilians.[21] This violent campaign helped the Etzel to distinguish itself from the Haganah, to consolidate itself as an alternative for those supporting a more militant approach in the face of the Arab Revolt, and to garner important operational experience. Indeed, during the campaign there was a clear increase in the level of sophistication of the organization's violent activities.

In 1939 the Etzel reached a major crossroads. The White Paper of 1939, published by the British Colonial Secretary Malcolm MacDonald, was a significant reversal of Britain's policy toward Palestine. The Mandate authorities withdrew their commitment to the founding of a Jewish state and imposed limitations on the immigration of Jews to Palestine as well as on the purchase of land by Jews.[22] Four months after the initiation of the new policy, the Second World War broke out and Britain became a significant power in the struggle against Nazi Germany. Like most Jewish factions in Palestine, the Etzel was torn between its animosity towards new British policies in Palestine and its commitment to the struggle against Hitler. While the leadership of the Etzel accepted the position of the Haganah, according to which the struggle against Germany took precedence over the local struggle against Britain, a group of Etzel members who objected to this line decided to split and form a new group: the Etzel in Israel, later renamed Lehi. Despite its militant image, most of the Lehi operations were actually aimed at British military installations and public officials. Indiscriminate attacks against civilians were less common in the group's repertoire (see also Figure 20.1).

It is noteworthy that while the Mandate authorities initially fought the Jewish terrorists, by 1938 they were contributing to its proliferation. Orde Charles Wingate, a British officer, was granted permission by his superiors to form a new unit called the Special Night Squads (SNS), whose objective was to protect British and Jewish targets from

Arab insurgents. Wingate's unit was composed of British soldiers and Jewish fighters, including former members of the Nodedet. He introduced the young members of the Haganah to advanced counterinsurgency tactics as well as (and unlike Sadeh) to the utility of collective punishment as an effective deterrence. On several occasions he arbitrarily executed innocent Arab villagers.[23] Both the leaders of the Haganah and British authorities were rattled by the rumors of Wingate's tactics, and he was subsequently removed from Palestine.

The Haganah never adopted terrorism as a tactic and even assisted the British campaign against the Etzel in late 1944 in what became known as the Saison. Nonetheless, by 1945, once the Second World War was over and the magnitude of the Holocaust was unveiled, it joined forces with the Etzel and the Lehi and formed the Jewish Resistance Movement. The union was the result of deep disappointment with Britain's continued adherence to the policies of the 1939 White Paper. The various factions agreed to carry out attacks against legitimate targets of strategic significance such as trains, airplanes, central bridges, and police stations. The objective of the operations was to coerce Britain to change its policies. The union was short-lived. On July 22, 1946, a group of Etzel fighters planted 770 pounds of explosives on the ground floor of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. The hotel, which housed several governmental offices as well as the headquarters of the British armed forces in the region, was considered a legitimate target even by the Haganah. However, the high number of fatalities, estimated at more than eighty and including civilians, drove the Haganah to part ways with the Etzel and the Lehi.[24]

Despite the collapse of the Jewish Resistance Movement, the violent struggle of the Etzel and Lehi against the British authorities continued in full force until the last days of the British Mandate. Eventually the growing legitimacy accorded by the international community to ideas of self-determination and anticolonialism, the impact of the Holocaust, and internal pressure within the United Kingdom led the British to decide to return the Mandate for Palestine to the United Nations. On November 29, 1947, the U.N. General Assembly approved a partition plan for dividing Palestine into two states, a Palestinian one and a Jewish one.

While the establishment of the new state of Israel was supposed to facilitate the dismantling of both Lehi and Etzel, since their main goal had been accomplished, the process was more painful than expected. This was mainly because both organizations hoped that preserving their organizational framework would help in the upcoming military struggle of the Jewish community with the Arab states—which had declared their intention of preventing the establishment of a Jewish state by force—as well as in promoting their political interests within the framework of the new state. The leaders of the Jewish community, and indirectly of the Haganah, however, who enjoyed the support of most of the Jewish population (it should be noted that the Jewish community in Palestine was highly organized via various political, social, and economic institutions led by elected officials) refused to allow the existence of armed militias outside of the newly formed framework of the army of the Jewish state, which would eventually be called the Israel Defense Forces, or IDF.

The contradicting agendas eventually clashed when the Etzel organized the arrival of an ammunition supply ship, the *Altalena*, to the shores of Palestine in June 1948 during a U.N.-enforced cease-fire, which included a prohibition on the import of any ammunition by both sides. After the Etzel refused to comply with the Israeli transitional government's demands to surrender the ammunition and allocate it to the various IDF units, and not just to Etzel's predominant units, a violent clash erupted on the shores of Tel Aviv. The battle ended eventually with the sinking of *Altalena* by IDF artillery. This was followed by a series of IDF operations against Etzel activists, bases, and leaders and to the dismantling of the organization and its transformation into a nonviolent political movement.[25] The strong stand of the Israeli government can be explained by its determination to ensure its monopoly on the use of force within the new state; the hostility between the political stream that the Etzel represented, the Revisionist Movement, and the Labor Party (which controlled the transitional government); and the strong need to centralize resources in the struggle against the Arab countries.

The Lehi ended shortly afterward, when members of the organization assassinated the U.N. mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte, on September 16, 1948. The Israeli government responded by declaring the organization a terrorist entity, raiding the Lehi bases, and conducting mass arrests of its members, practically leading to the collapse of its organizational infrastructure. Just like the Etzel, the Lehi too eventually reemerged as a political party before the first Israeli elections.

To conclude, the nationalist wave in the Jewish context was manifested by the activities of two organizations. However, as can be seen in Figure 20.1, while the Lehi's target selection corresponded with the targeted selection of most nationalist substate organizations active during the 1950s and 1960s, focusing mainly on military- and (colonial) government-affiliated targets,[26] the Etzel was more diverse and focused some of its violence against the competing national movement. Other differences between the Jewish case and other anticolonial struggles should also be noted. First, while in most cases of the fourth wave the terrorist organizations were the extension of the dominant political force within their communities, as illustrated above, that was not the case with the Etzel and Lehi, whose members were termed by the majority of the Jewish community Haporshim (The Dissidents), and who suffered from a lack of popular legitimacy. Secondly, it is not just that the Jews in Palestine were not the native population in Palestine in the classic sense of the term, but in many ways the Jewish leadership in Palestine was not even the major political power in the Jewish world. Instead, various international Jewish organizations such as the Jewish Agency were the framework within which most of the political power was concentrated within world Jewry. Finally, one cannot find serious intracommunal (Jewish) violence—with the exception of the *Altalena* affair—despite the significant hostility between the different national Jewish political streams in Palestine, a phenomenon that was not present in many other anticolonial struggles.[27]

While two small groups of ultra-orthodox Jews (protesting against the secularization of the new Jewish state) and former Lehi members (protesting against the treatment of Jews in the Soviet bloc, hence attacking diplomatic targets of Communist states) were

involved in short-term violent campaigns during Israel's first years of independence, by the mid-1950s Jewish political violence had disappeared from the Israeli political sphere. It did not rear its head again until the early 1970s, in what could be perceived as the first seeds of the fourth, religious wave.

The Nationalist Religious Wave

The wave of political activism manifested by students all over the Western world in 1968 reflected a much stronger tide.[28] Young women and men in the United States and Western Europe increasingly identified with oppressed people who were struggling against what they perceived as Western imperialism. This was the moment at which the second and third waves of terrorism overlapped. Inadvertently, the proliferation of ideas that emphasized egalitarianism, peace, and justice for people in every corner of the world overlapped with the objectives of another empire—the Soviet bloc. The Communist states supported the new movements both directly and indirectly and considered them important proxies that could serve as revolutionary Trojan horses in the West.[29] The attempts of the USSR and its allies to divert the protest into subversive violent activities were successful in one key way. While only a minority of activists chose the path of terrorism, their actions captivated the attention of the media and generated unprecedented support for the struggles of the Viet Cong and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which received its support mainly via the various Arabs' Ba'at regimes.

The summer of 1967 was a significant milestone in Israel's history as well. On June 16, when tens of thousands of youths from the United States and other countries gathered at the Monterey County Fairgrounds for the International Pop Music Festival, the Jews of Israel were still coming to terms with the outcomes of the Six-Day War, which had ended a week earlier. The previous month, Israel had celebrated its nineteenth year of independence. On that very Independence Day, the Egyptian army had broken the status quo and deployed troops in the Sinai Peninsula. This marked the beginning of three weeks during which the Israeli Jews were consumed by collective anxiety.

During those three weeks, Israel finally also managed to put the old conflict between the Etzel and the Haganah to rest. Menachem Begin, the leader of the opposition Herut party, which was the parliamentary incarnation of the Etzel, was invited to serve as a minister in the emergency National Unity Cabinet. This was a significant moment for Begin, who was still labeled a terrorist by many Israelis, and for his movement, which, from the founding of the state, had been treated as a pariah. For example, David Ben-Gurion, the first prime minister, made an explicit pledge never to invite Herut (as well as the Communists) to take part in any coalition government.

The swift and decisive victory over the Soviet-backed Arab militaries had taken both the Israelis and the Palestinians by surprise. The occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip during the war subjected the Palestinians, who constituted the majority in

these areas, to Israeli occupation for the second time in less than two decades.[30] The departure of the PLO from its sponsoring states—most notably Egypt, but also Iraq and Syria—two years later expedited the attachment of the Palestinian struggle to the third wave of terrorism, already under way.[31] The fact that the PLO, which was led by a nationalistic faction (Fatah), was an umbrella organization that incorporated Marxist groups, most notably the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), brought the Palestinians even closer to the Soviet bloc.[32] The political and military support that the Soviets and their allies provided the PLO, together with the expanding network of collaboration with Marxist groups from other arenas (such as the Red Army Faction and the Japanese Red Army), helped them to accelerate the campaign of terrorism against Israel in both the domestic and the international arenas.[33]

The explicit support of the international radical left for the Palestinian struggle led to the further marginalization of the Israeli radical left.[34] Despite the fact that many of the forefathers of the state of Israel were socialists, the founding principle of the state was Jewish nationalism. Hence, the third wave stood little chance of establishing roots among Jews in Israel. Indeed, not a single act of terrorism was perpetrated by Jews of the radical left during the period of the third wave. Matzpen (Compass), a small group in which Jews constituted an even smaller minority, was treated harshly by the press, the political system, and the courts after several of its members were involved in an espionage plot.[35]

In the Israeli context, the 1967 war thrust the Jews in Israel from a crippling state of existential anxiety into a sense of unprecedented empowerment. In the months following the war, the sense of patriotism among Israelis reached unprecedented heights. However, the vast territories that Israel had occupied turned the old hypothetical debate between territorial maximalists and minimalists into an acute political fissure.

Most of the adherents of the "Greater Israel" agenda were politicians and public intellectuals from both main political factions. The first group consisted of Labor Party activists, many of whom were veterans of the Palmach, the elite force of the Haganah, who viewed the occupied territories primarily as strategic assets. However, they were also sympathetic to the arguments of the second group, which brought together veterans of the Etzel and the Lehi. Their main contention was that Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem, the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, and above all the "holy basin" in Jerusalem were the cradle of the Jewish people and thus should never be ruled by foreigners.

These two movements were joined by a relatively small group of young activists who had grown up in the confines of the pragmatic Zionist religious camp but had undergone a significant ideological and theological transformation under the guidance of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook. Kook had developed a theology that sanctified the state of Israel and emphasized the right of the Jewish people over the promised land. His followers served as the founding enclave of the Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful) movement, which became known for its relentless and mostly illegal settling activities.[36] This movement regarded the realization of the vision of the Greater Land of Israel by Jewish settlement in the West Bank as a decisive phase in the salvation of the people of Israel,[37] and in the

establishment of a religious Jewish state (a redemption process). Over the years, their messianic concept has become dominant in the religious-Zionist sector, which comprises the decisive majority of the settler population.[38]

However, it took Gush Emunim activists more than a decade before they generated their first terrorist network.[39] The true harbinger of the fourth wave was Rabbi Meir Kahane, who introduced it in Israel almost a decade before it appeared in other parts of the world. Kahane first became known through the Jewish Defense League, which he founded in New York in 1968; its motto was "Never Again,"[40] and its early activities were mainly devoted to protecting elderly Jews, residents of New York's poorer neighborhoods, from assault by African Americans, whom the JDL activists despised. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the JDL assumed a more militant approach and engaged in various illegal and violent activities against Soviet targets (as a protest against the Soviet authorities' policy of preventing the immigration of Jews to Israel) and non-Jewish minority groups, while expanding to more than a dozen campuses all over the United States.[41] The increasingly violent nature of the JDL's activities led the FBI to recognize the organization as one of the most dangerous terrorist groups in the United States and thus to intensify its operations against the organization's infrastructure and leadership, and eventually also to force Kahane to leave the country.[42]

Upon Kahane's arrival in Israel in 1972, he established the organizational and operational foundations for a new political movement. The Kach (This Way) movement promoted a mix of ultranationalist, xenophobic, and religious ideological sentiments, a formula that served as a blueprint for future Jewish terrorist groups. Moreover, Kahane promoted militant and violent activism when he emphasized to his followers the obligation to take revenge on Israel's enemies. Kahane opined that harm to a Jew was considered a desecration of God's name, thus making vengeance against the gentiles a religious precept. Kahane was also not concerned about the potential of a clash between his movement and the mainstream political parties and movements in Israel, because he viewed the secular government in Israel as a temporary evil that would eventually pass. Thus, Kahane resolutely lashed out at the very idea of democracy. He repeatedly invoked the story of the Hashmonai (Hasmonean) Revolt with the Seleucid regime (160s BCE) representing the Israeli democracy, which he defined as foreign and hostile to Judaism.[43]

It is therefore not surprising that starting the early 1970s until the present, Kahanist groups and individuals have carried out a significant portion of Jewish terrorism in Israel. In addition, probably the most infamous and deadly act of Jewish terrorism was perpetrated by one of Kahane's followers, Baruch Goldstein, who, on the morning of February 25, 1994, carried out what is known as the Cave of the Patriarch Massacre, in which he killed 29 Muslim worshipers and injured more than 125. Some of the more notable violent groups which have been comprised of Kahane followers are TNT (Terrorism against Terrorism) and Kahane Lives, which were mostly involved in attacks against Palestinians in the West Bank during the 1980s and 1990s.[44]

In the early 1980s, the fourth wave in its Jewish form intensified when the Kahanist groups were joined by a new breed of religious Jewish terrorism made up of the more

militant factions of the Gush Emunim movement. The activist approach of these factions stems from their belief that the redemption process of the people of Israel can be expedited by the acts of human beings. Thus, for example, the "Jewish Underground" members believed that bombing the mosques on the Temple Mount—making this holy area available for the building of the Jewish Third Temple—would be not just a practical step to accelerate the redemption process, but also a watershed moment with a dramatic effect on the Israeli public, which would facilitate the dissemination of Gush Emunim's ideology.[45] Some other groups that emerged from Gush Emunim and from the settlers' movement were less ambitious and mainly focused on vigilante acts against West Bank Palestinians, as the latter's nationalistic aspirations—accompanied by a violent struggle that severely impacted the Jewish settlers in the West Bank—were perceived as the major threat to the realization of the vision of the Greater Land of Israel and the progress of the redemption process.[46]

One of the more interesting and probably understudied characteristics of the fourth wave is the tendency of many religious groups to engage in violence not just against members of other religious traditions, but also, and sometimes mainly, against members of their own religious collective who are perceived as not devoted enough, apostate, or direct ideological enemies of the "righteous path." In these cases, terrorism serves as a signaling mechanism to reshape the boundaries of the religious collective and the definitions of "outsiders" and "insiders." For example, a report by the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point in 2009 exemplified that most victims of Al-Qaeda were actually Muslims residing in countries controlled by "apostate" regimes.[47]

This trend was not absent from the Jewish manifestation of the fourth wave. As early as the 1980s, groups such as the Sikarikin started to target left-wing political and media figures. But the climax of this trend was undoubtedly the assassination of the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on November 4, 1994 by Yigal Amir. Amir was a religious Zionist in his twenties who, like most of the young religious Zionists of his generation, grew up absorbing the redemption ideas of Rabbi Kook. Rabin's decision to engage in a peace process with the PLO, the success of which meant a dramatic blow to the realization of the idea of the Greater Land of Israel, created a tremendous crisis in the religious Zionist camp. Its leaders denounced the legitimacy of the left-wing government from all venues and even called Yitzhak Rabin a traitor to his people and to Zionism.[48] Some even called for him to be "removed" from the political arena. Rabbis and political leaders from the religious-Zionist sector could be heard constantly debating what type of measures could legitimately be used to stop the peace process.[49] Listening to and internalizing these calls, by late 1993 Amir and his older brother, Hagai, began amassing arms and ammunition as a first step in their plan to form an underground group that would put a stop to the implementation of the Oslo Accords. Rabin's assassination quickly became their preferred alternative, and after a few unsuccessful plots, Amir was able to ambush Rabin as he was on his way to his limousine after addressing thousands of supporters who were attending a mass demonstration in support of the peace process.

Concluding Remarks

The fourth, religious wave was manifested in the Israeli case via the violence of groups which were affiliated with two movements, that of Kahane and his followers, and Gush Emunim. However, while some of the ideological tenets of the Jewish groups were compatible with the characterization of the fourth wave, some significant gaps exist between the Jewish case and other cases of religious violence. First, the Jewish groups traditionally mixed religious and nationalist sentiments. This is not surprising, especially considering that this mixture of religious and nationalist symbols and practices has characterized the Israeli political and social environment since the establishment of the state, which is actually defined in its Proclamation of Independence as a Jewish state. And while this kind of hybrid ideological framework is also manifested in some of the other cases of religious terrorism (e.g., Hamas, Hezbollah), it should be mentioned that some of the major actors of the fourth wave have tended to distance themselves from national aspirations. The ideologists of Al-Qaeda, for example, traditionally and furiously reject the concept of nation-state.[50]

Secondly, while most religious groups, which are usually identified with the fourth wave (Al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Egyptian Jihad, and others), represent or are affiliated with ethnic groups or religious streams with limited formal political power in the countries where they are based, the case of Jewish terrorism is an outlier in this respect. While the Kahane movement never garnered significant political power—despite the fact that Kahane himself was elected and served one term in the Israeli Knesset—the Gush Emunim and the settlers' movements were able to accumulate significant political power through the years and to build permanent power bases both within the political system and in the infrastructure of the Israeli public administration.[51]

Thus, at least in the case of Jewish religious terrorism, the movements from which the terrorist groups originated did not suffer from limited access to state resources and political representation, nor did they experience any kind of systematic deprivation, as in the case of most of the other religious movements and groups that comprise the fourth wave. Moreover, in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (until 2005), they were actually on or enjoyed the backing of the strong side in the conflict. If terrorism is the weapon of the weak, this was not completely true in the fourth wave of Jewish terrorism.

Finally, from an organizational-operational perspective, it seems that the religious Jewish terrorist groups, unlike their counterparts from other arenas, were never able to form a sustainable organizational mechanism that would allow them to engage in a really effective long-term campaign of violence. Most of the terrorist groups were small social networks based on primary or secondary relations, with limited organizational sophistication or complexity. This is manifested, for example, in the lack of training or recruitment procedures, long-term operational plans, and formal leadership. The latter may also explain why very few of the group members, if any, were real full-time terrorists; most of them had a "day" job, and terrorist activity constituted a minor part of their lives.

Probably the most important similarity between the fourth wave of terrorism in the Jewish context and other cases of religious terrorism is also the reason we cannot be optimistic about the (lack of) prospects of future manifestations of religious Jewish terrorism. Religious Jewish terrorism is motivated by the fundamental aspiration to transform Israel into a theocratic entity that will be run according to the Halakha, will ensure territorial unity of the Land of Israel, and, finally, will promote internal homogeneity as much as possible within the Land of Israel. The significant obstacles to achieving any of these goals, especially considering the current political environment in the Middle East, the growing support in the international community for Palestinian national aspirations, the fragmentation of Jewish society in Israel, and the growing inability of the Israeli political system to generate effective governance all point to the strong probability that religious Jewish terrorism will not fade away anytime soon.

Notes

1. David Rapoport, "The Fourth Wave: September 11 in the History of Terrorism," *Current History* 100, no. 650 (2001): 419–424.
2. Ehud Sprinzak, *Brother against Brother: Violence and Extremism in Israeli Politics from Altalena to the Rabin Assassination* (New York: Free Press, 1999), 321–323.
3. Ami Pedahzur and Arie Perliger, "The Causes of Vigilante Political Violence: The Case of Jewish Settlers," *Civil Wars* 6, no. 3 (2003): 9–30; Ehud Sprinzak, "Elite Illegalism in Israel and the Question of Democracy," in *Israeli Democracy under Stress*, eds. Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993), 173–198.
4. This argument is mostly made with particular reference to Islam. See Raphael Israeli, *The Spread of Islamikaze Terrorism in Europe: The Third Islamic Invasion* (London and Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2008).
5. See Eran Zaidise, Daphna Canetti-Nisim, and Ami Pedahzur, "Politics of God or Politics of Man? The Role of Religion and Deprivation in Predicting Support for Political Violence in Israel," *Political Studies* 55, no. 3 (2007): 499–521.
6. David Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions," *American Political Science Review* 78, no. 3 (1984): 658–677.
7. Audrey Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 124.
8. The area in which Jews were allowed to reside permanently between 1791 and 1917.
9. Martin Buber, *On Zion: The History of an Idea* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1973), 123–129.
10. First Aliyah (Ascendance), 1881–1904.
11. See Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (New York: Schocken Books, 2003).
12. Yossi Ben-Artzi, *Ha-Moshavah ha-'Ivrit be-nof Erets-Yiśra'el, 1882–1914* [Jewish "Moshava" Settlements in Eretz-Israel, 1882–1914] (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1988) (Hebrew).
13. David Lesch, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 33–34.
14. Named after Shimon Bar Giora, a prominent leader during the First Jewish-Roman War of the first century AD.

15. Hayim Nahman Bialik, *Songs from Bialik: Selected Poems of Hayim Nahman Bialik* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000).
16. Ian S. Lustick, "Terrorism in Israeli-Arab Conflict: Targets and Audiences," in *Terrorism in Context*, ed. Martha Crenshaw (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 520.
17. Rapoport, "The Fourth Wave," 54.
18. Joseph Kister, *Ha-Irgun ha-Tzvai ah-Leumi 1931–1948* [The National Military Organization, 1931–1948] (Tel Aviv: Etzel Museum, 1998), 4 (Hebrew).
19. Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881–1999* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 147–148.
20. See Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur, and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler, "The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16, no. 4 (2004): 777–794.
21. Arie Perliger and Leonard Weinberg, "Jewish Self-Defence and Terrorist Groups Prior to the Establishment of the State of Israel: Roots and Traditions," *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions* 4, no. 3 (2003): 100.
22. Perliger and Weinberg, "Jewish Self-Defence and Terrorist Groups."
23. Simon Anglim, "Orde Wingate and the Special Night Squads: A Feasible Policy for Counter-Terrorism?" *Contemporary Security Policy* 28, no. 1 (2007): 28–41; Matthew Hughes, "Terror in Galilee: British-Jewish Collaboration and the Special Night Squads in Palestine during the Arab Revolt, 1938–1939," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 43, no. 4 (2015): 590–610, accessed 22 December 2020. https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2015.1083220.
24. David Niv, *Ma'arakhot ha-Irgun ha-Tseva'i ha-Le'umi. Pt. 2, Me-haganah le-hatḳafah 1937–1939* ["Battle for Freedom: The Irgun Zvai Leumi – Part Two"] (Tel Aviv: Klausner Institute, 1966), 201.
25. Sholomo Nakdimon, *Altalena* (Jerusalem: Edanim, 1978), 175–311 (Hebrew).
26. Walter Laqueur, *The New Terrorism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 22–24.
27. See for example Martha Crenshaw, "The Effectiveness of Terrorism in the Algerian War," in Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism in Context* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).
28. Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Detente* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Peter Braunstein, and Michael William Doyle, "Introduction: Historicizing the American Counter Culture of the 1960s and 70s," in *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s*, eds. Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (New York: Routledge, 2002), 7.
29. Daniel Byman, *Deadly Connections: States That Sponsor Terrorism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1–2.
30. The first time was in 1948. During the battles, many Palestinians fled their homes in what became sovereign Israel and relocated to the West Bank, Gaza and other countries.
31. Rapoport, "The Fourth Wave," 56.
32. Michael M Laskier and Hanuch Bazov, *Teror be-sherut ha-mahpekhah: ma'arekhet ha-yaḥasim ben Ashaf le-ven Berit ha-Mo'atsot, 1968-1991* [Terrorism on behalf of the revolution: PLO-Soviet relations, 1968-1991] (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan, 2018) (Hebrew).
33. Eli Karmon, *Coalitions between Terrorist Organizations: Revolutionaries, Nationalists, and Islamists* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Brill, 2005).
34. Sprinzak, *Brother Against Brother*, 119–121.

35. Nira Yuval Davis, *Matspen: ha-irgun ha-Sotsi'alisṭi be-Yiśra'el* [Matzpen: The Israeli Socialist Organization] (Jerusalem: Department of Sociology, Hebrew University, 1977) (Hebrew).
36. Ehud Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim: The Tip of the Iceberg," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 21 (1981): 28–47.
37. Idith Zertal and Akiva Eldar, *Lords of the Land: The War over Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967–2007* (New York: Nation Books, 2009); Michael Feige, *Settling in the Hearts: Jewish Fundamentalism in the Occupied Territories* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2009).
38. Zertal and Eldar, *Lords of the Land*.
39. Ehud Sprinzak, "From Messianic Pioneering to Vigilante Terrorism: The Case of the Gush Emunim Underground," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 10, no. 4 (1987): 194–216.
40. The JDL slogan "Never Again" was once the slogan of Jewish resistance fighters in the Warsaw ghetto. It was interpreted as a cry never to allow the Holocaust to happen again, or never to allow the destruction of Israel, or never to allow genocide to be perpetrated against any other people.
41. Ami Pedahzur and Arie Perliger, *Jewish Terrorism in Israel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), chap. 4. For a review of Kahane's early days, see Robert I. Friedman, *The False Prophet: Rabbi Meir Kahane; From FBI informant to Knesset Member* (London: Faber & Faber, 1990); Raphael Cohen-Almagor, *The Boundaries of Liberty and Tolerance: The Struggle against Kahanism in Israel* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994); Raphael Mergui and Philippe Simonnot, *Israel's Ayatollahs: Meir Kahane and the Far Right in Israel* (London: Saqi Books, 1990).
42. Yair Kotler, *Heil Kahane* (New York: Adama Books).
43. Pedahzur and Perliger, *Jewish Terrorism in Israel*, 74–75.
44. See, e.g., "Israelis Arrest Kahane's Son for an Attack on a Mosque," *New York Times*, April 21, 1992, Section A, p. 9.
45. For more information on the Jewish underground, see Carmi Gillon, *Shabak ben ha-ḳera'im* [Shabak among the Shreds] (Tel Aviv: Yedioth Ahronoth, 2000), 101–102 (Hebrew); Hagai Segal, *Aḥim yeḳarim ḳorot ha-mahteret ha-Yehudit* [Dear Brothers: The Story of the Jewish Underground] (Jerusalem: Keter, 1987) (Hebrew).
46. Pedahzur and Perliger, *Jewish Terrorism in Israel*, chaps. 3–5.
47. Scott Helfstein, Nassir Abdullah, and Muhammad al-Obaidi, "Deadly Vanguards: A Study of al-Qa'ida's Violence against Muslims," West Point Occasional Paper Series, Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, December 1, 2009.
48. Walter Rogers. "Anti-Rabin sentiment turned ugly," *CNN*, 5 November 1995, accessed 18 April 2006, http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/9511/rabin/why_now/index.html. See also Pedahzur and Perliger, *Jewish Terrorism in Israel*, chap. 5.
49. For a survey about the discussion regarding the means that can be used for stopping the diplomatic process, see: Amnon Kapeliouk, *Rabin: Retsaḥ poliṭi be-'ezrat ha-Shem* [Rabin: Political Murder] (Tel Aviv: Sifriat Poalim, 1996), 82–84 (Hebrew).
50. Nelly Lahoud, "Revolution in Tunisia and Egypt: A Blow to the Jihadist Narrative?" *CTC Sentinel* 4, no. 2 (2011): 1.
51. Zertal and Eldar, *Lords of the Land*.

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CHAPTER 21

ANTICOLONIAL TERRORISM

Egypt and the Muslim Brotherhood to 1954

MARK SEDGWICK

On December 28, 1948, as Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmud al-Nuqrashi Pasha walked toward the elevator that would take him to his office in the Ministry of the Interior, he was saluted by a young man in a police lieutenant's uniform. The man, Abd al-Majid Ahmad Hasan, was in fact a student of veterinary medicine and a member of the recently banned Jamʿiyya al-ikhwan al-muslimin (Society of Muslim Brothers), generally known as the Muslim Brothers or the Muslim Brotherhood. After the prime minister had passed him, Abd al-Majid drew a revolver and shot him. His victim died within minutes. Abd al-Majid was arrested, tried, and hanged. A little more than a month later, in February 1949, Hasan al-Banna, the founder and General Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, was himself shot dead in the street by men in civilian clothes. This time the assassins were real police officers.[1]

The assassination of Prime Minister Nuqrashi was the most spectacular act of political violence committed by Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood during the 1940s but was far from its first. It was carried out by members of a secret armed paramilitary wing within the Brotherhood known variously as Al-tanzim al-khass (the Special Organization), Al-tanzim al-sirri (the Secret Organization), and Al-nizam al-khass (the Special Apparatus). This wing had been established in about 1940 and had organized and armed itself during World War II.[2] It had then joined other nationalist organizations in mounting attacks on the two groups then seen as the chief enemies of the Arabs, the British and the Zionists.[3] There was also a separate unit called Tanzim al-dubbat (the Officers' Organization), which operated within the Egyptian army.

Beginning in 1946 the Special Organization carried out attacks on British forces in Egypt, especially in the Canal Zone, where the British military presence was strongest.[4] It also contributed volunteers to the first Arab resistance against Zionism in Palestine in 1948,[5] a conflict that became the first Arab-Israeli War after the end of the British mandate over Palestine and the proclamation of the State of Israel. During this war the Brotherhood was responsible for at least one of several bombings of Jewish businesses in Cairo that were identified as pro-Zionist.[6] That same year the Special Organization also came into conflict with the Egyptian state, exchanging fire with Egyptian police in defense of an arms cache that was being raided, and assassinating Ahmad al-Khazindar, a judge who had tried and sentenced two men who were probably members of the Special Organization for killing a British soldier in Alexandria.[7]

For these and other reasons, the Egyptian government dissolved the Brotherhood in early December 1948, arresting all its leaders save al-Banna, who was placed under close police observation.[8] It was in reaction to this dissolution that Abd al-Majid, probably acting without instructions from above (though this is disputed), assassinated Prime Minister Nuqrashi. Other units then carried out other actions, including an attempt to blow up the office of the prosecutor who was investigating the assassinations. This attempt failed when an office boy became suspicious about the weight of a satchel that supposedly contained only documents. The satchel was moved out of the prosecutor's office into the street before it exploded, killing a cigarette vendor and a policeman and injuring twenty-two passers-by.[9]

As this chapter will show, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood engaged in several varieties of violence, especially during 1948-49. The Brotherhood, however, was never primarily a terrorist organization. Its involvement with political violence was limited. Political violence was first used in Egypt by anticolonial nationalists, prior to the Brotherhood's founding, and was employed by other nationalist organizations and even the Egyptian state at the time that the Brotherhood was using it. Even so, as the first Islamist organization to use terrorism, the Brotherhood plays an important role in the global history of terrorism.

Egyptian Politics and Political Violence

The Muslim Brotherhood was not the first group to use political violence in Egypt. Nuqrashi was the third Egyptian prime minister to be killed in office during the twentieth century, following Ahmad Mahir, killed in 1945 by an activist of the Wafd (Delegation) Party, and Boutros Ghali,[10] assassinated in 1910 by Ibrahim al-Wardani, a member of a small nationalist group with the innocent-sounding name Jam'iyya

al-tadamun al-akhawi (Society for Fraternal Solidarity).[11] Between 1910 and 1945 seven other prime ministers and one former prime minister survived assassination plots or attempts,[12] while several other Egyptian and British public figures were killed, ranging from an English lecturer at the Cairo School of Law in 1922 to Major-General Sir Lee Stack Pasha, the governor-general of the Sudan, shot dead in Cairo in 1924.[13] This last assassination provoked a major international crisis.

There was no Islamist involvement in any of these assassinations. These were all carried out by nationalists, mostly from the Wafd Party, whose leader, Saad Zaghlul (later a popular prime minister), established a Wafd armed section at the beginning of the Egyptian Revolt of 1919.[14] Both Mahir and Nuqrashi, later assassinated in office themselves, were formerly members of the Wafd's armed section, which Mahir at one point commanded. Both Nuqrashi and Mahir stood trial in 1926 for involvement in the assassination of Stack and only narrowly escaped conviction.[15]

The widespread use of assassination in Egyptian politics between 1910 and 1945 reflects nationalism, not Islamism, although there was a sectarian undertone to Wardani's assassination of Prime Minister Boutros Ghali, as Wardani was Muslim and Boutros Ghali was Christian. After occupying Egypt in 1882, Britain exercised control indirectly and informally through a series of consuls, high commissioners, and ambassadors. Though legally subject to a British protectorate during and immediately after World War I, Egypt remained at all times a technically sovereign state,[16] with its own ruling monarch, prime minister, and cabinet, and generally also with an elected parliament. The wishes of Britain's representatives, however, were often paramount, backed as they were by the ultimate sanction of armed force, which was used in 1942 and 1952 as well as in 1882. Egyptian monarchs, politicians, and officials were thus often placed uncomfortably between the nationalist aspirations of their own people and the imperial interests of the British, with whom they could hardly avoid collaboration. It was as collaborators that Egyptian prime ministers, officials, and judges attracted nationalist hostility and sometimes violence.

Political violence in Egypt between 1910 and 1945 can be placed in a wider context in terms of David Rapoport's typology,[17] which remains a useful point of common reference despite some deficiencies.[18] The timing and the technique of assassination were typical of Rapoport's first wave and thus can be identified with it and with other examples of that wave beyond the West, for example in China. And, precisely as Gotelind Müller has noted in the case of China, "what was received […] lay more in *strategy* than ideology."[19] None of the Egyptian assassins had any real interest in anarchism, the popularity of which did not extend much beyond Italian craftsmen in Alexandria,[20] though Wardani's prosecutor tried to ascribe his crime to contact with anarchists while studying in Switzerland.[21] The ideology of Wardani and his successors was anticolonial nationalism, the ideology of Rapoport's second wave. Anticolonial nationalism developed early in Egypt and was Egypt's strongest political sentiment after about 1907, the year in which the Watani (National) Party was founded. From 1919 it became very general, especially among the young in Egypt's rapidly growing cities. It is hardly

surprising that Egyptian anticolonial nationalism found expression not only in formal politics but also in political violence and demonstrations—and also in paramilitary youth movements. Inspired by the success of Mussolini's Blackshirts, the nationalist lawyer Ahmad Husayn established a Greenshirt movement, attached to his Hizb Misr al-fatah (Young Egypt Party), in 1933. In response, the Wafd Party established a Blueshirt movement as its youth wing in 1935. Both movements achieved a national presence during the 1930s.[22] Terrorism was not the only modern "political technology" received from Europe and introduced into Egypt before World War II.

Although political violence in Egypt between 1910 and 1945 reflects nationalism, not Islamism, there was some proto-Islamist involvement in the first known Egyptian assassination plot, in 1879. This involved two members of a radical Freemasons' lodge, Kawkab al-sharq (the Star of the Orient), the Persian agitator Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and the young Egyptian journalist Muhammad Abduh. It happened during the early stages of the economic and political crisis that led to the army revolt of Colonel Ahmad Urabi and culminated in the British invasion and occupation of Egypt. Afghani and Abduh discussed blowing up the Egyptian monarch in his carriage on the Qasr al-Nil Bridge in Cairo. In the event this plot, revealed by Abduh many years later, never progressed beyond the discussion stage.[23]

Afghani and Abduh's politics in 1879 were radical in the term's nineteenth-century sense. They were part of a group that opposed the Egyptian monarchy and the foreign bankers and governments on whom it was increasingly dependent. This group included the journalist Adib Ishaq, who celebrated in print the actions of Vera Zasulich,[24] the famous Russian terrorist discussed by Ana Siljak.[25] One source of Afghani and Abduh's enthusiasm for assassination is thus easily identified. There may have been others: the famous Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta happened to be in Egypt at the time of the Urabi Revolt, which he supported.[26] There is no evidence of any contact between Malatesta and Afghani and Abduh, but his world and theirs adjoined each other.

After the British occupation of Egypt, however, Afghani and Abduh's politics changed. Opposition to despotism was replaced with opposition to imperialism and colonialism, and thus with an early form of Islamism. In exile in Paris in 1884 they together briefly published a newspaper, *Al-urwa al-wuthqa* (The Indissoluble Bond), which succinctly developed what would become the central arguments of Islamic anticolonial nationalism. These were that all Muslims should unite to resist European imperialism, and that "true Islam" showed the way to do so. Afghani and Abduh's understanding of "true Islam" was distinctly instrumental: their own views on the reforms that the Muslim world needed in order to confront imperialism were presented as "true Islam," with little or no theological justification.[27] It was not theology that drove their nationalism; rather, anticolonial nationalism drove their theology.

As well as developing the central arguments of Islamic anticolonial nationalism, Afghani and Abduh also developed a novel interpretation of jihad. Jihad had generally

been understood as the responsibility of the Muslim state, to be declared and conducted by a sovereign ruler. Afghani and Abduh argued that since the Muslim rulers of the nineteenth century had failed to defeat imperialism, jihad had become the personal religious duty (*fard 'ayn*) of every Muslim.[28] Abduh later abandoned both Afghani and his revolutionary approach. He underwent an astonishing political transformation to become a leading exponent of Islamic modernism and a political ally of the British in Egypt. Afghani, in contrast, died in Istanbul under house arrest, wanted by the Persian authorities in connection with the assassination of the shah in 1896.

Zaghlul, who established the Wafd Party's armed section and was thus indirectly responsible for much of the political violence in Egypt in the 1920s, as well as being directly responsible for partly successful negotiations with Britain as the Egyptian prime minister, had known Afghani and was a lifelong friend of Abduh.[29] Zaghlul was not an Islamist—he took care to preach a secular nationalism that included Egypt's Christian minority—but he was still in part heir to Afghani and Abduh's politics and to Adib Ishaq's admiration for Zasulich. The assassinations carried out between 1910 and 1945 followed the logic of Rappaport's first wave in the West: their chief value was symbolic. Individual Egyptian prime ministers and British imperial administrators were easily replaced with others who continued much the same policies within much the same systems. But a successful assassination, as Anwar al-Sadat, a former Greenshirt who was involved in some such assassinations,[30] later wrote, "apart from removing a staunch supporter of colonialism […] seriously damaged the prestige of the British authorities and managed to mar the image of effective colonialism, with unprecedented destructiveness, in the eyes of the people."[31]

Another notable assassination during this period was of Lord Moyne, secretary of state for the colonies and resident minister in Cairo, who was killed in Cairo in 1944. Moyne's assassins were not Egyptian nationalists but Arabic-speaking members of the Lehi (Stern Gang), an armed Zionist group under the command of Yitzhak Shamir, later prime minister of Israel. Shamir and his colleagues hoped that the assassination of a senior British politician in Cairo might align the Zionist struggle against the British in Palestine with a more general regional nationalist struggle against the British,[32] an objective in which the Lehi was partially successful. There was indeed some Egyptian sympathy with Moyne's assassins at their trial.[33]

Political violence was, then, a well-established part of the Egyptian political scene before the Muslim Brotherhood was formed. Three later Egyptian prime ministers and one later Israeli prime minister, as well as one Egyptian president, were former practitioners of political violence. This violence was anticolonial nationalist rather than Islamist in its inspiration, though Islamic anticolonial nationalism can be seen in the pages of *Al-urwa al-wuthqa* in 1884. It owes something to European models from Vera Zasulich onward, which were reported in the Egyptian press; something to the British occupation of Egypt; and something to the uncomfortable position of Egypt's political class, squeezed as it was between popular nationalism on the one hand and the British on the other.

The Brotherhood and Politics to 1952

The Muslim Brotherhood was formed as what would today be called a civil-society organization, not a political one. Much myth and some controversy have gathered around its founding—in the provincial city of Ismailiyya in 1928, with six members—but in fact it was first registered in 1930 as a charity. Its first known activity was the collection of money to build a mosque, a boys' school, and a girls' school in Ismailiyya.[34] It then expanded to Cairo, declaring that its objectives went beyond the founding of schools and institutions to "the founding of souls," "the education and molding of the souls of the nation in order to create a strong moral immunity, firm and superior principles and a strong and steadfast ideology."[35] Brynjar Lia notes in this connection that al-Banna, then a schoolteacher, expressed admiration for the educational achievements of the Jesuits and criticism of existing Islamic associations such as the Young Men's Muslim Association (YMMA, one answer to the YMCA) for failing to address the central issues of the day.[36] The initial objective of the Brotherhood, then, was the grass roots-based, bottom-up transformation of Egyptian society.

Though not founded as a political organization, the Muslim Brotherhood quickly developed political emphases. Given its desire to address and form educated Egyptian youth, and given the heavily nationalist sentiments prevalent in such circles and the competition that developed during the 1930s between the Brotherhood and the Greenshirts and Blueshirts, it is not surprising that the Brotherhood's ideology also became nationalistic. It differed, however, from other varieties of nationalism in being Islamic. Any nationalism needs to define a "them" and an "us." There was no difficulty in 1930s Egypt in identifying the "them": fifty years after the occupation of 1882, the British were the natural target of nationalist feeling, of which they were the chief cause. There was more difficulty, however, in defining the "us." Many Egyptians followed the French territorial model, emphasizing an Egyptian nation formed by land and history. Others followed the German Romantic model, emphasizing an Arab nation formed by language and blood.[37] Al-Banna rejected both of these and revived the earlier religious model favored by Afghani and Abduh, emphasizing an Islamic nation formed by faith, greater than that formed by territory or language. He did not, however, place this Islamic nationalism in opposition to Arab and Egyptian nationalism: the liberation of Egypt from the British was a necessary first step in the liberation of the Arabs and then the Muslims.[38] The Brotherhood's Islamic nationalism thus included Arab and Egyptian nationalism.

Just as it was not surprising that nationalism should join Islam in the Brotherhood's ideology, so it was predictable that this ideology would also include socialist emphases, given the widespread awareness of economic inequality and suffering, and the beginnings of competition between the Brotherhood and a nascent communist movement.[39] The Brotherhood's ideology, then, might be described as Islamic, nationalist, and (to a lesser extent) socialist.

Given the combination of nationalism and socialism, given also that the Brotherhood rejected the factionalism of party politics and emphasized the importance of struggle (much what the word *jihad* means in the context of the Brotherhood's early publications), and given that during the 1930s the most notable organization that espoused an ideology of national and socialist struggle was the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party or Nazi Party), it is not surprising that the Brotherhood has periodically been likened to Islamic Nazism or Islamofascism, both in the 1930s and after.[40] It is clear, however, that the Brotherhood were not the "real" fascists on the 1930s Egyptian political scene. The Young Egypt Party and its Greenshirts were the real Egyptian fascists, and the Brotherhood was in competition with them.[41] The Brotherhood was on the whole highly critical of fascist Italy's colonial expansion in neighboring Libya.[42] Equally, it is clear that there were major ideological differences between the Brotherhood of the 1930s and the Nazis. The Brotherhood's ideology had no racial element, did not contemplate genocide, and was essentially defensive against the British presence in Egypt, rather than aggressive. It stressed the role of consultation (*shura*) rather than absolute leadership.[43] On the other hand, the Brotherhood did at one point accept money from Nazi agents in Cairo,[44] and it is clear that its 1930s ideology had little to do with democratic liberal pluralism. This was an ideology that had limited appeal for any radical thinker under Egypt's failing parliamentary system and was in fact making little progress among radical thinkers anywhere in the world during the 1930s.[45] Democratic liberal pluralism owes much of its later popularity in the West to the experience of the horrors of war and totalitarianism, an experience that postdates the 1930s. The Brotherhood's ideology, then, was not fascist, but neither was it liberal.

The Brotherhood's ideology was, at least in part, Islamic. The Brotherhood itself maintained that its ideology was entirely Islamic, and that Islam provided a comprehensive and seamless answer to all questions of life, including politics. This is, however, a claim commonly made by exponents of universal ideologies such as Marxism-Leninism, as well as by the Muslim Brotherhood. As we have seen, the Brotherhood's ideology included important elements that were common to other popular movements of the time, and which in those other cases did not have an Islamic origin. Anticolonial nationalism is not found only among Muslims, though Muslims were perhaps disproportionately exposed to colonialism during the 1930s. The Brotherhood's ideology, then, was not purely Islamic, but neither was it purely secular, as it defined the "imagined" national community in Islamic terms and made extensive use of the Islamic discursive tradition.[46]

The Brotherhood's ideology is often understood as being against Westernization. It was clearly anti-British, and was often anti-Western, but did not, as Lia argues, always reject all aspects of Westernization. If Westernization meant modernization, the Brotherhood did not object: Al-Banna considered sending some of the Brotherhood's journalists to the American University at Cairo, for example, to be trained in modern journalism.[47] The Brotherhood was itself a modern organization aiming at modern Egyptians, promoting a version of the modern ideology of nationalism. If Westernization

meant the abandonment of Islamic practice, however, or the replacement of pride in the Islamic heritage with a sense of inferiority vis à vis the West, the Brotherhood strongly rejected it. The Brotherhood rejected Westernization when this meant de-Islamization, but not when it meant modernization.

The dramatic growth of the Brotherhood's popularity and membership during the 1930s and 1940s, during which it acquired up to a million members,[48] certainly owes something to its ideology, which blended widespread nationalism and nascent socialism with Islam and discourses of cultural authenticity. The leaders of the Young Egypt Party paid testimony to this when, in 1940, they recognized that they had lost their competition with the Brotherhood and attempted to relaunch themselves as Al-hizb al-watani al-islami (the Islamic Nationalist Party).[49] The growth of the Brotherhood also owes something to the charisma of its leader, Hasan al-Banna. Finally, it owes something to its organizational forms. These were complex and changing but were based on a comprehensive hierarchy of ranks, strict meritocracy, and discipline,[50] and from 1943 on incorporated the cell system, which is still used today and accounts for much of the Brotherhood's remarkable resilience under repression.[51] This structure incorporated consultative organs such as the Maktab al-irshad al-'amm (General Guidance Bureau), a youth movement known as the Jawwala (Rovers) that competed directly with the Greenshirts and the Blueshirts (they wore a version of the Boy Scout uniform), and specialist groups for such activities as finance, publications, welfare services, international relations, and—covertly and after 1940—armed operations.[52] The Brotherhood's organization, then, like its ideology, drew on models that had proved successful elsewhere in the world during the interwar period and fitted well with the social and intellectual conditions of that period. Both its organization and its ideology were very modern, though also seeking authenticity in religion and in the past.

Though the Muslim Brotherhood's initial strategy was the grass roots-based, bottom-up transformation of Egyptian society, its growth and the increasing weakness of other Egyptian political forces after 1942 propelled it into activities that contradicted this strategy. The Brotherhood's size and ability to deliver large numbers of supporters made it a significant political force. Other political forces became interested in its support. Despite a declared principle of nonalignment in formal politics, the Brotherhood developed a loose alliance with the palace, a major political player, in 1938.[53] In 1942 it even attempted to enter formal parliamentary politics, putting up parliamentary candidates, but withdrawing them under a threat of internment prompted by British insistence on restraining apparently anti-British movements under wartime conditions.[54] A second attempt to enter formal politics in 1945 failed when no Brotherhood candidates were elected; Richard Mitchell ascribes this failure to electoral manipulation by Prime Minister Ahmad Mahir.[55]

The Muslim Brotherhood became entangled with day-to-day politics as a result not of attempts to enter parliament, but of the growth of extraparliamentary politics in the immediate postwar period. The end of wartime restrictions coincided with an economic crisis and difficult negotiations for the withdrawal of British forces. A series of unpopular and short-lived minority governments—eight in six years—struggled to deal with the

crisis, the British, and general allegations of corruption while restraining student demonstrations, bloody clashes between demonstrators and police, and strikes. The Brotherhood was inevitably involved in these, since during the war it had built up a major presence in the universities and in some labor unions, where it competed not only with the Wafd and the remains of the Young Egypt Party, but also with the increasingly powerful communists, who led the biggest postwar strike, in the textile industry. Brotherhood student bodies and labor unions were faced with a choice between forming a common front with their enemies and standing aside and being accused of betraying the national cause.[56] Either course of action—and the Brotherhood generally favored the second—involved engaging in day-to-day politics and negotiation with the government and opposition. By 1947 the politically nonaligned Brotherhood was sending public telegrams to the United Nations in support of positions taken there by Prime Minister Nuqrashi.[57]

To justify its banning of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1948, the Nuqrashi government blamed it not only for bombings, assassinations, and riots, but also for aiming at "the overthrow of the political order" by violent means.[58] The Brotherhood had certainly contributed to bombings, assassinations, and riots, and it certainly had a long-term aim of changing the established social and political order in Egypt. There is no evidence, however, that it meant to overthrow the political order by violent means. Nothing in its previous policies suggests such a goal, which would anyhow have been beyond its capacities. The court that tried thirty-two members of the Brotherhood in 1951 concluded that there was no evidence of any attempt at such an overthrow.[59] The 1948 allegation that the Brotherhood was aiming at violent overthrow of the government, though often accepted as true, should be understood as the legitimization of a step that the government felt it needed to take to restore order, not as an actual Brotherhood strategy.

The Brotherhood and Violence to 1952

The Muslim Brotherhood initially emphasized jihad as struggle. Its shift to understanding it as legitimate and necessary violence began with the Arab Revolt of 1936–1939 in Palestine, during which wide sections of Palestinian Arab society rose up against British imperial control and the Zionist immigration that it was facilitating. The revolt and its repression were both violent, resulting in thousands of fatal casualties, including hundreds of British.

The Brotherhood had established connections with Palestinian Arab leaders shortly before the revolt began and organized support for it in Egypt through publicity and fundraising. In 1938 the Brotherhood published a special Palestine issue of its newspaper *Al-nadhir* (The Herald), which carried al-Banna's first call to violent jihad rather than to jihad as struggle, "Sina'a al-mawt" (The Making of Death).[60] In this article al-Banna praised the Palestinian jihad and argued (as had Afghani and Abduh in 1884)

that under circumstances where Muslim lands were occupied, jihad was an individual religious duty for every Muslim. He reminded readers of the classic restrictions on jihad (notably, the protection of noncombatants) and called on Muslims to overcome their love of the world and revulsion from death and seek martyrdom.[61] As Daniel Brown argues, al-Banna combined two established themes, anticolonial struggle and ascetic religiosity, into a new synthesis.[62] Al-Banna's article shows how religion can matter even when an organization's motivations and aims are political. The primary ideology of the Brotherhood was anticolonial nationalism, which it shared with purely political organizations; its aims were the ending of the British presence in Egypt and Palestine and of Zionist immigration, both political aims. Jihad as a religious duty bringing rewards in the afterlife, however, is a purely Islamic conception, even though it overlaps with non-Islamic conceptions of patriotic duty.

Al-Banna's 1938 "The Making of Death" contributed to the recruitment of Egyptian volunteers for Palestine and may have contributed to the decision in 1940 to form an armed paramilitary Special Organization,[63] but it did not lead to any actual violence. It was not until after World War II that Brotherhood volunteers would enter Palestine and fight there. The article, however, marks a shift to a more militant position, and also perhaps a more political posture.

For the Brotherhood, jihad as political violence belongs to the period 1946–1952, which saw the events recorded at the beginning of this chapter. Its development parallels the Brotherhood's increasing involvement in day-to-day politics. These years represented a generally violent period in Egypt. In the aftermath of World War II, abandoned or purloined German, Italian, and British weapons of all varieties were easily available.[64] Wafdists and other nationalists were also attacking British personnel, fighting with the Egyptian police, and placing bombs in Jewish-owned businesses.[65] There was even fighting between Wafdists and the Brotherhood, and on one occasion al-Banna was almost killed by a (presumably Wafdist) bomb in Port Said.[66] The state itself was participating in the general violence and disorder when unidentified persons within the political police decided that it was appropriate not to arrest and try al-Banna but to assassinate him.

The Egyptian state also engaged in a form of political violence in 1951–1952, this time in cooperation with the post-al-Banna Brotherhood, not in competition with it. The presence of British forces in the Canal Zone was authorized by the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, which all parties in Egypt wanted replaced with some other agreement that would secure the withdrawal of British troops. In 1951, the Wafd government unilaterally repudiated the 1936 treaty and tacitly encouraged attacks on British troops by such means as removing legal restrictions on civilian possession of arms.[67] This produced, during the last three months of 1951, over two hundred attacks on British forces and personnel, including forty-one bombings. Brotherhood fighters were prominent among the thousand or so volunteers who carried them out, together with students, army personnel acting outside army command, volunteer "auxiliary police," and local people.[68] When the British finally overreacted in January 1952, attacking the Ismailiyya police headquarters with heavy weapons to force the surrender of some auxiliary police

and killing fifty and wounding eighty in the process,[69] anti-British and antiestablishment riots broke out in Cairo, culminating in widespread arson and a great fire in Cairo that came to be known as "Black Saturday."[70] Brotherhood members were again prominent, though followers of Ahmad Husayn, whose Young Egypt Party had been relaunched as the Hizb al-ishtiraki (Socialist Party), took the lead.[71]

Some of the Muslim Brotherhood's violence in 1946–1952 belongs in the long history of political violence in Egypt that started in 1910 and so can fairly easily be classified as terrorism. The assassinations of Prime Minister Nuqrashi and Judge Khazindar and the attempted bombing of the prosecutor's office were in the established tradition of symbolic political violence. The arson attacks of Black Saturday were also symbolic violence, and extremely effective: Black Saturday has been remembered as the start of the final crisis of the old system, which actually collapsed six months later, on July 23, with the 1952 Revolution. Coming on top of the ignominious Egyptian defeat in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the state's inability to deal with disorder in Cairo seemed to demonstrate the final bankruptcy of the political class and of the whole system. The symbolic value of Black Saturday was immense.

Much of the Brotherhood's violence in this period, however, differed from the assassinations of 1910–1945 in that its chief value was not primarily symbolic. The fight with police during the defense of the arms cache, for example, was presumably unplanned and can be understood as simple criminal violence rather than terrorism. Attacks on Zionist and then Israeli forces also aimed at an actual rather than a symbolic effect. The 1948 Arab-Israeli War was a conventional war over control of territory. It started before the British mandate in Palestine formally ended, and fighters on both sides were thus initially irregular guerilla fighters, and perhaps terrorists. The termination of the mandate and the declaration of the State of Israel instantly transformed Zionist irregulars into the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), and Brotherhood irregulars almost as quickly found themselves fighting alongside regular units of the Egyptian army, which could not enter Palestine until the end of the mandate. Brotherhood participation in the 1948 War was certainly violent, then, but it was not obviously *political* violence. In theory, it might be understood as political violence if the Brotherhood's participation had aimed more at gathering support in Egypt than at defeating Israeli forces, but there is no evidence that this was the case. Attacks on businesses in Cairo that were identified, rightly or wrongly, as supporting Zionism can also perhaps be understood as instrumental rather than symbolic. The Egyptian state did not bomb Zionist businesses (and risk civilian casualties), but it did see them as connected with the 1948 War and so placed economic and legal restrictions on them.

Attacks on the British in the Canal Zone fall into a different category, as the objective of securing British withdrawal was political rather than military: no one supposed that the British could be made to withdraw by force of arms alone. In some ways the situation was analogous to that next door in Palestine, where the Zionists had calculated—correctly—that British withdrawal could be hastened by raising the costs of continued military occupation to unacceptable levels.

Violence against Zionists, the IDF, and the British was, so far as is known, authorized by al-Banna. No written orders exist, but this violence fit his 1938 understanding of violent jihad. Terrorist violence against Egyptian targets, in contrast, was probably not authorized. It contradicted al-Banna's 1938 understanding and was publicly condemned by him. After the assassination of Nuqrashi, al-Banna published statements calling on the Special Organization to desist from further such actions, declaring that those who carried them out were "neither Brothers nor Muslims."[72]

This distinction between authorized violence against the Zionists and the British and unauthorized violence against the Egyptian state made sense tactically: terrorist violence against Egyptians was not part of al-Banna's strategy and was predictably leading to a confrontation between the Brotherhood and the Egyptian state that the Brotherhood could not, and did not, win. It also made sense in terms of Islamic doctrine: the British and the Zionists could be understood as invaders and thus as legitimate targets under the rules of jihad, but the killing of Egyptian Muslims was much harder to justify.

The Brotherhood after the Revolution of 1952

In 1951, after an interregnum, the Muslim Brotherhood replaced al-Banna with Hasan al-Hudaybi, a High Court judge not previously active in the Brotherhood leadership, chosen as a compromise candidate to clean up after the events of 1948–1949.[73] Al-Hudaybi was the general guide of the Brotherhood at the time of the 1952 Revolution (initially more of a military coup), which put an end to Egypt's constitutional parliamentary system.

Even though the Brotherhood had not intended the overthrow of the existing system by force in 1948, when in 1952 Harakat al-dubbat al-ahrar (the Free Officers' Movement) did overthrow it by force, the Brotherhood was, after some initial hesitation, positive. The Free Officers at first had no firm plan or coherent ideology and initially courted the Brotherhood, as they did the communists. Relations started well. Several Free Officers were former members of the Brotherhood, and some had fought in Special Organization units in Palestine.[74] Sadat (then a lieutenant colonel) had known al-Banna since 1940.[75] Gamal Abdel Nasser (also a lieutenant colonel) had even been sworn into the Special Organization in 1943–1944 and had briefly helped train some of its members.[76] In 1952 the Free Officers appointed a member of the Brotherhood minister of religious affairs (*wazir al-awqaf*) and exempted the Brotherhood from the general ban on political parties in 1953 that initiated the arrests of leading communists.[77]

A split, however, developed in Egypt's new rulers between a moderate faction under General Muhammad Naguib, which favored a controlled return to a parliamentary system, and a more radical faction under Nasser, which favored a clean break with the

past. As this split became a power struggle, al-Hudaybi found himself increasingly close to President Naguib and his moderate faction. Nasser first encouraged al-Hudaybi's rivals within the Brotherhood against him and then, in early 1954, banned the Brotherhood.[78] Naguib, who had not been consulted, resigned, and popular and army protests followed. Nasser responded with a tactical retreat, restoring Naguib to the presidency but then sidelining him and reducing him to a powerless figurehead.[79] The Brotherhood had lost its chief ally. Pressure for the use of violence in response arose within the Special Organization, which al-Hudaybi had been attempting without success to dissolve since taking office in 1951, but he and his allies successfully resisted this pressure.[80] Then, on October 26, Nasser survived what seemed to be a Brotherhood assassination attempt. Large crowds cheered him on his return to Cairo, and the Cairo headquarters of the Brotherhood were sacked and burned. The arrest of the Brotherhood's leaders and of some two thousand of its members followed, as did the dismissal and then the arrest of Naguib, accused of conspiracy with the Brotherhood.[81]

The 1954 assassination attempt on Nasser may have been the work of the assassin Muhammad Abd al-Latif and two other members of the Special Organization,[82] or it may have been stage-managed by Nasser's supporters, a possibility for which there is some circumstantial evidence.[83] Certainly no convincing evidence has ever emerged of any instruction from outside Muhammad Abd al-Latif's immediate circle.[84] Despite this, most of the leading members of the Brotherhood's Guidance Bureau were tried and sentenced along with Muhammad Abd al-Latif, including six who were sentenced to death, sentences that were carried out five days after the end of the trial. Al-Hudaybi's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.[85] Naguib remained under house arrest.

Whatever the origin of the assassination attempt, its most important impact was to facilitate the consolidation of Nasser's hold on power and thus the power of the authoritarian regime that governed Egypt until the resignation of President Mubarak in 2011 and was then restored by General Abd al-Fattah al-Sisi. The second-most important impact of the 1954 assassination attempt was to justify a repression of the Brotherhood far harsher than that of 1948.

As a consequence of Nasser's repression of the Brotherhood and the systematic torture in prison of its leaders and many members, increasingly radical views developed among some, finding expression in the writings of Sayyid Qutb and in what came to be known as Nizam 1965 (the Organization of 1965). This group was largely independent of al-Hudaybi and the Brotherhood leadership, which was then fragmented and ineffective. It was initially headed by a former minister with guerilla experience from fighting against the British, Abd al-Aziz Ali, who revived a small armed group. He may have favored the assassination of Nasser (this is disputed), but in 1964 he was replaced as the group's leader by Sayyid Qutb, who assigned violence a subsidiary place in his strategy.[86] Before this strategy could be implemented, however, the group was discovered by Egyptian security. Renewed mass arrests and repression followed, even more violent than those of 1954. Qutb was among those executed.[87]

The unanimous response of the Brotherhood leadership to these events was a determination to avoid violence in future, given its repeatedly disastrous consequences. This decision was marked by the composition in about 1968 of *Du'at la qudat* (Preachers, Not Judges), a work signed by al-Hudaybi that argued against violence and against the interpretation of Qutb's work as encouraging violence. Omar Ashour credits this with the Brotherhood's final and comprehensive abandonment of political violence.[88] The Brotherhood then reentered Egyptian life and politics after 1971, when President Sadat cautiously reformed Nasser's system and released restrictions on the Brotherhood, evidently hoping that it might serve as a useful counterweight against opposition to him, and perhaps also remembering his own pre-1952 relations with al-Banna. The resurgent Brotherhood, however, gave rise to more radical splinter groups that rejected the Brotherhood leadership and the antiviolence message of *Du'at la qudat*. One of these assassinated Sadat in 1981. This led to further repression of all varieties of Islamism, including the Brotherhood, under President Hosni Mubarak.

Conclusion

Sadat's assassins were among the many Islamist terrorists who had been former members or associates of the Brotherhood. The writings of Qutb have inspired jihad everywhere, despite al-Hudaybi's *Du'at la qudat*. Al-Banna's 1938 "The Making of Death," in contrast, seems to have had less impact, although, as Brown points out, its combination of jihad and asceticism is precisely what is found in the "Last Night" 9/11 document.[89] Several non-Egyptian affiliates of the Brotherhood have made considerable use of violence, notably Hamas, but these have acted independently of Cairo since 1954 and have developed in various directions in response to differing local conditions. The Egyptian Brotherhood remains a firm supporter of jihad against Israel, but this is a position that it shares with the majority of the Egyptian population. There has been no clearly documented instance of deliberate use of terrorism by the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood itself since 1948, though terrorism was contemplated by some members of the Organization of 1965.

Those who seek to repress the Brotherhood, however, often use allegations of terrorism to justify their actions, ascribing to the Muslim Brotherhood a continuous list of terrorist acts from the assassination of Prime Minister Nuqrashi in 1948 to the attempted assassination of President Mubarak in 1995, passing through attacks on President Nasser in 1954, Minister of Religious Affairs Muhammad al-Dahabi in 1977, President Sadat in 1981, and Nobel laureate Naguib Mahfouz in 1993. All these acts of terrorism can certainly be blamed on Islamists, but only the assassination of Nuqrashi can really be blamed on the Brotherhood, and even that assassination was probably unauthorized. The portrayal of the Brotherhood as consistently violent has little basis in fact and seems to serve primarily to place it beyond rational discourse.

The use of terrorism by the Brotherhood in the 1940s and 1950s was important to the history of the Brotherhood, to the history of Egypt, and to the history of Islamism, but it

was also limited and incidental. The Muslim Brotherhood was, from its founding until about 1945, a politico-religious mass movement, not a terrorist organization. It was notable for ideological and organizational innovation, not for the use of political violence. Its armed paramilitary wing, which Lia suggests was established mostly to keep its more militant members occupied,[90] initially practiced violence only in three contexts in which violence was already the norm: Palestine, the Canal Zone, and the extreme political instability in Egypt in 1944–1950. Violence aimed against Egyptian officials and politicians, as al-Banna feared, did nothing to advance the goals of the Brotherhood, but it did do much to justify state repression of the Brotherhood, especially after 1952.

Although the Brotherhood's assassination of Prime Minister Nuqrashi in 1948 was a terrorist act of considerable importance, it was not the Brotherhood's terrorism that represented the most important reception of terrorism in Egypt. The Egyptian reception of the new Western technique of terrorist assassination started not in 1948 but in 1878–1879 with Adib Ishaq's enthusiastic account of the exploits of Vera Zasulich and the first Egyptian assassination plot of Afghani and Abduh. It bore fruit in a series of nationalist political assassinations from 1910 to 1945, and only then in the Brotherhood's Special Organization from 1946 to 1949. It bore the most fruit in the subsequent use of political violence by more radical Islamist groups that split off from the Brotherhood after 1968, and then by Islamist groups worldwide at the start of the twenty-first century.

The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood has been many things in its long history, now almost a century in length. It has been a mosque society, a grassroots reform movement, an ideological innovator, a political player in a collapsing parliamentary system, a charity, a recruiter of volunteers for anticolonial guerilla warfare, the parent of a poorly controlled terrorist subsidiary, a prison discussion group, an opposition party, and (briefly) a ruling party. It has not been a terrorist group, though later terrorist groups have taken inspiration from it. Rather, it did more than any other organization to develop and popularize the ideology of Islamic anticolonial nationalism, an ideology that does not in or of itself imply terrorism, but has often inspired it.

Notes

I would like to thank Omar Ashour, Michael Reimer, and Barbara Zollner for their comments on the draft of this chapter.

1. Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 71. Mitchell's book, which is a thorough and objective treatment, remains the standard work even after almost half a century, though other materials used in this chapter have made important contributions. There is no comparable source in Arabic, since even historical writing on the Muslim Brotherhood in Arabic is strongly affected by political and ideological positions.
2. Brynjar Lia, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement, 1928–1942* (Reading, NY: Ithaca Press, 1998), 180–181.
3. The term "Zionist" is used in this chapter in its technical sense to describe those working for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. When that state was established, Zionists became Israelis, but there were no "Israelis" before there was a State of Israel.

4. Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 60; Michael Mason, "Killing Time: The British Army and its Antagonists in Egypt, 1945–1954," *War and Society* 12, no. 2 (1994): 103–126.
5. Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 56–58.
6. Ibid., 65.
7. Ibid., 61–62.
8. Ibid., 65–66.
9. "2 Killed in Cairo by Fanatic's Bomb," *New York Times*, January 14, 1949, 8.
10. I use here and in some other places below the generally accepted spelling rather than the official transliteration. This Boutros Ghali was the grandfather of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.
11. Eliezer Tauber, "Egyptian Secret Societies, 1911," *Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 4 (2006): 603–604.
12. Muhammad Said in 1919, Yusuf Wahba in 1919, Muhammad Tawfiq Nasim in 1920, Abd al-Khaliq Tharwat in 1922, Husayn Rushdi in 1922, Saad Zaghlul in 1924, Isma'il Sidqi in 1930, and Mustafa al-Nahhas in 1937. Donald M. Reid, "Political Assassination in Egypt, 1910–1954," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 15, no. 4 (1982): 647–649.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., 629. The revolt is also known as the Egyptian Revolution of 1919. I have used the term "revolt" to keep the number of revolutions in this chapter to a minimum.
15. Ibid., 631.
16. The technical sovereign power until 1914 was actually the Ottoman sultan, but this had almost no practical consequences.
17. David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, ed. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 46–73.
18. Mark Sedgwick, "Inspiration and the Origins of Global Waves of Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 30, no. 2 (2007): 97–112.
19. Gotelind Müller, "China and the 'Anarchist Wave of Assassinations': Politics, Violence and Modernity in East Asia around the Turn of the Twentieth Century," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Terrorism*, eds. Carola Dietze and Claudia Verhoeven (New York: Oxford University Press), https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199858569.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199858569-e-016 or chapter 15.
20. Anthony Gorman, "'Diverse in Race, Religion and Nationality…but United in Aspirations of Civil Progress': The Anarchist Movement in Egypt, 1860–1940," in *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870–1940*, eds. Steven Hirsch and Lucien van der Walt (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 10.
21. Malak Badrawi, *Political Violence in Egypt, 1910–1925: Secret Societies, Plots and Assassinations* (Abingdon: Routledge: 2013), 28–29, 36–27.
22. Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski, *Confronting Fascism in Egypt: Dictatorship versus Democracy in the 1930s* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 32, 221.
23. Mark Sedgwick, Muhammad Abduh (Oxford: Oneworld, 2010), 26.
24. Ibid., 23.
25. Ana Siljak, "Saints of the Cause: Feminism, Gender, and Religion in the History of Russian Terrorism," in *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Terrorism*, eds. Carola Dietze and Claudia Verhoeven (New York: Oxford University Press), https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199858569.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199858569-e-014 or chapter 13.

26. Gorman, "Diverse in Race, Religion and Nationality," 29.
27. Sedgwick, Muhammad Abduh, 49–54.
28. Ibid., 54–55.
29. Ibid., 10 and passim.
30. Reid, "Political Assassination in Egypt," 626, 633–634.
31. Anwar Sadat, *In Search of Identity: An Autobiography* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 60, quoted in Reid, "Political Assassination in Egypt," 646.
32. J. Bowyer Bell, "Assassination in International Politics," *International Studies Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (March 1972): 59–82, at 62.
33. Reid, "Political Assassination in Egypt," 633.
34. Lia, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 40–41.
35. Hasan al-Banna,"Aghrad al-ikhwan al-Muslimin," *Jaridat al-ikhwan al-muslimin* 7 (1352/1933), quoted in Lia, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 67.
36. Lia, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 56–58.
37. There is a large body of literature. See Israel Gershoni, "Rethinking the Formation of Arab Nationalism in the Middle East, 1920–1945: Old and New Narratives," in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, eds. James P. Jankowski and Israel Gershoni (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 3–25.
38. Lia, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 79–80.
39. A divided but important communist movement emerged during the 1940s. Selma Botman, "Egyptian Communists and the Free Officers: 1950–54," *Middle Eastern Studies* 22, no. 3 (1986): 351.
40. For recent comparisons, see, e.g., Matthias Küntzel, *Jihad and Jew-Hatred: Islamism, Nazism and the Roots of 9/11*, trans. Colin Meade (New York: Telos Press, 2007). This is critiqued effectively in Gershoni and Jankowski, *Confronting Fascism*, 279–281.
41. Gershoni and Jankowski, *Confronting Fascism*, 221–223.
42. Gershoni and Jankowski argue that the Brotherhood was highly critical of Nazi and Italian fascist nationalism (ibid., 217–218). This is correct, but not decisive, as the criticism was primarily of the basis of the nationalism (territorial and racial) and of its imperialist effects. That is to say, the Brotherhood criticized the forms that nationalism was taking, not nationalism as such.
43. Ahmad Moussalli, "Hassan Al-Banna," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*, eds. John L. Esposito and Emad El-Din Shahin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 129–143.
44. Gershoni and Jankowski, *Confronting Fascism*, 213.
45. Gershoni and Jankowski demonstrate that liberal democracy retained an appeal for less radical commentators (ibid., 272).
46. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Talal Asad, "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam" (working paper, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1986), 14.
47. Now the American University in Cairo. Lia, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 78.
48. Barbara H. E. Zollner, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Hasan al-Hudaybi and Ideology* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), 10.
49. Gershoni and Jankowski, *Confronting Fascism*, 221.
50. Lia, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 96–108.
51. Tarek Masoud, "The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*, eds. John L. Esposito and Emad El-Din Shahin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 89–111.

52. Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 165–182.
53. Lia, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 217–223.
54. Ibid., 268–269.
55. Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 33.
56. Ibid., 45–48.
57. Ibid., 51.
58. Ibid., 66.
59. Ibid., 77–78.
60. Israel Gershoni, "The Muslim Brothers and the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936–39," *Middle Eastern Studies* 22, no. 3 (July 1986): 369–371, 378, 384.
61. Ibid., 384; Daniel Brown, "Hasan al-Bannā', the Art of Death, and Contemporary Muslim Ideologies of Martyrdom," in *Religion and Terrorism: The Use of Violence in Abrahamic Monotheism*, eds. Veronica Ward and Richard Sherlock (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014), 159–160.
62. Brown, "Hasan al- Bannā'," 164.
63. Gershoni, "The Muslim Brothers and the Arab Revolt," 384.
64. Mason, "Killing Time," 108.
65. Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 60, 64.
66. Ibid., 48.
67. Anne-Claire Kerbœuf, "The Cairo Fire of 26 January 1952 and the Interpretations of History," in *Re-envisioning Egypt, 1919–1952*, ed. Arthur Goldschmidt, Amy J. Johnson, and Barak A. Salmoni (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2006), 208.
68. Christopher Weeks, "Egypt's Canal Zone Guerrillas: The 'Liberation Battalions' and Auxiliary Police, 1951–1954," *Military History Online* (2011), accessed July 31, 2014, http://www.militaryhistoryonline.com/20thcentury/articles/egyptcanalguerrillas.aspx.
69. Michael Mason, "'The Decisive Volley': The Battle of Ismailia and the Decline of British Influence in Egypt, January–July 1952," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 19, no. 1 (1991): 45–64, at 48–49; Kerbœuf, "The Cairo Fire," 199.
70. Kerbœuf, "The Cairo Fire," 204.
71. Ibid., 207, 200, 211.
72. Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 68.
73. Zollner, *Muslim Brotherhood*, 21–22.
74. Joel Gordon, *Nasser's Blessed Movement: Egypt's Free Officers and the July Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 45.
75. Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 40.
76. Gordon, *Nasser's Blessed Movement*, 45.
77. Zollner, *Muslim Brotherhood*, 27–29; Botman, "Egyptian Communists and the Free Officers," 359.
78. Gordon, *Nasser's Blessed Movement*, 102–105.
79. Ibid., 128–142.
80. Zollner, *Muslim Brotherhood*, 23; Omar Ashour, *The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), 70–71.
81. Zollner, *Muslim Brotherhood*, 38.
82. This is the conclusion of Mitchell, based on his review of the evidence given at the trial (*Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 157–160).
83. The attempt took place during a speech by Nasser and was therefore recorded. On the recording, Nasser pauses, eight shots are very clearly heard, and Nasser then continues with some very well-chosen words. Either Nasser was brave to the point of foolhardiness and an

excellent speechwriter under fire, or the whole thing was stage-managed. No one was hurt by any of the shots. If the attempt was stage-managed, Muhammad Abd al-Latif and his two colleagues confessed to, and were executed for, crimes that they had not committed. This is not impossible, as the example of Stalinist show trials shows. Advance planning is also suggested by Nasser's having informed Jefferson Caffery (the U.S. ambassador to Egypt, with whom he was then on good terms), one week before the assassination attempt, that he was about to liquidate the Muslim Brotherhood. Barry Rubin, "America and the Egyptian Revolution, 1950–1957," *Political Science Quarterly* 97, no. 1 (1982): 73–90, at 81.

84. Mitchell, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 157–160.
85. Ibid., 160–161.
86. Ashour, *De-Radicalization of Jihadists*, 76.
87. Ibid., 84.
88. Ibid., 81–82.
89. Brown, "Hasan al-Bannā," 161, 165–166.
90. Lia, *Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 178–179.

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CHAPTER 22

MANIFESTATIONS OF IMPERIAL TERROR IN COLONIAL KENYA

TIMOTHY H. PARSONS

The realities of the Kenyan experience of British imperial rule do not fit neatly with conventional narratives of the theory and practice of terrorism. Nevertheless, including non-Western case studies in a larger consideration of the evolution and manifestation of spectacular political violence in the last two centuries helpfully complicates the overly neat definition of terrorism as a specifically Western form of political agency used by powerless groups to confront the expanding power of the nation-state. In twentieth-century imperial Africa, there was no nation-state in the "modern" sense, and subject African peoples were anything but powerless. Consequently, the incidents of demonstrative violence that drove Western empire building in Africa mesh poorly with a neat linear narrative of modern terrorism that links French revolutionary state terror, anarchism, anticolonialism, and the leftist radicalism of the 1970s.[1]

This chapter explains how subject Africans in Kenya used a variety of both nonviolent and violent methods to resist the colonial regime's demands for their wealth, land, and labor. These tactics changed over time and reflected the shifting realities of foreign rule in the East African highlands. In the late nineteenth century, highland communities used a variety of irregular and spectacularly violent methods to fight the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) and the succeeding East Africa Protectorate (EAP) to a standstill. The British Empire's monopoly on advanced weaponry eventually won out, but the resulting Kenya Colony and Protectorate, although frequently brutal and authoritarian, was so weak and undercapitalized that its capacity to intervene directly in the daily lives of its African subjects was distinctly limited. This meant that spectacular violence was usually unnecessary. However, global studies of terrorism often classify the Kenya Land Freedom Army that fought the "Mau Mau" war as a terrorist organization.

In reality, although the landless young Kikuyu who took to highland forests in the early 1950s occasionally employed assassination and other forms of spectacular violence, their primary targets were elite members of their own community. At its core, the "Mau Mau Emergency" was a Kikuyu civil war and not a struggle by nonstate actors against the expanding power of a Western-style nation-state. In this sense, it re-enacted the spectacular violence of the conquest era and should not be classified as either "primitive" or "modern" terrorism.

The Conquest Era

Actual terror was so pervasive during the new imperial era in late nineteenth-century Africa that it defies conventional categorization. Far from being humanistic or progressive agents of modernization, Western Europeans carved out short-lived empires by leveraging their temporary advantage in military technology. Repeating rifles, maxim guns, and light field artillery allowed chartered companies and military entrepreneurs leading small bands of locally recruited mercenaries and "liberated" slaves to win cheap, easy, but devastatingly bloody victories over African forces that had difficulty acquiring the new weapons after the 1890 Brussels Treaty banned their sale on the continent.[2]

The resulting colonies and protectorates could scarcely be classified as "modern" states. Indeed, the Imperial British East Africa Company was an anachronistic throwback to the early modern era when conquistadors and nabobs used private armies to carve out empires in Asia and the Americas. The liberal democracies of Western Europe that underwrote the new imperialism reduced costs and kept the messy business of empire building at arm's length by subcontracting it to chartered concerns like MacKinnon's IBEAC, Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa Company, and George Goldie's Royal Niger Company. These speculators often needed government loans, grants, and other illiberal concessions and privileges to generate profits for their chairmen and shareholders. The resulting chartered company governments sponsored neo-mercantile semi-capitalistic economies that stifled economic development in order to privilege imperial special interest groups and produce raw materials for export.

In East Africa, the first Europeans to venture into the highlands were mostly explorers and missionaries. They paved the way for fortune hunters, speculators, and other assorted marginal men in the pay of MacKinnon and the IBEAC. Seeking adventure, fame, and riches, they used their temporary advantage in firepower to prey on local populations. The situation did not improve after 1895 when the metropolitan British government created the East Africa Protectorate by buying out the nearly bankrupt MacKinnon.

Walter and many other scholars of "African terrorism" mistakenly assume that supposedly "primitive" East Africans lacked the means and sophistication to resist the British imperial expansion. Although highland communities had complex and

well-developed governing and social institutions, most were essentially stateless polities. Thus, even though large numbers of people shared broad ethnic identities and common customs, day-to-day authority was collective, diffuse, and primarily local.[3] This meant that while communities could mobilize masses of men for combat and raiding, they lacked the political means and larger collective will to unite against the foreign threat. Nevertheless, the very fact that they lacked centralized institutions of authority made them extremely difficult to conquer and govern.

This was the case with the Kikuyu village of Kihimbuini, which had to deal with the invaders' demands for foodstuffs, women, land, and ultimately sovereignty on its own. A few entrepreneurial highlanders prospered by providing these services for a fee, but for most the advanced wave of European "modernity" was a threatening intrusion. Initially, their stubborn defiance took the form of either aloof indifference to the EAP's audacious claims to sovereignty in the highlands or raids on passing caravans and the Mombasa railway's construction crews. But in September 1902, the people of Kihimbuini made an example of a trespassing settler who purportedly ventured into their territory to buy sheep. The account of what transpired comes solely from the diary of Richard Meinertzhagen, a lieutenant on loan (secondment) to the King's African Rifles (Britain's East African colonial army), who claimed that the villagers tied the interloper down, pegged his mouth open, drowned him with urine, and then mutilated his corpse.[4]

Seeking to justify their conquest of the highlands, Meinertzhagen and his fellow adventurers held up this kind of spectacular violence as evidence of African barbarity. The settler leader E. S. Grogan self-servingly declared that it was "patent to all who have observed the African native, that he is fundamentally inferior in mental development and ethical possibilities (call it a soul if you will) to the white man."[5] Yet the French anarchist tactic of bombing cafes on the grounds that all members of the bourgeoisie were guilty of supporting an unjust state system is arguably as barbaric as staking out a man and drowning him, and it is likely that the people of Kihimbuini were practicing their own form of the anarchists' "propaganda by deed." Lacking the means to defend their land conventionally against the better armed and highly aggressive forces the EAP, they sought to dissuade the invaders by terrorizing the government officials, private speculators, and adventurers who used the cover of empire building to encroach on their territory and sovereignty.

Imperial apologists and propagandists depict the larger Western imperial occupation of sub-Saharan Africa in the late nineteenth century, of which the conquest of the highlands was a chapter, as a necessary civilizing step in the continent's integration into the global capitalist economy. Niall Ferguson argues that "no organization in history has done more to promote the free movement of goods, capital and labour than the British Empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. And no organization has done more to impose Western norms of law, order and governance around the world."[6] Incidents like the execution at Kihimbuini allowed imperial partisans like Grogan and Ferguson to portray this neo-conquistadorism as humane and moral by claiming that inherently primitive Africans needed a guiding hand to reach the West's higher stage of civilization, liberty, and prosperity.

Yet Meinertzhagen's response to the Kihimbuini incident was hardly progressive. Subscribing to his own version of propaganda by deed, he set out to make an example of the murderous villagers. Recording in his diary that "the horrible death they meted out to one of my own countrymen fills me with anger," he resolved to teach a lesson that would "long be remembered among the Wakikuyu." As his detachment of Sudanese mercenary soldiers approached the sleeping village of Kihimbuini at dawn he ordered "that every living thing except children should be killed without mercy." Horrifically, his diary entry dispassionately noted that his men followed his instructions to the letter:

> Several of the men tried to break out and were immediately shot.…Every soul was either shot or bayoneted.…We burned all the huts and razed the banana plantations to the ground.…The whole of this affair took so short a time that the sun was barely up before we beat a retreat to our main camp.[7]

Although Meinertzhagen claimed that the operation haunted him for years, the next record in his diary was about confiscating sheep and giving sugared almonds to their child shepherds.

The British lieutenant understood pragmatically that in spite of its advantages in military technology and organization, the East Africa Protectorate lacked the financing and manpower to subdue and govern the entire population of the highlands. For all of Ferguson's grand rhetoric about the transformative power of Western capitalism, MacKinnon's IBEAC failed because it lacked the ability to reorient local institutions of production and commerce for the world market.

The East Africa Protectorate inherited this dismal situation and had to exercise imperial hegemony on the cheap. The King's African Rifles (KAR), the protectorate's primary coercive arm, was not part of the regular British Army and consisted instead of inexpensive Sudanese, Ethiopian, and Somali troops stiffened by an Indian Army battalion and augmented by paramilitary police forces and Maasai spearmen ("native levies"). The latter group had no love of the British Empire and forged a temporary alliance with the foreigners to restock their herds, which had been devastated by a wave of cattle epidemics, with captured stock. While these improvised imperial formations could inflict grievous damage on an enemy that stood and fought, they were too small, lightly armed, and under-trained to force every person in the highlands to accept the EAP as their rulers. Consequently, it took the terror of punitive operations like the massacre at Kihimbuini to intimidate the local communities throughout the region into acknowledging the authority of the new imperial regime.

The British officials and military officers euphemistically called these brutal attacks "pacification campaigns." Frustrated that sensible African adversaries learned not to challenge their superior firepower head on, they discovered through trial and error that the best way to force a resistant community to come out and fight was to seize their livestock, a primary unit of wealth in the highlands. As one KAR office explained: "Fighting always centres round the stock in Africa, and the real fun does not, as a rule, begin till the raiding party tries to get away with the cattle."[8] In turn-of-the-century East Africa,

this sort of "fun" produced enormous amounts of looted wealth. Of the three hundred head of cattle and eight thousand sheep and goats seized by the 1896 "Kamassia Expedition," the East Africa Protectorate, the Sudanese soldiery, and the Maasai "auxiliaries" each took a third.[9] These "pacification" tactics gave resistant communities the difficult choice of facing down the advanced weapons of industrial Europe or starving.

These short but vicious raids and counter-raids erupted in virtually every corner of the East Africa Protectorate in the decades before World War I. Eventually their terroristic brutality, coupled with a series of devastating famines and epidemics that cut the population of central East Africa by as much as half, took their toll. In 1905, Meinertzhagen himself played a central role in smothering resistance in the highlands by executing the military leader of the Nandi who met with him to parley under a de facto flag of truce.[10] Although the actual administrative reach of the East Africa Protectorate remained short and weak, British rule was sufficiently secure by the 1910s that a British officer could confidently declare that "the object of the KAR is not to kill potential British subjects, especially as they are expected to become tax-payers and profitable customers."[11] Thus, the imperial regime in East Africa gradually acquired the outward trappings of a Western state.

The brutality of the dirty war in the East African highlands calls into question assumptions that terrorism most always takes the form of politically driven demonstrations of spectacular violence directed by weak private actors against powerful nation-states. The mutual brutality of the new imperial era in Africa was born of the inherent weakness of both the Western invaders and the indigenous population, and as such in early colonial Africa it was definitely not "a distinctive form of modern political agency, intended to threaten the ability of a state to ensure the security of its members—and thus its claim to legitimacy."[12] Rather, the spectacular violence of the conquest era was born of the inability of Westerners and Africans alike to assert direct control over the highlands.

The Kenyan Colonial Regime

On paper, the Kenya Colony and Protectorate, which replaced the East Africa Protectorate in 1920, was at least a formal state. Yet it was scarcely more advanced than its predecessors. It lacked the fiscal means and political inclination to provide conquered African communities with anything more than the most rudimentary forms of Western education, medicine, transportation, and the other celebrated trappings of modernity. Equally significant, the Kenyan government's reach barely extended into the African countryside. Those Africans who sought to escape the imperial regime's demands for labor and taxes could simply resort to evasion and obstruction rather than adopting much riskier tactics of Western-style terrorism. Similarly, the small class of literate Africans generally believed that petitions and lawsuits directed toward the metropolitan British government were the most effective way of opposing the Nairobi regime's inequitable and hypocritical policies.

As was the case throughout British Africa, the Kenyan government's relative impotence stemmed from its reliance on local African allies and decidedly non-modern institutions to actually rule. Grudgingly accepting that they could not exercise power without sharing it, British officials governed highland stateless societies by pretending that they were "tribes" ruled by autocratic "chiefs" who drew their authority from "native tradition." Frederick Lugard, the chief imperial ideologue in Africa, claimed that it was possible for Britain to uplift its "primitive" subjects while simultaneously developing their economic potential for the good of the wider world. In reality, this system of indirect rule tacitly acknowledged that British Empire builders lacked the means and desire to "modernize" their subjects.

For all of the imperial regime's self-serving rhetoric about civilizing tribal Africans, colonial Kenya was first and foremost a racially segregated settler society. Desperate to justify the nine million pounds that it cost the metropolitan government to build the railway from Mombasa to Uganda and frustrated by their inability to attract sufficient foreign investment, the Kenyan authorities concluded that European farming was the best means of developing the new colony. In making the decision to promote the "white" settlement of the highlands, EAP Commissioner (Governor) Sir Charles Eliot willfully overlooked the reality that Africans were much better equipped to produce for the world market by virtue of their better understanding of local agriculture and lower labor costs.

Indeed, the vast majority of the approximately one thousand Westerners who migrated to the EAP before World War I were woefully unsuited to the task Eliot assigned them. Granted 999-year leases to over three million hectares of high-quality land at rock bottom prices, most were more inclined to dabble in speculation than farming. To make room for them the imperial regime restricted Africans, who constituted 86 percent of the population, to "native reserves" covering only 22 percent of the arable land in the colony.[13] Perversely, only about 35 percent of the farmland in the "white highlands" was actually in production in 1930.[14] Far from acting as the engine of modernization, the settlers used the inherent privileges of empire to prey on the African population. Conflicted by their fear of the subject majority and their desperate need for cheap labor, they continued the excesses of the conquest era by compiling a brutal record of flogging and torture.[15]

The Kenyan settlers dominated the colony through their representatives on the Legislative Council and warm relations with a series of decidedly sympathetic governors and administrators. They used this influence to secure favorable labor legislation, impose a rigid social color bar, and, mostly importantly, establish a rudimentary but nonetheless effective security regime that helped to allay their anxieties about living as a privileged imperial elite amidst a sea of marginalized and resentful subjects. The 1915 Registration of Native Ordinance met all of these objectives by requiring every African male over the age of fifteen to carry a special identifying certificate (*kipande*) if they left their home reserve. Additional legislation barred Africans from carrying firearms without a special permit, while every European in the colony had the unspoken right to a gun license.

Despite these precautions, the settlers lived in a near constant state of anxiety. Although there were no serious threats to their collective security before the Mau Mau uprising of the 1950s, a few celebrated cases of murder at the hands of Africans on remote farms and mission stations, coupled with an intractable burglary problem in Nairobi and its environs, kept Westerners on edge. Unwilling to rely solely on the African soldiers of the King's African Rifles for their protection, they raised a motley militia known as the Kenya Defence Force. Equally unsettling was the fact that the Kenya Police, which operated solely in European areas, consisted primarily of African constables. Similarly, the government's day-to-day control of the native reserves depended almost exclusively on the chiefs and their "tribal policemen."

These were at best stopgap measures, and at the most fundamental level the imperial regime still needed terror and intimidation to force the African majority to acknowledge its authority. In making the case for continued funding for the King's African Rifles during the fiscal crisis of the Great Depression, a senior colonial military officer argued: "There should be presented to the people at all times a detached and independent military force, so loyal, so powerfully armed and so highly trained that all idea of resistance to it, in spite of immense superiority of numbers and the vastness of the country, would be a hopeless and unthinkable undertaking."[16] To ensure that rural African communities never forgot this reality, KAR platoons toured the reserves conducting live fire demonstrations that cut down trees with machine gun fire and set huts on fire with incendiary tracer ammunition, thus reinforcing Meinertzhagen's lesson at Kihimbuini.

These demonstrations were usually sufficient to dissuade an armed collective challenge to British authority. Most Africans were not tempted to employ the terror tactics pioneered in Europe half a century earlier against authoritarian governments in the colonies. This was not because they were too traditional to grasp the implications of propaganda by deed. The small but politically active class of educated Africans read European newspapers and history books and were fully aware of the anarchist and revolutionary violence of the nineteenth century. It was also relatively easy to steal firearms and explosives from poorly guarded army and police depots. But from the common person's perspective, it was more practical and less dangerous to simply ignore or sabotage the Kenyan government's demands for labor, taxes, and obedience.

While spectacular violence would have certainly terrorized the settlers and received ample coverage in the English-language *East Africa Standard* newspaper and metropolitan press, widespread illiteracy resulting from the stunted education system and the limited scope of the African vernacular print media meant that news of such incidents would not have reached most of the general population. Conversely, the graduates of government and mission schools assumed that Western-style political tactics were an effective means of putting pressure on the imperial regime in the interwar years. The generation of ambitious young men that came of age in the 1920s did this by founding newspapers like Jomo Kenyatta's *Mwigwithania* ("The Reconciler"), lobbying groups like the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association, and forming explicitly political movements like Harry Thuku's East Africa Association.

The settlers would have preferred to deal with this emerging political resistance ruthlessly, but the metropolitan British government's commitment to the rule of law and almost naive faith in the new imperialism's humanitarian legitimizing ideology limited the Kenyan imperial regime's ability to continue the open terrorism of the conquest era. While the stunted development of print media and representative political systems in interwar British Africa still gave district commissioners and their chiefly henchmen the freedom to follow Meinertzhagen's example of dealing ruthlessly, often violently, with local communities without oversight, their coercive options narrowed considerably when their African subjects managed to take their grievances to the British Parliament or press.

Educated Africans therefore believed that they had viable alternatives to the instrumental politics of terrorism. Recognizing that many imperial policies could not withstand the light of public scrutiny in the United Kingdom, they often ignored regulations mandating that "natives" could only communicate with the metropole through district commissioners and the secretariat in Nairobi. The Kenyan authorities actually had no way of enforcing this rule. Indeed, it would have been impossible for them to openly deny British "protected persons" the right to petition Parliament and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Forcing the British government to confront the inherent hypocrisy of British imperial rule thus seemed a safer and potentially more effective alternative to open rebellion or terroristic violence.

The Kikuyu Central Association therefore sent Jomo Kenyatta to London in 1929 and again in 1931. Although the Colonial Secretary refused to see him, Kenyatta forced the British political establishment and press to acknowledge African opposition to the Kenya government's land and native administration policies. Scotland Yard kept close watch on Kenyatta's activities, particularly his relations with British women and the West Indian communist leader George Padmore, but he was free to do as he pleased so long as he obeyed the law. Tellingly, once he left Kenya he ceased to be a backwards native and acquired most of the fundamental human rights of a British subject. Kenyatta took full advantage of his newfound freedom by touring the Soviet Union and studying with the famed anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski at the London School of Economics. Well versed in the history and contemporary manifestations of Western political violence, he warned in a 1930 letter to the *Times* that the Kenyan government's refusal to consider "native views" would "inevitably result in a dangerous explosion—the one thing all sane men wish to avoid."[17]

While Kenyatta correctly anticipated the Mau Mau war of the 1950s, this was not an explicit terroristic threat. In fact, Africans won one of their most significant political victories of the interwar era using passive resistance tactics. Faced with the imperial regime's insistence that they reduce overstocking and erosion in the Kamba reserve by selling their cattle to a South African meat packing plant at substandard prices, Samuel Muindi and the Ukamba Members Association (UMA) maneuvered the metropolitan British government into intervening on their behalf by refusing to accept payment for the cattle and leading several thousand Kamba men, women, and children on a thirty-five-mile march to Nairobi to petition for redress.

The local authorities were predictably unimpressed, but reports of thousands of well-behaved Africans respectfully standing to salute the governor's car soon reached London, where the confiscation of the property of the Kamba, who made up the bulk of the colonial army and police, became an issue in the House of Commons. Samuel Muindi and two other UMA leaders drove the message home with a petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that complained that the destocking policies, which forced the Kamba to sell their cattle at below market prices, were both anti-modern and anti-capitalist: "We feel that it is—to say the least—a strange doctrine which lays down that one should not possess more than a certain number of cattle or…a certain amount of money."[18] The Kenyan government did not abandon its plan to force the Kamba to reduce their herds and terrace their farms, but metropolitan pressure, the threat of war in Europe, and some unfavorable legal rulings forced it to suspend the program and return the seized cattle. The colonial authorities took their revenge on Muindi by sending him into internal exile, but the Kamba opposition to the destocking program demonstrated that nonviolence was a viable means of resisting specific inequitable policies in Kenya.[19]

Nevertheless, the settlers actually managed to strengthen their hold on the colony during World War II by exploiting the British government's need for their support and agricultural produce. The Kenyan authorities took advantage of the war to ban the Kikuyu Central Association and the Ukamba Members Association on the erroneous grounds that their leaders were stockpiling weapons to support an Italian invasion from Ethiopia. World War II therefore appeared to solidify the settlers' hold on Kenya. Yet educated Africans were fully aware that the Atlantic Charter affirmed the Allies' commitment to the right of self-determination in occupied nations, and in 1945 they invoked these grand ideals in a renewed challenge to British imperial rule in East Africa.

Postwar Kenya

Mindful of this threat, the Kenyan government and its rudimentary internal security apparatus stepped up surveillance of African political leaders after the Allied victory. In doing so they failed to recognize that young landless Kikuyu, who had largely grown up in the slums of Nairobi or as squatters on settler farms, were the more serious danger. It is tempting to conclude that these members of the Kenya Land Freedom Army turned to "terrorism" because the safer prewar strategies of avoidance, passive resistance, and political protest were no longer viable, but in reality the hard men and women that the Kenyan authorities labeled "Mau Mau" belonged to a distinctly different generation from Harry Thuku, Jomo Kenyatta, and other prominent leaders of the interwar era. While Kenyatta and his peers detested foreign imperial rule, their education and relative prosperity made them unwilling to accept the risks of overt political violence. The Kenyan government did Kenyatta the favor of jailing him on a trumped up charge of conspiracy, but many other relatively moderate African leaders faced intimidation, if

not direct attacks, at the hands of a younger more desperation generation that concluded that it had nothing to lose by attacking the colonial regime and its privileged Kikuyu allies.

Thus, the primary victims of terrorism during the Mau Mau Emergency were not settlers or colonial officials but the Kikuyu themselves. Indeed, the most astute settler leaders deftly exploited the "Mau Mau terror" to win greater political, economic, and military support from the British government. In other words, they wanted to be terrorized. The Emergency itself was actually a Kikuyu civil war as much as it was a revolutionary or national struggle.

In 1945, the metropolitan postwar Labour government was almost entirely oblivious to the simmering African grievances that led to Mau Mau, and naïvely believed that it could preserve what was left of the British Empire by enlisting subject peoples as partners in economic development. To this end, the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts allocated £120 million to expand cash crop production. For most people, however, development meant state-directed modernization programs to increase agricultural output through soil reconditioning, more terracing and destocking, and new domesticizing home economics courses targeting African women.

In time, the promises of improved living standards ultimately proved hollow as the grand postwar development plans petered out and rising inflation sparked a wave of labor unrest throughout sub-Saharan Africa. In Kenya, major strikes swept the Mombasa docks in 1947 and Nairobi's African neighborhoods in 1950. Even more troubling, the imperial regime's modernization agenda allowed its local African allies to acquire even more land through cash crop production, thereby increasing social stratification and land shortages in the countryside. This was particularly problematic in the overcrowded and restive Kikuyu reserves where a new generation of young men struggled to acquire the land and status needed to marry.

The intrusive, paternalistic, and ultimately demeaning modernization initiatives therefore added to the growing popular intolerance of foreign rule. Jomo Kenyatta gave voice to this impatience and discontent when he returned to Kenya in 1946 after spending the war in Britain. Giving voice to popular resentment against foreign rule, Kenyatta antagonized and alarmed the government and settler community through his eloquent attacks on the imperial regime before ever larger crowds.

The Kenyan government was poorly equipped to deal with these security challenges. After the war, the Kenya Police instituted its own modernization program in following the metropolitan model of establishing a "Special Branch" of its Criminal Investigation Division to collect and analyze intelligence provided by the civil administration, informers, and cooperative newspaper editors. Yet the Kenyan Special Branch bore little resemble to the advanced security apparatus in the modern West for it was chronically understaffed and operated almost exclusively in Nairobi and Mombasa. It had virtually no presence in the native reserves where imperial authority continued to extend only as far as the "tribal police" or the King's African Rifles could shoot.[20]

The Kenyan authorities were similarly ill equipped to cope with the explicitly political challenge posed by Jomo Kenyatta and his educated allies. Lacking the legal authority to

censor critical articles in the African and South Asian press or deny workers the right to form unions, they still relied on the implicit threat of state violence as their primary means of social control. They continued the practice of intimidating potential political leaders by sending the 1947 Mombasa strike organizers into exile, and KAR platoons kept up flag marches in the reserves. Yet this sophisticated postwar population was less likely to be cowed by militaristic pyrotechnic displays, and in 1948 nervous Kenyan officials created the paramilitary Armoured Mobile Unit to add punch to the Kenya Police.

One year later, the metropolitan War Office optimistically concluded that the Kenyan government's precautions meant that "in the foreseeable future there would seem to [be] little possibility of anything in the nature of a 'Palestine War' between the local inhabitants of Kenya and the authorities," but this naïve assessment soon proved false.[21] Frustrated by unfulfilled promises of development, the glacial rate of political change, and intractable land shortages in the reserves, the generation of young Africans who came of age in the 1940s was ready to risk political intimidation and even open violence. The chiefs and minor local functionaries, who were the face of rural imperial authority, were the most obvious targets.

Complacent civil officials downplayed these rumblings as tribal *fitna* (petty discord), but the scattered but still obvious indications that significant numbers of Kikuyu were beginning to arm themselves were ominous. Some built simple guns out of iron pipes, springs, and door bolts, but it was also relatively easy to steal advanced firearms from unsecured settler houses and the East Africa Command's own military stores at Gilgil where audits showed that the depot was missing over 280,000 rounds of ammunition. Further investigations revealed that members of the garrison were selling the material in the Kikuyu reserves, and in 1949 an Assistant Police Inspector investigating the losses barely escaped with his life from an angry mob of African soldiers. The King's African Rifles considered the Kikuyu too politically dangerous to recruit as combat soldiers, so it most likely that the smugglers at Gilgil were not Kikuyu partisans but simple black marketers, as was the British Warrant Officer the police caught selling automatic weapons from a depot in Nairobi.[22]

In hindsight, it is now clear that most of these weapons went to equip the members of the Kenya Land Freedom Army (KLFA), a Kikuyu guerilla force that the Kenyan authorities called the "Mau Mau." The term "Mau Mau" actually has no specific meaning in any Kenyan language, but its primitive connotations allowed colonial propagandists to blame the bloody fighting that swept through Nairobi, the white highlands, and the Kikuyu reserves in the 1950s on "Kikuyu tribesmen's" inability to cope with "modernity." The director of Nairobi's mental hospital concluded that the revolt "arose from the development of an anxious conflictual situation in people who, from contact with an alien culture, had lost their 'magic' modes of thinking," while a senior Presbyterian missionary blamed it on a "demonic upsurge of the old heathen faith." Conversely, the majority of modern Kenyans join most historians of terrorism in recalling the Mau Mau war as a nationalistic anticolonial revolt rather than a civil conflict.[23]

The precise origins and nature of the rebellion is still a matter of considerable historical debate, but most fundamentally the Mau Mau Emergency was a internecine war

between the imperial regime's privileged and landed Kikuyu allies and the mass of urban unemployed, landless squatters, and poor young Kikuyu who were desperate enough to mount an armed challenge to British imperial rule. The Kenyan government convicted Jomo Kenyatta of leading the revolt in a sham trial, but in reality he belonged to the more established class of educated elites whose preference for conventional political action the younger radicals rejected as too cautious and ineffectual. Consequently, Kenyatta's seven-year detention (1952–1959) by the imperial regime actually preserved his status as a national leader by sparing him the pain of choosing sides in the war.

It is not possible to know the exact number of people who took up arms in the Mau Mau war, but in 1954 the War Office estimated that there were approximately 5,400 Kikuyu fighters in the forested highlands of central Kenya. Their support network consisted of small undercover cells operating in Nairobi's African neighborhoods and a "passive wing" of men, women, and children that probably encompassed the vast majority of the Kikuyu population. There was no central leadership of the movement, and various Mau Mau "generals" competed with each other for prestige, resources, and followers.[24] It is also difficult to specifically classify the KLFA as a terrorist or guerilla movement, for at times its followers used both sorts of tactics. Their ultimate goal was to drive the British from Kenya, but they also used spectacular violence to dissuade the general Kikuyu population from acknowledging the imperial regime's authority.

On the government side, a brigade of the regular British Army, four KAR battalions, the Kenya Police, the settler-dominated Kenya Regiment and Kenya Police Reserve, and a twenty-five thousand man Kikuyu militia confronted the KFLA's platoon to company sized bands. The Kenyan authorities claimed that their Kikuyu "Home Guard" consisted of Christians and "loyalists" who recognized the value of British rule, but many guardsmen were essentially conscripts who accepted their fate to avoid being branded Mau Mau-sympathizers. Conversely, trials of captured Mau Mau foot soldiers revealed that the KLFA recruiters had similarly coerced or beaten many of them into joining the guerillas.[25] Apart from a few Kamba and Maasai sympathizers, the rest of the African population avoided taking sides in the conflict. At its core, the Mau Mau Emergency was a tragic fratricidal Kikuyu conflict. The Mau Mau fighters never stood a realistic chance of overthrowing the imperial regime, but they deftly exploited its weakness in the countryside. It took therefore the British military and civil security arms nearly a decade to break their resistance.

There was no single incident that marked the beginning of the revolt, but its origins date to the late 1940s when Kikuyu squatters first began to lash out by murdering African policemen and killing and mutilating settler cattle. But the complacent Kenyan authorities did not realize the seriousness of the unrest until October 1952 when Mau Mau operatives gunned down "Paramount Chief" Waruhiu wa Kungu, the most senior African in the imperial bureaucracy, in the back seat of his Hudson motorcar. Acting on the orders of senior commanders in Nairobi, two gunmen used a borrowed taxicab to cut off the colonial regime's most important Kikuyu ally on a busy highway. It took less than a minute for them to execute the Paramount Chief with Beretta pistols.[26]

Chief Waruhiu's violent death was disturbing, but it was the small handful of bloody murders on settler farms that truly inflamed the local European community. By threat-

ening to take matters into their own hands settler leaders deftly used the "outrages" to press officials in Nairobi and London to make a public commitment to defend white minority rule in Kenya. Panicked by the scope of the unrest and the prospect of settler vigilantism, the governor declared a state of emergency that granted the government special powers to detain suspects without trial and authorized the military to operate against civilians. This was stopgap measure that did little to restore the imperial regime's authority in the Kikuyu reserves.

Taking full advantage of the element of surprise, the various guerilla bands operated with relative impunity for the next six months. Although most Mau Mau generals lacked formal military training, the senior British commander in Kenya grudgingly admitted that many "gangs" were highly disciplined and dangerous. Often seizing the opportunity to settle long-standing local grievances and feuds, the insurgents murdered chiefs, tribal policemen, suspected informers, mission followers, and other loyalists when they could catch them. In Kiambu District alone the security forces recovered over five hundred corpses by the end of June 1953, but one of the most tragic episodes in the fratricidal conflict took place several months earlier in March when rival factions of Mau Mau supporters and Home Guardsmen in the farming settlement of Lari resolved a festering dispute over land in an explosion of retaliatory violence. Twenty-four hours of massacre and counter-massacre left over three hundred men, women, and children dead.[27]

In time, the imperial regime's advantage in numbers, firepower, and logistics forced the guerillas to retreat further into the forests and mountains for protection. Freed from the necessity of obeying the rule of law by the state of emergency, the security forces assumed that the entire Kikuyu population was guilty and detained roughly 150,000 suspects over the course of the conflict. To isolate the fighting bands from their base of support in the reserves, the government instituted a mass relocation and resettlement program that forced tens of thousands of Kikuyu throughout Kenya and Tanganyika to return to the reserves and settle in 854 closely supervised "strategic villages." By the end of 1954, over one million people were living within the barbed wire confines of these rural prisons. The state of emergency lasted until 1959, but these measures vanquished the Mau Mau military arm by 1955. Estimates vary, but it is likely that over twenty thousand Kikuyu lost their lives over the course of the war. By comparison, only thirty-two European civilians died at the hands of the Mau Mau, which meant that Kenya's notoriously lethal road accidents were more of a threat to the settlers than the guerillas.[28]

At first glance, it is tempting to slot the Mau Mau war into a grand meta-narrative of global terrorism and modernity. By this account, the postwar Kenyan state continued the process of integrating East Africans into the global capitalist economy through its efforts to expand cash crop production and remake "native" society. The resulting accelerated commercialization of agriculture, land consolidation, urbanization, and class formation bore a superficial resemblance to the consequences of Europe's early industrial revolution. Moreover, the bureaucratic and often tyrannical imperial regime in Kenya shared some characteristics with the European nation-states and empires that inspired the wave of nineteenth-century anarchistic and revolutionary terrorism. It would therefore make sense that powerless young Kikuyu adopted some of these tactics

in the 1950s as the imperial regime acquired a greater capacity to interfere in their daily lives and social stratification in the reserves threatened to turn them into a permanent underclass.[29]

Alternatively, some theorists see the Mau Mau Emergency as belonging to a specific category of twentieth-century anti-imperial terrorism that included armed revolutionary nationalist movements in Ireland, India, Palestine, and Malaya. The Kenyan authorities and the Western press certainly shared this view and frequently referred to the Mau Mau fighters as "terrorists." This, of course, conflicted with the imperial regime's attempt to paint the revolt as a tribal uprising, but a 1952 article in the *Times* tried to have it both ways by accusing the Kikuyu of using terrorism to pursue nationalist goals while sneering that they were "still addicted to witchcraft and ancient tribal customs."[30]

The realities of Mau Mau are incompatible with these simplistic narratives of global modernization and nationalistic terrorism. The Mau Mau war was neither tribal nor modern in that both sides employed indigenous and Western idioms, goals, and tactics. The insurgents made effective use of advanced firearms when they could get them, but proved equally proficient fighting with spears, bows, and swords when they could not. Similarly, they bound themselves together with oaths that drew their power from precolonial Kikuyu cultural practices, but Dedan Kimathi, the most noteworthy and bureaucratically inclined of the Mau Mau generals and a leader of the self-declared "Kenya Parliament," eloquently laid out his case for war in letters to chiefs, district commissioners, legislative council members, newspaper editors, and British members of parliament. He even asked the Soviet premier Georgi Malenkov for support, which led conflicted imperial officials to declare that Mau Mau was both a tribal revolt and a communist plot.[31] Kimathi's letters routinely framed the Mau Mau cause in the language of Western politics, while the Kenyan authorities invented an elaborate system of neo-traditional "counter-oaths" in the hope of undermining the Mau Mau hold on the general population.

The Mau Mau war is so difficult to classify because it was neither a nationalist revolution nor an atavistic tribal uprising. It was in fact a neo-pacification campaign. Just as the turn-of-the century highland communities and the East Africa Protectorate used spectacular violence to compensate for their military and administrative weaknesses, the Mau Mau combatants of the 1950s resorted to terroristic brutality when conventional military methods proved ineffective in establishing their authority and influence over the general population. Imperial propagandists successfully diverted attention away from the Kikuyu insurgents' legitimate grievances by emphasizing the terror and barbarity of the Lari massacre, the settler murders, the assassination of Chief Waruhiu, and the brutal attacks on loyalists and mission adherents. Conversely, the Western press depicted the imperial regime's counterinsurgency operations as measured, rational, and ultimately modern.

Yet the security services also often resorted to equally vicious methods that were not so far removed from the slaughter at Kihimbuini a half-century earlier, but by the 1950s it was impossible to conceal the messy realities of another, but more modern, dirty war in the Kenyan highlands. In March 1959, the Conservative government in Britain almost

fell over public revulsion after reports confirmed that guards at the Hola rehabilitation camp had beaten at least ten detainees to death. Press accounts had hinted at the scope of the lawlessness in Kenya for several years, but now it was impossible to defend the excesses of the imperial regime. Forced to confront the darker side of empire, the British political establishment openly questioned whether protecting the settlers' racial privileges was worth the expense and international embarrassment. More significantly, the same British commanders who won the Mau Mau war now warned that the remaining forces in the colony were insufficient to control the increasingly restive countryside after the end of the state of emergency in 1959.[32] Calculating that it was time to cut Britain's losses in sub-Saharan Africa, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan abandoned the settlers and put Kenya on the path to independence and African majority rule. The imperial era thus came to a close when Jomo Kenyatta assumed power as Prime Minister in December 1963.

Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin consequently count Mau Mau as a successful anticolonial terrorist war. Yet while the counterinsurgency operations cost Britain some fifty-five million pounds by 1960, it can be argued that the Emergency actually delayed Kenyan independence by forcing the metropolitan government to defend the settler-dominated imperial regime. Britain granted the Gold Coast self-government in 1951 and independence in 1957, and without the threat of Mau Mau, cost-conscious and empire-weary officials in the Colonial and Foreign Offices might well have imposed this West African timetable on Kenya. From the settlers' standpoint, sometimes it paid to be terrorized.

The Mau Mau war and the entire Kenyan imperial case study thus call into question conventional assumptions about the place of terrorism in narratives of modernity. The new imperialism established African colonies whose primary legacies were stunted versions of Western-style bureaucracies, judicial systems, police forces, and cities. The humanitarian rhetoric providing their legitimacy obscured the reality that these inherently weak but authoritarian regimes relied implicitly on an imperial form of terror for their authority over the subject majority.

It is equally problematic to slot the Kenya Land Freedom Army's soldiers and sympathizers into the generic category of anticolonial nationalists. The Mau Mau war was at its core a Kikuyu civil struggle to determine who would reap the benefits of the inexorable economic and social changes taking place as a result of the East African highlands' forcible integration into the global economy on unequal terms. To call it a nationalist revolution makes the all too common mistake of confusing Kikuyu history with post-imperial Kenyan history.

Moreover, while the Mau Mau fighters certainly were responsible for incidents of spectacular political violence, their motives in using terroristic tactics cannot be neatly classified as modern or traditional (tribal). The greater reach of the Western media in Kenya during the 1950s certainly created more opportunities to exploit the power of propaganda by deed, but the vicious cycle of atrocities perpetrated by both sides in the conflict was born of the same mutual weakness that led Meinertzhagen to slaughter the people Kihimbuini in the early pacification campaigns. The young Kikuyu who took to

the forests did not fight to turn back the clock to an idealized precolonial past. They certainly were not insane tribesmen who could not cope with the pressures of modernity. Rather, they were marginalized members of a younger generation of Kikuyu who vied with the chiefs and loyalists over the right to define what it meant to be "modern."

The experiences of the actual people who lived under the autocratic and often tyrannical rule of the Kenyan imperial regime provide a powerful corrective to overly neat Eurocentric narratives of modernity, nationalism, and terrorism. The Kenyan communities and individuals who grappled with its intrusive demands for tribute, land, and labor based their tactics and strategies on both local realities and the Western and imperial precedents that they learned about through the media and personal contacts. The villagers of turn-of-the-century Kihimbuini and the young Mau Mau fighters of the 1950s who used violence to confront foreign imperial rule and settler colonialism understood implicitly that they were now part of a wider, more global world. The story of their struggle to come to terms with these profound changes is at odds with simplistic meta-narratives of modernity. The grim history of political violence in imperial Kenya therefore lends weight to Carola Dietze's call to "write history on equal terms" by recognizing that human development did not unfold in culturally distinct or precisely demarcated stages.[33]

Notes

1. Scholars of terrorism generally either lump African uses of political violence in the catchall category of revolutionary nationalism or even worse treat them as examples of what the sociologist E. V. Walter termed "primitive proto-totalitarian" terror. Martha Crenshaw's *Terrorism in Africa* classifies the guerilla wars in Kenya and Zimbabwe as examples of "terrorism," but focuses primarily on apartheid-era South Africa. Apart from the South African examples, few of the largely dated articles in the collection cite actual incidents of spectacular violence for political purposes in sub-Saharan Africa. Martha Crenshaw, ed., *Terrorism in Africa* (New York: G. K. Hall, 1994); Eugene Victor Walter, *Terror and Resistance: A Study of Political Violence with Case Studies of Some Primitive African Communities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), viii, 3, 110–111.
2. In 1893, Anglo-Egyptian forces slaughtered over eleven thousand Sudanese at the battle of Omdurman. Five years later, fifty paramilitary troops of the British South Africa Company equipped with machine guns mowed down three thousand Ndebele fighters in a mere ninety minutes. Daniel Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 118, 121–122.
3. For a more detailed discussion of precolonial Kenyan social and political systems, see Marshall Clough, *Fighting Two Sides: Kenyan Chiefs and Politicians, 1918–1940* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990); John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London: James Curry, 1992); Thomas Spear and Richard Waller, eds., *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa* (Oxford: James Curry, 1993); Derek Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2004).

4. Richard Meinertzhagen, *Kenya Diary 1902–1906* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1984), 51–52.
5. E. S. Grogan, *From the Cape to Cairo: The First Traverse of Africa from South to North* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 356.
6. Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), xxi.
7. Meinertzhagen, *Kenya Diary*, 51–52.
8. William Lloyd-Jones, *Havash!* (London: Arrowsmith, 1925), 65.
9. Trevor Ternan, *Some Experiences of an Old Bromsgrovian: Soldiering in Afghanistan, Egypt and Uganda* (Birmingham: Cornish Brother, 1930), 288, 294.
10. David Anderson, "Black Mischief: Crime, Protest and Resistance in Colonial Kenya," *Historical Journal* 36 (1993): 858; Meinertzhagen, *Kenya Diary*, 224–226.
11. Lloyd-Jones, *Havash!*, 77.
12. Charles Townshend, *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 5.
13. Kenya Land Commission, *Evidence*, Vol. 2 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1933).
14. Bruce Berman, *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya: The Dialectic of Domination* (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1990), 134; Simon S. S. Kenyanchui, "European Settler Agriculture," in *An Economic History of Kenya*, ed. W. R. Ochieng' and R. M. Maxon (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1992), 115.
15. For details, see Anthony Clayton and Donald Savage, *Government and Labour in Kenya, 1895–1963* (London: Frank Cass, 1974), 99, 118, 156.
16. Colonial Office Minute, Brigadier C. C. Norman, May 9, 1932, Great Britain Public Record Office (PRO) CO 820/13/6.
17. Johnstone Kenyatta, "Unrest in Kenya," *Times*, March 26, 1930.
18. Isaac Mwalonzi, Elijah Kavulu, Samuel Muindi to Secretary of State for the Colonies, May 2, 1938, Kenya National Archives (KNA) DC/MKS/1/10b/15/1/9.
19. It was no accident that the UMA's methods were so similar to Gandhi's campaign of non-violent resistance to British rule in India for radical South Asian political leaders formed close ties with the Kikuyu Central Association and Ukamba Members Association. The most prominent of these was Isher Dass, the Secretary of the East African Indian National Congress. Timothy Parsons, "'Wakamba Warriors are Soldiers of the Queen': The Evolution of the Kamba as a Martial Race," *Ethnohistory* 46 (1999): 681–682.
20. Corfield, *Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau*, 35–36.
21. Internal Security Problems in the Rural Areas of Kenya, November 22, 1949, PRO WO/269/67.
22. F. D. Corfield, *Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), 225–227.
23. J. C. Carothers, *The Psychology of Mau Mau* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1954), 15; The Mau Mau Movement in Kenya, by R. G. M. Calderwood, December 21, 1952, Church of Scotland Mission Archives ACC 7548-B271; Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, "Manifestations of Terror Through the Ages," in *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda,* ed. Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 39. For a detailed analysis of the various interpretations of the Emergency, see John Lonsdale, "Mau Maus of the Mind: Making Mau Mau and Remaking Kenya," *Journal of African History* 31 (1990).
24. Appreciation on Future Military Policy in Kenya 1954, PRO WO/276/516.

25. David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (New York: Norton, 2005), 101, 217–219.
26. Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*, 55–57.
27. Corfield, *Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau*, 136; Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*, 125–130.
28. Greet Kershaw, *Mau Mau from Below* (Oxford: James Currey, 1997), 336; Appreciation by the Commander-in-Chief of the Operational Situation in Kenya in July 1955, by Secretary of the War Council, August 4, 1955, KNA WC/CM/1/5/704; Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*, 4, 84.
29. For a more detailed analysis of the tensions in Kikuyu society that led to Mau Mau, see John Lonsdale, "The Moral Economy of Mau Mau: Wealth, Poverty and Civic Political Kikuyu Thought," in *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa*, ed. Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale (London: James Curry, 1992), 461–468; Peterson, *Creative Writing*, 166–171.
30. "Politics and Terrorism in Kenya," *The Times*, October 9, 1952.
31. For examples of his correspondence, see Maina wa Kinyati, ed., *The Dedan Kimathi Papers* (Nairobi: General Printers, 1987).
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CHAPTER 23

TERRORISM AS AN ARTIFACT OF TRANSITION IN POST–COLD WAR LATIN AMERICA

CARLOTA MCALLISTER

In the second half of the twentieth century, many Latin American countries were wracked by "dirty wars," internal conflicts waged by militarized states against a Left that had embraced revolutionary armed struggle. The scale of state violence in these conflicts virtually always exceeded that of leftist violence by an order of magnitude, but the ferociously anticommunist National Security Doctrine, promoted by the United States and adopted by most Latin American governments, cast the carnage as a regrettable necessity of cold war geopolitics. As a strategy, the carnage was effective: mass killings and disappearances of those suspected of revolutionary sympathies left a generation of Latin Americans terrified of radical politics. The counterrevolution won Latin America's cold war with extraordinary brutality.

This regional victory was concurrent with the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of a unipolar international order governed by the United States and legitimated by appeals to universal principles of human rights. Those seeking justice for the victims of Latin America's dirty wars under the new order—a group that included many former revolutionaries—did so in the voice of a post–cold war liberalism for which violence theoretically lay beyond the pale.[1] Their struggles generally succeeded in reframing the "unconventional tactics" of Latin American states as human rights abuses, at least for global audiences. But this strategy also made the Left's former vocation for armed struggle a potential Achilles' heel for those claiming victimhood. Questions about the legitimacy of revolutionary violence have haunted Latin American transitional justice ever since.

With the Jacobins, the concepts of terror and terrorism became tightly intertwined with the concept of revolution.[2] In Hannah Arendt's formulation of this relationship, the more ideological—in the sense of wedded to an abstract logic—a political project, the more it depends on terror to collapse any gaps between "the movement of history and the logical process."[3] Although Arendt was concerned with all totalitarian ideologies, cold war liberals saw communism as the paradigm of ideological politics, framing the radical Left as terrorist in nature. Still, post–World War II movements for national liberation and decolonization, even when armed and espousing leftist ideals, generally enjoyed sufficient global legitimacy to escape classification as terrorism under this schema.

While most of Latin America gained its independence in the early nineteenth century, twentieth-century Latin American leftists often allied themselves with wider Third World liberationist currents on grounds of the continent's vassalage to U.S. imperialism. The 1959 Cuban Revolution, the theories of guerrilla warfare propounded by its hero Ernesto "Che" Guevara, and the active support the revolutionary Cuban state gave armed struggle across the Third World undergirded this alliance with a strategic vision in which violence was understood as a tool of revolution rather than its essence.[4] After Che's death during a failed attempt to reenact his Cuban successes in Bolivia, Latin American revolutionaries found a new beacon of hope in Vietnam, where severely disadvantaged peasant armies were holding off the same imperial forces that sustained Latin American dictators. Vietnamese-style Maoist strategies that blurred distinctions between armed guerrillas and aboveground social movements to create mass revolutionary organizations extended the leftist claim that guerrilla warfare was an instrument of the people, not one to be used against them.

Even when *la revolución* (the revolution) and *la lucha armada* (the armed struggle) were synonyms for much of the Latin American Left, revolutionaries who engaged in armed struggle thus described themselves as *guerrilleros* (guerrillas) rather than *terroristas*. The more technical terms used for those who actually carried out armed actions, such as *cuadros militares* (military cadres), *milicianos* (militias), or *militantes* (militants), likewise claimed a unity for the Left's revolutionary project across different means of achieving it.

For most of this period, those against whom *la revolución* was directed also described their enemy as an agent of social transformation rather than violent ideology. While the word *terroristas* was certainly part of the technical vocabulary of Latin American security forces, the more common pejorative was *comunistas* (communists), a term that made no distinction between the armed and the legal Left. Armed leftists specifically were called *subversivos* (subversives), *extremistas* (extremists), *enemigos internos* (internal enemies), or by more folkloric terms such as *bandoleros* (outlaws, in Colombia), as often as *terroristas*. The possibility of commensensically classifying Latin American revolutionary violence as a variety of terrorism began to consolidate only in the mid-1980s, after leftists began to put down their arms.

Struggles for transitional justice and human rights in the region helped shape this process of consolidation. Reports produced by Latin American truth commissions from

the 1980s to the early 2000s show the gradual delegitimation of revolutionary violence in their invocations of—or refusals to invoke—the concept of terrorism to describe it. Priscilla Hayner defines truth commissions as temporary, state-endorsed "bodies set up to investigate a past history of violations of human rights in a particular country," intended to mark the end of that history and establish the foundations of the rule of law.[5] This novel human rights technology helped build the space of twenty-first-century global humanitarian politics. Pioneered by Argentina and deployed most consistently in Latin America, truth commissions also wrote the history of regional politics to work in this space, as a moral rather than ideological or social struggle.

Latin American security forces fared poorly in this history: truth commission reports consistently describe state violence as incompatible with democracy and the fundamental human values on which it rests and argue that a clear-eyed acknowledgment of state wrongdoing is necessary for democracy to flourish. Representations of the armed Left and its responsibility for national moral breakdown in truth commission reports varied more widely, particularly in terms of whether the word "terrorism" was used to describe the Left's actions. These variations, however, speak as much to the balance of forces that produced a particular transition, including those exercised by the developing global discourse and apparatus of human rights, as they do to the dynamics of the conflict that preceded it.

Tracking these variations in truth commission reports for Argentina (1984), Chile (1991), Guatemala (1999), and Peru (2003) thus provides an index to the limits of the ability of Latin American transitional justice to repair the harms incurred in the bloody defeat of Latin America's "century of revolution" at emblematic historical conjunctures.[6] The history of the imposition of these limits suggest that one of the prizes of cold war victory was the power to reconceptualize political violence and reclassify its modalities on a global scale.

Never Again: Modeling Transition in Argentina

In March 1976 a military junta seized power in Argentina in the name of restoring social and political order. It was the country's fifth military coup of the twentieth century and its fourth since 1943. Much of this political upheaval revolved around the figure of Juan Domingo Perón, an Argentine colonel who had studied in Fascist Italy. After participating in the 1943 coup, Perón was elected president in 1946 on a platform advocating for social justice and economic and political sovereignty from a "third position" between socialism and capitalism. Under what came to be known as Peronism, the state was supposed to promote economic growth by nationalizing key industries and services while mediating between opposed interest groups like unions and factory owners to resolve the social conflicts these transformations would generate.

Mediation soon reached its limits, however, and in 1955 another coup forced Perón to flee to Franco's Spain.[7] For the next two decades he supervised a burgeoning Peronist union movement from abroad as members of his party contested elections at all levels of government, generally only to find themselves banned from running or deposed from office after winning. When a victorious Peronist candidate finally claimed the presidency in 1973, Perón returned to Argentina and won the presidency himself in new elections called by his follower. When he died shortly thereafter, his third wife, Isabelita, replaced him.[8]

During Perón's long absence both Left and Right variants on his eclectic program had flourished. After the Cuban revolution some included a commitment to armed struggle. The most important of the Left Peronists were the Montoneros, a group of nationalist Catholic university students with socialist tendencies. Challenging Che's maxim that the countryside was where armed struggle should take root, the Montoneros were urban guerrillas who argued that Argentina's history of industrialization and labor militancy made its cities and union movements the relevant arenas for national revolutionary mobilization. In the early 1970s they staged a series of increasingly spectacular kidnappings and assassinations of military officers and industrialists as well as bombings and other acts of armed propaganda, largely in Buenos Aires. After rightist Peronists killed thirteen Montonero sympathizers at the Ezeiza airport on the occasion of Perón's triumphal return, the group also targeted rightist union leaders, leading to their official expulsion from the Peronist movement and their increased repression by the newly Peronist state.[9]

On the extra-Peronist Left, the Marxist-Leninist Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers' Party) formed an armed wing, the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (People's Revolutionary Army; ERP), in 1968. The ERP also carried out kidnappings, assassinations, and attacks on military installations, but unlike the Montoneros, they operated primarily in rural areas, informed by Leon Trotsky's theories of uneven development and inspired by Che's legacy of "commitment, sacrifice, and dedication to international socialist revolution" as well as Vietnamese strategies of mass organization.[10] After the Ezeiza massacre, the ERP sent a small force of fighters to the mountainous rural northwestern province of Tucumán, where they began cultivating the social bases Mao argues a guerrilla army needs for logistical support and protection from the enemy. Isabelita Perón responded by deploying a large contingent of soldiers to Tucumán. The Montoneros then joined forces with the ERP, striking back with a series of large-scale assaults on army bases that culminated in the December 30, 1975 bombing of the army's Buenos Aires headquarters.[11]

The March 1976 coup put an end to this budding revolutionary war by implementing what the military dubbed a Proceso de Reorganización Nacional (National Reorganization Process). The junta killed an estimated thirty thousand civilians over the next seven years while birthing a vivid new language for political violence.[12] The term "dirty war" (*guerra sucia)*, which came to stand for the systematic violation of human rights by cold war Latin American states, was coined by the junta to describe its own strategies for eliminating suspected leftists. The term "disappearance"

(*desaparición*)—the junta's signature practice of abducting alleged enemies of the state from their homes at night and in unmarked vehicles, never to reveal their fate or whereabouts—likewise circulated widely as a metonym for Latin American state violence.[13]

But many contemporary practices for collective processing of political violence also have roots in Argentina's response to the junta.[14] The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, wearing white headscarves and bearing haunting photos of their missing children, became icons of the power of love and innocence to resist state cruelty. Argentine forensic anthropologists were the first to exhume unmarked graves to provide evidence of crimes that had been officially denied. Finally, President Raúl Alfonsín, whose democratic election ended military rule in 1983, established the world's first full-fledged truth commission, the Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas (Argentine National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons; CONADEP).[15] The title of the CONADEP report, the injunction *Nunca más* (Never Again), became an enduring rallying cry for justice for victims of state violence across Latin America and beyond.[16]

Alfonsín had a strong mandate for enacting transition. The elections that brought him to power were the military's last-ditch response to massive public discontent not only with the dirty war but also with failed economic reforms and the gravely miscalculated 1982 invasion of the Falkland Islands.[17] Once in office, he immediately put junta members on trial for human rights violations, in spite of the fact that the military government had destroyed evidence of its crimes and passed a self-amnesty law prior to handing over power. CONADEP was initially conceived as a means of gathering evidence for the trials. Charged with investigating disappearances under the juntas, it recovered close to nine thousand cases. It also documented the existence of 340 concentration camps for torture and murder within military and police installations. In 1984 and 1985 these findings helped to convict several junta members of war crimes in proceedings that also saw seven guerrilla leaders indicted.[18]

But while it served juridical ends, CONADEP was not itself a body of the judiciary, giving it scope to operate outside a narrow forensic mandate. It generated a wealth of powerful testimonies, often from poor and marginal Argentines who had not previously participated in the human rights movement and who spoke of torture and other crimes as well as disappearances. Commissioners were also freed to make their findings public across a range of popular media at moments when military resistance seemed to threaten the transition, interventions that endowed CONADEP with considerable moral authority. As Emilio Crenzel argues, the *Nunca más* report reflects the commission's hybrid nature, juxtaposing eloquent testimonial and hortatory passages with numbered lists of cases, dates, names, and places to stage the facts of the violence as a compelling literature of universal human drama.[19]

The villain of this new literary genre, however, turned out to be more difficult to identify than the wealth of data on state crimes might suggest. Ernesto Sábato, the esteemed Argentine writer who headed CONADEP, refers in the report's prologue to "a planned campaign of terror conceived by the military high command" that is suggestive of "crimes against humanity."[20] The notion that states are capable of engaging in

terrorism is one many metropolitan theorists reject, insisting that the term "terrorist" be reserved for non-state actors, and suggesting the term "terror" for systematic state violence.[21] In Latin America, however, the concept of *terrorismo del estado* (state terrorism) has long enjoyed commonsense status, for the good historical reasons exemplified by the Argentine case. Indeed, Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, who theorized this concept, saw the political violence of cold war Latin America as the paradigm of state terrorism.[22] Including "terrorism" in the repertoire of state behaviors dissociates this concept from ideology in Arendt's sense, rendering it instead as an instrument—however grotesque—of power and geopolitics. Needless to say, this move also categorically distinguishes terrorism from communism. Indeed, Herman attributes Latin American state terrorism to the region's incorporation into the U.S. sphere of influence, calling the phenomenon "as U.S.-related-American as apple pie."[23]

But while it gestures at the concept of state terrorism, Sábato's preface elsewhere harkens to the equivalences of liberal anti-totalitarianism. It opens with the statement that "During the 1970s, Argentina was torn by terror from both the extreme right and the far left.… The armed forces responded to the terrorists' crimes with a terrorism far worse than the one they were combating." While CONADEP's investigative mandate excluded the pre-1976 guerrilla violence that Sábato alludes to here as terror from the far left, he notes that this decision should not be considered "an apology for it. On the contrary, our Commission has always repudiated that terror, and we are glad to take this opportunity to do so again here."[24]

As a tactic, denouncing the armed Left allowed CONADEP to push back against military resistance to transition by claiming, in Sábato's words, that "we have not acted out of any feeling of vindictiveness or vengeance. All we are asking for is truth and justice…in the understanding that there can be no true reconciliation until the guilty repent and we have justice based on truth."[25]

But some critics protested Sábato's equation of state and leftist "terrorism" under the moralizing signs of guilt and repentance. Human rights activists charged that the report's implicit *teoría de los dos demonios* (theory of two demons) wrongly absolved the state of its specific responsibilities to its citizens and diluted the horrific nature of the disappearances, which only agents of the state had perpetrated.[26] Others noted that it presented the majority of Argentines as passive victims of an ideological struggle in which they had no stake, obscuring the complex political histories that produced an armed Left alongside a state apparatus disposed to mass violence and a civil society willing to turn a blind eye to the state's abuses.[27]

Still, *Nunca más* was an instant bestseller in Argentina and has never gone out of print there, giving this narrative the weight of official history. Translations of the report into dozens of languages subsequently solidified its claim to speak a truth that was fundamentally moral in nature, a "report from hell," as the renowned human rights philosopher Ronald Dworkin described it in his introduction to the English-language edition.[28] CONADEP's truth-telling legacy also proved more robust than its judicial one. After the conviction of the junta leaders, there were a series of "mysterious" bombings in major cities. The Argentine congress began to pass laws limiting further

prosecutions of war crimes, and in 1990 the country's president, Carlos Menem, officially pardoned all those previously convicted.

Most subsequent handovers of power to civilians by Latin American militaries were similarly "pacted" in back-room deals or formal peace treaties to prevent a resurgence of Argentine-style prosecutorial zeal.[29] Perpetrators were often granted amnesty, and continuity for the institutions that had housed them was generally secured. Thus, the region's return to democracy came to be marked by truth commissions rather than by arraignments of military officers (and still less by attempts to rectify the injustices that had brought the Left to armed struggle in the first place).

In the Measure of the Possible: The Two Demons in Chile

Chile's twentieth-century electoral democracy was considerably more stable than Argentina's. It "stood out in Latin America for a history of vigorous multiparty politics and electoral campaigns" that included robust participation from the Left.[30] This ended when General Augusto Pinochet led a coup against the constitutional government of Salvador Allende on September 11, 1973.

Whereas the coup in Argentina represented the culmination of escalating state violence against the Left, Pinochet brought down the first Marxist president to be democratically elected in Latin America. Despite a systematic campaign of economic and political sabotage by the Right and increasing pressure to radicalize from his supporters on the Left, moreover, Allende had remained committed to *la vía chilena* (the Chilean way) of making revolution through legal procedures and instruments throughout his three years in office.[31] His overthrow, in a military action that saw the siege and bombing of the governmental palace as well as his death, thus represented a profound rupture with Chilean republican tradition. Pinochet and his supporters justified this break as necessary to prevent an alleged "extremist" plan to take over the state, which they claimed would send Chile into wholesale chaos.[32]

The repression of the Left that followed was commensurately radical and far-reaching, surprising even many of those who had at first supported the coup.[33] Security forces worked to eliminate *allendismo* from the state as well as civil society, with mass roundups, disappearances, and killings of the fallen president's collaborators and supporters. All political parties were outlawed, potential institutional critics of the dictatorship were shuttered or turned over to the military, and hundreds of thousands of Chileans were forced into exile. Pinochet also led a U.S.-backed plan for counter-Left cooperation among South American security forces, dubbed Operation Condor, that extended his repressive reach outside national borders. Steve Stern characterizes his rule as "policide, an effort to destroy root and branch—permanently—the ways of doing and thinking politics that had come to characterize Chile by the 1960s."[34]

Challenges to policide took several forms. With support from the Catholic Church and international human rights organizations, Chilean activists worked to tarnish Pinochet's global reputation, casting him, rather than the Argentine juntas, as the iconic face of Latin American state terror. The Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left; MIR), a pre-Allende urban guerrilla group that suspended its armed struggle during his presidency, also returned to it after the coup. But within Chile, the highly militarized state Pinochet established was effective at both terrorizing the population and combating the MIR. In 1978, with military control over the state secured, an amnesty law was passed to cover any "excesses" committed by the armed forces since 1973. Pinochet then moved to institutionalize liberalizing economic reforms similar to those that helped bring down the Argentine juntas. In 1980 a plebiscite to approve a new constitution, drafted with input from the neoliberal economists known as the Chicago Boys, passed with 67 percent of the vote, setting the stage for Chile to become one of the world's most privatized economies.[35]

After the grave economic crisis that these reforms set in motion in 1982, the Chilean Communist Party formed a new urban guerrilla group, the Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez (Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front; FPMR), which joined the remnants of the MIR in armed resistance to the state.[36] The FPMR carried out several important actions, notably a 1986 attempt on Pinochet that he survived by sheer luck. But Chile's sophisticated intelligence agencies, which specialized in torture, infiltrated the group. In 1984 their powers were further strengthened by the passage of an "antiterrorist law"—one of the first of its kind in the Americas—which defined as instances of terrorism a number of illegal acts, including assassinations of government officials, attacks on property, and blockades of bridges and roads, and prescribed correspondingly severe punishments for commiting them.

Even in Chile, however, electoral democracy was eventually restored. In the mid-1980s, with transitions taking place across the Southern Cone, massive street protests against the dictatorship grew in spite of brutal police repression. The 1980 plebiscite had ratified an eight-year "transition period" for the return to democracy, and when a new plebiscite was called in 1988 to vote on Pinochet's continuance in power, the "No" option won with 55 percent, apparently to the dictator's shock.

Elections were called for 1990, and in the intervening two years the military and the leaders of the Concertación, the coalition of center and Left opposition parties (excluding the still-illegal Communist Party) that had championed the "No" vote, negotiated provisions for implementing the handover. These included diminishing the presidential powers granted in the 1980 constitution but retaining most other provisions, including a formula for electoral representation that favored the Right, a fixed portion of national revenues for the military, keeping Pinochet as head of the military, and the privatization of remaining public goods such as water rights.[37]

The 1990 elections brought the Concertación candidate Patricio Aylwin to the presidency. Aylwin lent his voice to the "No" campaign but had also initially supported the coup against Allende. One of his first moves in office was to form the Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación (Commission on Truth and Reconciliation; Rettig

Commission), headed by the respected opposition politician Raúl Rettig and staffed by lawyers and legal scholars, including conservatives. The commission's mandate was limited to incidents leading to death between 1973 and 1990 and thus excluded most torture and exile—arguably Pinochet's signature forms of violence. In his end-of-year speech as president, Aylwin promised that the Commission, the first to include "reconciliation" in its title, would "clarify the truth and do justice, in the measure of the possible."[38]

Nonetheless, the Commission sparked severe tensions with the military. Just after its investigations began, a series of mass graves containing what were clearly the remains of coup victims were discovered.[39] Asked to provide information about its role in the violence, the military delivered reports accusing Allende of provoking chaos and listing all members of the armed forces who had died since 1973 in what the military emphatically characterized as an "internal war." Meanwhile, elements of the MIR and the FPMR continued to stage armed actions.

The Rettig Commission navigated these tensions by gesturing at the law, using precise legal language and insisting on legal standards of proof, while simultaneously renouncing any claim on the judiciary.[40] Chapter 1 of the report proclaims that its "task was understood as being moral in character," and its purpose, to "work toward the reconciliation of all Chileans."[41] It argues that criminal responsibility is borne exclusively by individuals, but it names only institutions.[42] Despite its appeal to morality, the text also largely eschews the moving rhetoric that gave *Nunca más* its moral force. Its case studies are sober lists of names, dates, and events, and the testimonial voice appears only in a brief chapter on the impact of human rights violations on social relations, even though testimonies represented the bulk of the commission's evidence.[43]

Perhaps the most telling measure of the possible in newly democratic Chile is found in the Rettig Commission report's use of the terms "terror" and "terrorist." The report explicitly rejects the military's claim that an "internal war" justified its actions and refers to the violence of the period as a "gross" or "serious" violation of human rights and a "tragic series of events." But alone among Southern Cone truth commission reports, it refuses to describe state violence as terror, characterizing it only as "illegitimate force."[44] It takes pains to defend the honor of the military and the judiciary, arguing that "it is laudable to strive to avoid any use of the issue of human rights to attempt to denigrate these institutions, or diminish their contribution to the country and the role they are called to play in the future."[45]

The term "terrorist" does appear, but only in reference to the MIR and the FPMR. Going well beyond Sábato's rhetorical invocation of the two demons, the Rettig Commission included 90 "terrorist acts" among the 2,920 cases it presented. Stern suggests that their inclusion was politically necessary for the report to gain a hearing.[46] Yet while this leftist violence represents only a tiny fraction of the acts for which responsibility could be determined,[47] its appearance subtly aligns the report with the military account of Chile's internal conflict that it elsewhere disavows. The Commission's definition of "terrorist acts" echoes the 1984 antiterrorist law,[48] as does the report's preface, which refers to "extremist" violence as "crime."[49] A "political framework" section describes a process of

growing polarization from 1950 to 1970 in which the only actors mentioned besides the United States are leftists, and argues that seizures of property and nationalization initiatives under Allende forced certain sectors to "extreme rebellion" in the lead-up to the coup.[50] Ignoring the report's own statistics, the section's concluding paragraph opens with the comment that "no side had an exclusive claim on violence."[51]

Aylwin received the Rettig Commission's report on March 4, 1991 with a formal apology to the relatives of victims on behalf of the state. The armed forces responded three weeks later, insisting on the internal-war thesis and Allende's responsibility in creating a climate of violence.[52] Pinochet himself declared the report a "sewer."[53] In April the assassination of Jaime Guzmán, Pinochet's most trusted advisor and the architect of the pro–free market 1980 constitution, by a faction of the FPMR suggested how distant reconciliation remained. Only with Pinochet's surprise 1998 detention in London, which paved the way for trials of military officers as well as constitutional reforms to liberate the senate from military interference, did his hold on Chile's sense of the possible begin to loosen. The 1984 antiterrorist law, however, remains in force more than two decades after Chile's return to democracy, as do Guzmán's 1980 constitution and the privatized economy it structures.

Guatemala: The Quantities and Qualities of Violence

By the late 1970s, even as Southern Cone military governments were eliminating the armed Left, large revolutionary insurrections were building in Central America. The region's plantation economies and the extreme and racialized inequalities they generated had produced a recurring cycle of agrarian uprising and violent repression throughout much of the isthmus from independence on. After the Cuban Revolution, Central American leftists tried to leverage the region's mountainous landscapes and rural marginalization into a Guevarista-style revolutionary uprising. By the early 1970s, however, Central American militaries, bolstered by U.S. aid and training, had violently crushed these organizations. The new groups that emerged from their ashes tended to espouse Maoist mass organizational strategies rather than *foquismo*. In Guatemala, where half the population is Maya, some groups identified indigenous communities in particular as privileged sites for the formation of social bases.[54]

With the 1979 overthrow of the corrupt Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua by the Frente Sandinista de la Liberacion Nacional (Sandinista National Liberation Front; Sandinistas), the wisdom of such strategies appeared to be confirmed. Emulating the Sandinistas, guerrilla groups in El Salvador and Guatemala joined together in umbrella coalitions, the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front; FMLN) and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity; URNG), respectively, both of which staged major uprisings in the early 1980s.

The Salvadoran and Guatemalan militaries, backed by local economic elites and the administration of the U.S. president, Ronald Reagan, and in some instances aided by Southern Cone and Israeli military advisors, responded to this threat by dramatically escalating violence against the civilian populations guerrillas claimed as their supporters, particularly in rural and indigenous areas. Massacres rather than disappearances or selective torture and killing were their preferred technique of repression, and they proved highly effective for disarticulating guerrilla social bases. Meanwhile, the Reagan administration punished Nicaragua for its revolutionary temerity by imposing a devastating trade embargo and providing support to the Contras, right-wing guerrillas who sought to overthrow the Sandinista government. Shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Sandinistas ceded power, having lost the presidential elections they had called. With the horizon of socialist revolution everywhere receding into the distance, Central American guerrillas began to push for peace.

As the cold war sputtered out, the United Nations began to claim outbreaks of violence within nations as well as between them as falling within its mandate. At the request of the Central American presidents, the U.N. facilitated regional peace negotiations. The Southern Cone experience had made global common sense out of the notion that a formal acknowledgment of past violence was critical to overcoming its legacy, and commissions to investigate human rights violations were mandated in the treaties that ended both the Salvadoran and Guatemalan conflicts.[55] The mandates of these commissions, however, were shaped by the sense that the violence in Central America was the concern not just of Central American nations but of an emergent "international community." All three commissioners of the Comisión de la Verdad para El Salvador (Commission on the Truth for El Salvador) were respected international human rights scholars, as was the head commissioner of Guatemala's Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (Commission for Historical Clarification; CEH). Unlike Southern Cone commissions, which were bodies of the state, both Central American commissions were funded by and reported to the United Nations.

Locating expertise on violence within the regime of universal human rights liberated commissioners from making compromises with national legal regimes or political interests. Any act of violence could count as long as it was grave enough to constitute a human rights violation. This freedom, together with the leap in scale of Central American violence, greatly widened the commissions' potential scope. To balance breadth with the logistical constraints of bodies limited in time, space, and funding, both commissions adopted hybrid methodologies that combined statistics with in-depth analyses of exemplary cases, on the grounds that certain acts of violence, when investigated and fully described, could serve to illuminate broader patterns.[56] Undergirding this methodology was an emergent notion of violence not as an effect of specific actions taken outside the law, but rather as a force in its own right, one that "levels everything with its blind cruelty," in the words of the Commission on the Truth for El Salvador.[57]

International oversight also tended to cast these conflicts in precisely the terms that Southern Cone truth commissions, even Chile's, had explicitly rejected: as wars between

two equivalent armed parties, however unevenly matched. This frame neatly resolved previous commissions' dilemmas regarding representations of the armed Left. Both Central American commissions note that actors who claim statelike attributes—territorial control or maintaining an army—should be governed by the same international humanitarian principles as states themselves. But the notion that investigating the violent past meant discovering who had acted with blind cruelty implied more generally that all perpetrators were subject to investigation. Responsibility was to be measured by the proportion of violence each had contributed, rather than by reference to the state's constitutive responsibilities to its citizens.

In practice, this method produced a rhetorical overrepresentation of guerrilla violence. Both Central American truth commissions dated the beginning of their investigative mandates to actions of the armed Left: in El Salvador, the 1980 formation of the FMLN; in Guatemala, the 1960 uprising that produced the Rebel Armed Forces guerrilla group. The Commission on the Truth for El Salvador found that agents of the state, including "private" right-wing death squads, committed 85 percent of human rights violations to the guerrillas' 5 percent. Yet guerrillas are responsible for nearly a third of the report's exemplary cases (eleven out of thirty-two).[58] The Commission for Historical Clarification, which found agents of the state responsible for 93 percent of violations to the guerrillas' 3 percent, used instances of guerrilla violence for 12 percent of its illustrative cases (eleven out of eighty-seven), a less dramatic but still significant skewing of statistical proportions.[59]

Both reports nonetheless refrain from following CONADEP and the Rettig Commission in characterizing Left violence as terrorism. The Salvadoran commission quotes officials who call guerrillas "terrorists" but only endorses the use of the term for death squads, while the Guatemalan commission virtually always refers to "terror" only in relation to the state. This reticence points to a tension between the two demons–style moral equivalence entailed in understanding these conflicts as civil wars and the Central American realities of indiscriminate state violence and mass popular support for insurgents.

The conditions of peace in Guatemala made this tension more acute. Unlike the FMLN, which held the Salvadoran military to a draw, the URNG could muster little military force after 1983. Pressure to end the war thus came from alliances between local activists with links to the Left and international human rights organizations horrified by the sanguinary Guatemalan military, and took the form of threats to make Guatemala an international pariah. The limits of the state's concessions to these threats were evident throughout the belated and prolonged peace negotiations and found further expression in an amnesty law passed to coincide with the signing of the peace.

The Commission for Historical Clarification's mandate, which prohibited the identification of individuals as well as the use of its findings in court and stipulated that its recommendations were nonbinding, seemed to be the icing on the cake of this official will to impunity. Compared to its Salvadoran counterpart, which had named names and made binding recommendations, and the concurrent South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which held dramatic public hearings for victims, the CEH was a transitional ugly duckling.[60]

Yet the CEH leveraged these diminished expectations into a devastating denunciation of state violence. With no mechanism for translating its findings into trials, it privileged historical methods over legal ones. Most of the first volume of *Memory of Silence* analyzes the emergence of a Guatemalan state that saw its primary function as counterinsurgency. Going far beyond the provision of "context," this account moves from the quincentennial subjugation of the Maya population, through the late nineteenth-century transformation of Guatemala into a coffee producer dependent on unfree indigenous labor, to the 1954 CIA-backed coup that overthrew a progressive, democratically elected president in the name of anticommunism. It also discusses at length the role of external actors such as the United States and Cuba in transforming Guatemala into a cold war battleground.[61]

The first three hundred pages of the second volume bolster this analysis of the forces that made blind cruelty the currency of Guatemalan politics. Without attributing criminal responsibility, this section describes the structures and strategies of the conflict's principal armed actors to "understand who, how, and to what end human rights violations and violent acts were carried out."[62] While the report gathers acts of violence by guerrillas, including several massacres perpetrated against civilians, it also lays bare the dramatic imbalance between the state and the insurgency in terms of ability to deploy force, room to maneuver politically, and disposition to deploy cruelty along the chain of command.

The section concludes by charting the new investigative directions this analysis opens. For the state, what needs explanation is:

> the absolute contempt for juridical norms by the governments in power between 1962 and 1985, who acted, with no obedience to the law, like absolute owners of the country and owners of the life and death of its men and women, with no respect for even the minimal rules of civilized human conduct.[63]

The research agenda for the insurgency is relative to that for the state:

> Although it was not strange that, under these circumstances, forces opposed to the military government invoked the right to rebellion, in the future we will also have to continue analyzing, in greater depth, why members of the guerrilla committed atrocities against the innocent, staining the initial purity of the proclaimed right to popular rebellion.[64]

This historiography affirms the concept of state terrorism, placing the burden of responsibility for Guatemala's horrific recent past on the military and its enablers.

But the CEH's most daring salvo against moral equivalence was its finding that, at certain times and places, the state had committed "acts of genocide." Never before invoked by a Latin American truth commission, the category of genocide is defined by the 1948 U.N. Convention as violent actions undertaken "with the intent of destroying, totally or partially, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group as such." As a crime against humanity, it cannot be amnestied under national legislation.

Within the CEH there was heated debate about whether this category was applicable to Guatemala. As its findings showed, between 1981 and 1983 the military systematically wiped hundreds of indigenous villages off the map. The volume of human rights violations in this campaign was far greater than at any other time during the war, making indigenous Guatemalans 83 percent of the war's victims, a much higher percentage than their share of the country's population. But the military, like its peers throughout Latin America, generally framed its enemy as international communism rather than a racial or ethnic group. By this logic, military violence could be explained by the fact that the Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres (Guerrilla Army of the Poor; EGP), the fraction of the URNG most committed to Maoist mass organizational strategies, had incorporated entire indigenous villages into its clandestine structures.

The possibility of a genocide ruling thus appeared to turn on the question of whether those communities were truly committed to the insurgency or were simply the object of racial animus. Some CEH personnel argued against the ruling on the grounds that it obscured the political challenge the insurgency had represented for the state. The CEH's formulation of the state's crimes as "*acts of* genocide against *groups of* the Maya population" (italics mine) was a delicately reasoned response to this controversy.

Setting up the ruling, the report notes that

> the perpetration of one or more acts that match the elements of the definition of genocide in the [U.N.] Convention, even if they are part of a wider policy whose principal aim is not the physical extermination of a group, may constitute the crime of genocide.…Genocidal acts exist when the end is political, economic, military, or of any other nature, but the means that are used to achieve this end are the total or partial extermination of a group.[65]

The mass rapes, systematic murder of infants, and slashing open of pregnant women's abdomens' that were the military's modus operandi in indigenous areas pointed to the deployment of this means. Concluding that "the Army, inspired by National Security Doctrine (NSD), defined a concept of the internal enemy that went beyond combatants, militants, or sympathizers with the guerrilla to include belonging to particular ethnic groups,"[66] the CEH identified four regions where the percentage of indigenous victims rose into the high 90s as sites of this phenomenon. The ruling reinstated the difference in quality between the responsibilities of the state and the insurgency that treating violence as a matter of quantities of a single substance threatened to erase. In the process it opened avenues for trials of key military leaders.[67]

In February 1999 *Memory of Silence* was presented to an assembly of government, military, and URNG representatives, foreign dignitaries, and local and international human rights activists. The head commissioner, Christian Tomuschat, read its conclusions, which culminated in the genocide ruling. The euphoria of those in the audience who had spent years demanding justice and the discomfort of those who had spent years ignoring those demands were palpable. Yet this moment of triumph was short-lived. Alvaro Arzú, the wealthy, conservative president who had brokered the

peace, refused to accept the report, and the next day his government took out a newspaper ad repudiating its conclusions.

Otilia Lux de Cotí, the Maya woman who was one of two Guatemalan CEH commissioners, also used the occasion to distance herself from the report's careful negotiation of the post facto politics of indigenous revolutionary mobilization. Her short speech prefacing Tomuschat's appearance began, "In the name of the Maya, living and dead, we ask the God of gods and all Guatemala to pardon us, because we became involved in an armed conflict that was imposed on us and that was not ours," painting the military and the guerrillas, once again, as two demons. Four months later a referendum seeking approval for constitutional changes needed to implement the peace agreements, including those on indigenous rights, was defeated on the strength of the "No" vote in nonindigenous areas.

Peru: Revolutionary Terror and Liberal Human Rights

Peru's relatively tardy reckoning with its violent past reflects the idiosyncrasies of its dirty war. One-third of Peru's population is indigenous, and as in Guatemala, its inequalities of wealth and opportunity are both racialized and mapped onto an urban-rural divide. As elsewhere, the Cuban Revolution inspired Peruvian leftists to take up arms, and like its Central American counterparts, the Peruvian military responded to guerrillas with violent repression.[68] Unlike them, however, it then tried to politically outflank guerrillas by moving to the left. The 1968–1975 Gobierno Revolucionario de la Fuerza Armada (Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces) of General Juan Velasco Alvarado was sufficiently progressive that many leftists, including important factions of the Communist Party of Peru, decided to support it. Even after the mid-1970s, when the military moved to the right, most organized sectors of the Left responded by increasing their stakes in the democratic process, forming coalitions to participate in elections called for 1980.[69]

Among the few leftist groups that rejected the return to democracy was a small Maoist faction of the Communist Party called Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path; Sendero). Sendero was founded in the 1970s at Huamanga University in the provincial capital of the impoverished and largely Quechua-speaking Ayacucho department. Abimael Guzmán, a philosophy professor who emerged as Sendero's leader, advocated an unusually by-the-books application of the strategies that had produced the Chinese revolution, whose unfolding he saw as driven by the scientific logic of history. This meant consolidating bases of support among the poorest peasants of the countryside in order to create revolutionary territories that would eventually encircle Lima, isolating the central government and provoking its collapse.[70] Arendt would not be surprised to hear that Guzmán embraced violence as what the Peruvian anthropologist Carlos Iván Degregori calls "a purifying force" to advance this project.[71]

Sendero seized the occasion of the 1980 elections to launch its armed struggle. Initially peasants welcomed its attacks on rural Ayacuchan powerbrokers. After 1982, however, Sendero began to hammer the countryside by reorganizing agricultural production, imposing revolutionary structures on communities with traditional authorities, and spectacularly murdering those who resisted. A brutal army counterinsurgency campaign, which Degregori characterizes as "genocidal,"[72] strengthened Sendero's legitimacy among peasants but eventually forced its retreat from Ayacucho while further radicalizing its tactics.

By 1988 Guzmán was using the language of proportions and quantities to justify mass revolutionary violence:

> We know well that the reaction has applied, applies, and will apply, genocide, on this we are absolutely clear. And, in consequence we face the problem of the quota, the problem that to annihilate the enemy and to preserve our own forces, and even more to develop our forces, it is necessary to pay a cost of war, a cost in blood, the necessity of sacrificing a part to ensure the triumph of the people's war.[73]

Sendero violence both overwhelmed competing visions for the Peruvian Left and wrought significant havoc throughout Peru, but Sendero's rural bases ultimately disagreed with the necessity of their own sacrifice for the sake of revolution. By the late 1980s, even in Ayacucho, *rondas* or local patrol groups formed to combat Sendero incursions, effectively allying most peasants with the army.[74]

Nationally, however, Peru was facing a severe economic crisis compounded by leftist disillusionment with the "concurrent embrace of economic neoliberalism and resuscitation of counterinsurgency doctrine" that turned out to be the fruits of the 1980 return to democracy.[75] Sendero took this as a cue to move to the next stage of guerrilla warfare, using the tactics of intimidation and violence it had developed in rural areas to take over neighborhood, university, trade union, and other grassroots organizations in Lima.[76] When Alberto Fujimori, the politically inexperienced businessman who won the 1990 presidential elections, suddenly imposed a harsh neoliberal restructuring program, some leftists formed a strategic alliance with Sendero.

By early 1992, in what seemed like Sendero's final push to victory, Lima was facing daily bombings and assassinations. But in April Fujimori suddenly dissolved the congress and suspended constitutional guarantees in a "self-coup" that gave him new autocratic powers and allowed him to pass "a sweeping array of anti-terrorism laws that created a legal black hole and a dragnet for mass detentions."[77] On September 11, 1992, Guzmán was captured by police intelligence. His detention, soon followed by the arrest of much of the rest of Sendero's leadership, put an abrupt end to the "mystique of effectiveness" Sendero had cultivated.[78] Special "antiterrorist" tribunals were established outside the regular judiciary in order to try Senderistas for their crimes expeditiously.

Still, Sendero's collapse did not set the apparatus of transition in motion. Elements of Sendero as well as another guerrilla group, the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac

Amaru (Tupac Amarú Revolutionary Movement; MRTA), continued operations, culminating in the MRTA's taking of hostages in the Japanese embassy in 1997. But the apparatus itself also presented certain special difficulties for Peru. In most Latin American countries, the militarized state provided a common enemy against which human rights activists and the Left could unite, despite their potentially divergent understandings of violence. Sendero's extraordinary brutality, in contrast, not only required Peruvian activists to develop notions of victimhood that accommodated those harmed by leftist violence, but also tainted leftist political identifications more broadly.[79]

Fujimori's personal popularity in the years following Guzmán's capture, moreover, made criticism of the state a delicate undertaking, despite both the massive human rights violations it perpetrated during the dirty war and the ongoing violations of due process the special tribunals represented.[80] In the 1980s families of victims had formed human rights groups modeled on those of the Southern Cone, but by the 1990s they faced the challenge of a "common sense that sacrificing democracy and human rights, and damaging the lives of innocent people, were costs well worth paying in order to get rid of Shining Path."[81] Fujimori further politicized this common sense by lumping his critics together with armed leftists as "terrorists."

It was only with the collapse of Fujimori's own mystique of effectiveness in a November 2000 corruption scandal that space to articulate human rights demands began to open. One of the first decrees of the provisional government that replaced Fujimori was to establish a truth commission, with a mandate to "clarify the process, facts, and responsibility for the terrorist violence and violations of human rights that happened between May 1980 and November 2000, imputable to both the terrorist organizations and agents of the state."

Even so, the possibility that the commission might lead to the naming of names or prosecutions was denounced by military officers as an "Argentinization"—that is, a state-blaming version—of a conflict in which "Peru's soldiers had dutifully carried out the orders of their civilian presidents to fight a dangerous enemy."[82] After elections were held, the newly installed President Alejandro Toledo passed a second decree that added "establish[ing] the bases for a deep process of national reconciliation" to the commission's goals and renamed it the Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (Truth and Reconciliation Commission; CVR). To the initial seven commissioners, a group including academics, lawyers, and a priest, were added five more—a monsignor, an evangelical pastor, and a retired military officer, along with two more academics. The inclusion of reconciliation still met with considerable backlash, with critics fearing it would mean extending forgiveness to terrorists or providing them with a public forum.[83]

As the world's twenty-second truth commission, the Commission on Truth and Reconciliation was a hybrid of its predecessors. A body of the national rather than the international community, like the Southern Cone truth commissions, its methodology followed that of the Central American commissions, particularly Guatemala's, in combining statistics with illustrative cases. Its name and the public hearings it held for victims to receive apologies from perpetrators harked outside the region to the South

African model. And although many Latin American truth commission reports briefly invoke CONADEP and *Nunca más*, the CVR devotes considerable space in the introduction to its report to a discussion of its many forebears, particularly in Latin America.

Its efforts to situate itself within this history of human rights struggles, however, are juxtaposed to a firm insistence on Peruvian exceptionality. The CVR's mandate was the only one in the region to give priority to investigating insurgent violence, and unlike most truth commissions of the post-1989 era, it made no mention of universal human rights. Underscoring these peculiarities, the CVR report notes that "our country did not repeat the classic Latin American schema of agents of the state as almost exclusive perpetrators against subversive groups with a restricted use of violence and, above all, unarmed civilians."[84]

Its investigations confirmed this claim by finding that 54 percent of the 69,280 civilians estimated to have been killed died at Sendero's hands and only 30 percent at the hands of the state, with other actors on the Left and Right, including the state-backed peasant *rondas*, responsible for the remainder.[85] Only in Ayacucho, where the greatest violence took place, were state and Sendero shares in the perpetration of violence estimated to be of similar magnitude. Only in Lima were the state's violations more numerous.

As these statistics suggest, the Peruvian state also committed war crimes, "breaking," the CVR claimed, "with the unique pattern of the Peruvian armed forces" established by the leftist general Velasco.[86] The CVR fully investigated and described these crimes, and the report strongly denounces them. Yet the encounter with a revolutionary demon whose turpitude equaled that of the state seems to have altered the truth commission's typical alchemy. Using many of the same rhetorical strategies as previous commissions, the CVR report transforms what is, statistically speaking, a widely distributed responsibility for violence into a difference in moral kind, resting the final blame on Sendero's shoulders.

In the introduction, where reports tend to locate a call for a restoration of democracy, Sendero takes the usual rhetorical place of state terror as the obstacle to achieving it: "For its inherently criminal and totalitarian character, deprived of all humanitarian principle, [Sendero] is an organization which can find no place as such in the democratic and civilized nation we Peruvians wish to construct." Although its account of the context of the conflict recognizes long-standing inequality and discrimination in Peru, the report rules that the cause of the war was Sendero's uprising and, echoing Arendt, locates the roots of Peru's political violence in Sendero's ideological extremism: "The triumph of strategic reason, the will to destruction beyond all elemental rights of persons, was a death sentence for thousands of Peruvian citizens."[87] And while denouncing the "extreme limits" of the state's response to Sendero, it concedes that, "given the gravity of events, it was inevitable that the State would use its armed forces … as well as declaring states of exception."[88]

The CVR's approach to the category of "genocide" suggests how such an account shapes post-conflict avenues for seeking justice. Its investigations showed that

three-quarters of all victims of violence were Quechua-speaking, in a country where only 16 percent of the population speaks Quechua, and that Quechua-speakers approached 100 percent of victims in 1982–1983, when the fighting was concentrated in Ayacucho and when the state was found to have killed more people than Sendero. Although one of the twelve CVR commissioners was Degregori, whose characterization of counterinsurgency in Ayacucho as "genocidal" is cited above, the CVR declined to use this term in its report, describing the violence instead as "massive, but selective." To support this ruling, the report notes that men aged twenty to forty-nine represented the preponderance (55 percent) of victims and that, compared to Guatemala, many fewer people died in massacres of more than five people.[89]

But a close reading of these statistics suggests that principles of selectivity are more evident in Sendero violence than in that of the state. Sendero targeted older men, using methods that the CVR calls "subtle and dependent on microdifferentiations in local power."[90] The state, in contrast, was more likely to kill people in all age deciles under thirty, including children as well as youthful Sendero militants.[91] It also used different tactics for Quechua-speakers in Ayacucho than non-Quechua-speakers in Lima, killing the former and detaining the latter.[92] Although similar patterns in Guatemala were what the CEH's "acts of genocide" ruling sought to capture, the CVR declined to follow its example.

The CVR also declined, however, to describe Sendero as a terrorist organization. The matter-of-fact use of the term in the commission's mandate echoed common Peruvian linguistic practice, where taxi drivers, peasants, and the president alike spoke of leftists as "terrorists." The CVR report resists a more formal application of this language, arguing that the concept of terrorism, "at the end of a long armed conflict, is weighted with subjective meanings that make it difficult to analyze the behavior of those who chose to rise up against the state and in the process committed violent crimes." It promises to use the term only for the tactical use of terror and by and large keeps this promise, always referring to Sendero by its official acronym, PCP-SL, and qualifying its violence with the less loaded adjective "subversive."[93]

One explanation for this resistance is suggested by a passage at the end of the report's discussion of earlier truth commissions:

> At the same time, the CVR's work takes place in the context of a global scenario whose direction is uncertain. The culture of human rights and the international institutions that support it are fragile and rest on the consensus of States. At some moments, as has occurred at the beginning of this century, fear of violence can generate a spiral of repercussions that affect international legality and reduce the possibilities of ensuring the rights of people and the citizens of the world.[94]

The moment in question seems to be the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States, which wrought a paradigm shift in global notions of terrorism in the interim between the CVR's establishment and its 2003 report. Sendero, with its celebration of violence, its Sinophilia, and its Ayacuchan roots, was better suited to the new theory of terrorism as

emanating from orientalized atavisms than most Latin American guerrilla groups. Yet Peruvian human rights activists, thanks to Fujimori, were also perhaps better acquainted than most with the consequences of a war on terror that casts state violence as essential to the practice of democracy. In such a context, their caution in invoking the term "terrorist," even for Sendero, bespeaks an intimate knowledge of the power and dangers of the term.

Conclusion

On March 19, 2013, a Guatemalan court opened proceedings against two retired generals, Efraín Ríos Montt and José Mauricio Rodríguez Sánchez, for genocide and crimes against humanity. They were accused of overseeing the murder of at least 1,771 Ixil Maya during army operations directed by Ríos Montt as the de facto head of state from 1982 to 1983. On May 10 Ríos Montt became the first head of state to be convicted of genocide in his own country. Ten days later, however, Guatemala's constitutional court vacated the conviction on procedural grounds.

The generals' defense rested largely on the argument that the army's violence was collateral damage from the state's battle with the EGP. Noting that the EGP claimed Ixil communities as a stronghold, an expert witness for the defense asked, "Were [Ixil] innocent civilians or members of armed terrorist groups?" Throughout the trial, a shadowy organization called the Foundation against Terrorism forcefully advanced the latter position in a series of expensive glossy pamphlets and paid advertisements in major Guatemalan newspapers. The vacating of the verdict against Ríos Montt effectively validated these arguments.

Greg Grandin and Thomas Klubock argue that the technology of the truth commission was undermined by a post-cold war liberal order that privileged symbolic and restorative justice over trials and downplayed the "structural socioeconomic and ideological conflicts that created the conditions for political violence" while leaving the Right in power.[95] The twenty-first-century juridical encirclement and sometimes conviction of several former Latin American heads of state would thus seem to herald a new stage in the transition to peace and democracy. But the ascendancy of "terrorism" as an all-purpose designation for those who challenge entrenched inequalities and ideologies, violently or not, poses new challenges for those seeking justice. Shortly after the Ríos Montt trial, the Foundation against Terrorism released a new pamphlet describing Guatemala's increasingly massive antimining movement as terrorism. Despite the best intentions of their authors, the increasingly depoliticized narratives offered by Latin American truth commission reports of the region's history as a confrontation between the demons who wield violence and the innocent who suffer it may have contributed to the construction of a discursive space in which such accusations can seem logical.

Notes

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28. Despite this language, Dworkin's introduction also insists on a greater historicization of the violence and a larger number of victims. See Crenzel, *The Memory of the Argentina Disappearances*, 106.
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31. Peter Winn, "The Furies of the Andes," in *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence during Latin America's Long Cold War*, ed. Greg Grandin and Gilbert M. Joseph (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 239–275.
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33. Steve J. Stern, *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989–2006* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 14.
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42. Ibid., 1:16.
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44. Chile, *Informe Rettig*, 1:xvii.
45. Ibid., 1:17.
46. Stern, *Reckoning with Pinochet*, 84.
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48. Chile, *Informe Rettig*, 1:21.
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87. Ibid., 15.
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CHAPTER 24

RADICAL ENVIRONMENTALISM AND ECOTERRORISM IN THE UNITED STATES

KEITH MAKOTO WOODHOUSE

In late 2005 and early 2006 agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) showed up at the homes and workplaces of environmental and animal rights activists across the country, arresting or issuing warrants for sixteen people accused of causing over $40 million in property damage between 1995 and 2001. The suspects, according to the FBI, damaged or destroyed sites ranging from car dealerships to horse slaughterhouses and, most famously, part of a ski resort in Vail, Colorado. Most of the destruction was through arson. The FBI had been investigating these disparate crimes for the better part of a decade, in close partnership with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, and local law enforcement agencies throughout the West. Investigators had made little progress until a lucky break in 2001 led to a onetime activist who not only confessed his own crimes but also agreed to wear a wire around others he had once worked with. The FBI began drawing tenuous connections and in 2004 the Bureau's Portland office consolidated seven different cases into a single investigation—"Operation Backfire"—that led to the spate of arrests just over a year later, one of the few successful efforts to identify and capture members of the notoriously secretive Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and Earth Liberation Front (ELF).[1]

Attorney General Alberto Gonzalez and FBI Director Robert Mueller did not hesitate to label the suspects "terrorists." Mueller told reporters that among the FBI's "highest domestic terrorism priorities" was to investigate crimes done "in the name of animal rights or the environment." In U.S. District Court, however, the label was a point of contention. Judge Ann Aiken wrestled with the prosecution's request that the defendants receive "terrorism enhancements" to their sentences. In theory, terrorism enhancements

could trigger years of additional prison time. In this case the plea bargain ruled that possibility out. Being designated terrorists, however, could still affect where and how the defendants would be imprisoned. Aiken ruled to apply the enhancements.[2]

Aiken's decision rested on sentencing directives put in place by Congress in the mid-1990s, in the wake of the World Trade Center bombing in New York and the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building bombing in Oklahoma City. Those directives were among an array of terrorism-related legislation passed at the federal and state levels in the 1990s and 2000s. Amidst a broader anxiety about terrorism in the United States, especially after September 11, 2001, was a more targeted concern among lawmakers with what came to be known as "ecoterrorism." Congress held hearings on ecoterrorism in 1998, 2002, and again in 2005. Witnesses at these hearings called for strengthening the centerpiece of ecoterrorism legislation: the Animal Enterprise Protection Act (AEPA) of 1992, which had created the legal category of "animal enterprise terrorism," the intentional disruption, through sabotage or theft, of commercial or academic enterprises that use animals. In 2003 the American Legislative Exchange Council crafted its own model legislation, the "Animal and Ecological Terrorism Act," which built on the AEPA and which was introduced in several state legislatures.[3]

All of the legislative attention focused on ecoterrorism has not lent the concept much clarity. What constitutes ecoterrorism, who perpetrates it, and toward what ends all shift from one context to another. Definitions of ecoterrorism can be as vague as "any crime committed in the name of saving nature," or so strict and careful as to rule out most of what one scholar initially considered for a book called *Eco-Terrorism*. While some radical environmentalists make the dubious claim that arson is simply the destruction of property and, done right, poses little threat to human safety, some critics of radical environmentalism accuse even Greenpeace—an organization founded on the principle of nonviolence—of having "a history of terroristic and extortionate acts."[4]

Without exception, however, those who use the term draw a straight line from ecoterrorism to radical environmentalism (and, often, to radical animal rights activism too). And there are two general explanations for why that line exists. The first is one offered by critics of radical environmentalism, from politicians and public agencies to writers like Ron Arnold of the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise. This is the view that there is a pathological anger or hatred among some environmentalists that, left unchecked, inevitably leads to violence. Arnold actually calls ecoterrorism "a natural outgrowth of our changing society," arguing that mid-twentieth-century affluence and privilege led to a "spoiled brat syndrome" and to radical environmentalists who "obsessively hate…resource industry workers." An "aggressive instinct" that opposes the human species may exist in us all, Arnold speculates, but only radical environmentalists are likely to act on it. A threat assessment of ecoterrorism prepared by a private consulting agency for the Department of Homeland Security adopts Arnold's psychological approach, if not his specific conclusions. Radical environmental activists, the report explains, tend to demonstrate "a strong nonconformist streak that can be interpreted as a belligerent, antisocial, antiestablishment trend." As U.S. Representative Scott McInnis put it in a 2002 hearing on ecoterrorism, "the individuals that make up these terror groups are not cut from the same fabric as the nature-loving hippies of my youth.… These people are hardened criminals."[5]

The second view of radical environmentalists, held by scholars who study the subject, is subtler; it suggests that there is a constellation of influences motivating radicals within the broader movement but that chief among them is religion. The most prolific scholar of radical environmentalism and the one most associated with this interpretation is Bron Taylor, who has long contended that environmentalism constitutes an informal religion and that understanding its basic religious tenets is the first step toward understanding the movement as a whole. Taylor's "dark green religion" can range from a belief in innate spirits that reside in all living things to belief in a planetary consciousness to simply the suspicion that all things are interconnected and so unified by a collective order. In all its forms it suggests a separate morality from the human-centered ethics of modern society.[6]

Martha Lee takes Taylor's focus on religion and couches it in even more specific terms. Lee writes that radical environmentalists are generally either "millenarians" or "apocalyptics," the first group believing that human society can be saved through an awareness bred of crisis, the second group convinced that human society will soon end and that the planet will be better off for it. Lee is less optimistic than Taylor, who has consistently reassured readers that whatever violent tendencies exist among environmentalists are kept in check by their high regard for biotic life. For Lee, apocalypticism opens the door to violence—believing that society not only will collapse but should collapse makes destructive acts easier. For both scholars, though, religious beliefs—whether explicit or implicit—are at the heart of radical environmentalists' theory and practice.[7]

Like Ron Arnold's psychological view of radical environmentalists, Taylor's and Lee's religious focus tends to discount radical violence as a conscious, rational choice. Both views present ecoterrorism—whatever its definition—as a product of basic attitudes and outlooks; in both views the presence or absence of ecoterrorism is almost a foregone conclusion given the morals and mindset of radical activists. If psychological disposition or religious devotion are foregrounded, then reasoned decision-making and immediate historical context are backgrounded. Neither view is inaccurate; there are likely deeply personal motivations for engaging in radical activism and there is undeniably a religious dimension to environmentalism. The values advanced by a philosophy called "deep ecology"—the belief that the natural world has moral worth equal to that of human beings—is essential to the radical environmental movement. But neither view is complete, and by hitching ecoterrorism to root causes both views offer totalizing explanations that risk ignoring fine distinctions. This may be a way of explaining the inexplicable; if it is difficult to consider terrorism as rational, then it may be easier to pathologize it or to understand it as a consequence of deep-seated beliefs. Reasoned acts are not necessarily moral acts, however; it is possible to understand a given choice as rational without accepting it as ethical. As the scholar of terrorism Martha Hutchinson has suggested, whatever may be considered terrorism cannot be written off as a touch of lunacy or an excess of fervency: "The resort to terrorism is a political choice, not an act of madness."[8]

Considering what "ecoterrorism" is and why it emerged, and even whether such a thing exists, means first considering the specific choices that radical environmentalists

made in reaction to their political context and then understanding the ways others framed those choices. And it means drawing distinctions between different groups, tactics, and acts that are too often thrown together under the overly broad label "ecoterrorism." If violent or destructive acts by environmental activists are called "ecoterrorism," then ecoterrorism is less a direct consequence of a particular mindset or doctrine than a result of deliberate choices made at the intersection of moral commitments and political realities, choices that we can acknowledge even when we cannot accept them.

At the root of environmental direct action was the view that democratic processes were slow and ineffective, and that the urgency of environmental destruction demanded an immediate and proportional response. This view hardened among environmental activists after the early 1970s and gained a wider following in the 1980s. But it was not an automatic reaction to mainstream politics, and it was not the only one. Staking out a more radical environmental politics did not necessarily lead to sabotage and ecoterrorism. Activists adopted those more militant forms of direct action when they felt all other approaches had failed.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Americans grew increasingly concerned with what Barry Commoner called "the environmental crisis"—the effects of industrial civilization on natural resources and natural places. Some used the term "crisis" loosely, to suggest that environmental harm was a serious problem demanding immediate attention; others, however, used the term strictly, to mean particular ecosystems and planetary biodiversity were on the brink of collapse and natural resources were being irretrievably squandered. Strategies that seemed adequate to the first group seemed inconsequential to the second group. Almost as soon as the modern environmental movement cohered, these two perspectives came into conflict, as grassroots activists began criticizing the major organizations' focus on lobbying, litigation, and the top-down politics of Washington, DC. That top-down approach had emerged during the Nixon administration, which passed some of the strongest environmental regulations in the world, including strengthened Clean Air and Clean Water Acts, the Endangered Species Act, and the National Environmental Policy Act. The legal foundation that these laws laid down gave the environmental movement a strong platform from which to shape policy. It also tied the movement to the liberal democratic state and its compromise-centered processes. Not all environmental activists were happy with this strategy; as groups like the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, and the National Audubon Society expanded their offices in the nation's capital or relocated there entirely, many environmental activists grew frustrated with the limited and incremental change achieved through filing lawsuits and pushing legislation.[9]

Some disgruntled environmentalists took it upon themselves to confront pollution in a way that the established groups could not. In the early 1970s a Midwestern saboteur called "the Fox" sealed a factory's smokestack, clogged an industrial drainage system, and spilled sewage onto the floors of a U.S. Steel office. A group called "Eco-Commando Force '70" poured yellow dye into several Florida sewage-treatment plants to highlight how far sewage dispersed into the state's waterways. In Michigan and the Southwest several bands of clandestine vigilantes cut down billboards at night along deserted

highways. No one called these saboteurs "terrorists." The mainstream press barely reported on the incidents, other than a series of celebratory columns about "the Fox" by *Chicago Daily News* reporter Mike Royko. The alternative press called the outlaws "eco-guerillas."[10]

Direct action and sabotage were not the only alternatives to mainstream politics. Some environmental thinkers, having lost faith in the gradualism of reform, moved in the opposite direction. Like the "eco-guerillas" they believed the environmental crisis was acute and that conventional politics could not adequately address it; unlike the guerillas they believed that only established authority could force fundamental change. Rather than challenge the government through civil disobedience and direct action, they wanted to empower the government to take more dramatic measures. Centralizing power, not dispersing it, was their solution to crisis. Garrett Hardin was an early proponent of this school of thought; in his widely read essay "The Tragedy of the Commons," Hardin argued that individual freedom to pursue one's own interests led to collective harm, and that the only solution was—in his often-quoted phrase—"mutual coercion, mutually agreed upon." The political scientist William Ophuls pushed Hardin's idea further, advocating "a Hobbesian sovereign" to enforce the sort of environmental controls that representative government could not. "Only a government possessing great powers to regulate individual behavior in the ecological common interest can deal effectively with the tragedy of the commons," Ophuls wrote. Hardin, Ophuls, and other writers like Robert Heilbroner believed that the environmental crisis was so great that authoritarian power might be the only means of staving it off. Individual freedoms would have to be set aside for the greater good of society and the planet.[11]

The radicals of the 1980s differed from their predecessors in several regards, most notably their "ecocentric" belief that the natural world had as much moral worth as human society. While they shared earlier activists' basic distrust of conventional reform, their skepticism was greater because of their direct experience with the mainstream movement's shortcomings. The decade's premier radical group, Earth First!, was founded by five conservationists who had all worked formally or informally for the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, or Friends of the Earth. As employees of some of the most established environmental organizations in the country, they were well-positioned to grow disenchanted with the trade-offs such organizations regularly made. They grew frustrated with what they considered waning ambitions within the environmental movement after the successes of the early 1970s. Late in the decade the Forest Service inventoried its 62 million roadless acres and recommended less than half for designation or even consideration as "wilderness"—the highest level of protection the government bestowed. When mainstream organizations chose not to sue and raised—from the hard-liners' perspective—only a tepid objection, a small but determined group of conservationists largely gave up on trying to influence national policy from within the Capitol.[12]

Earth First! would eschew Washington politics in favor of grassroots activism and would give no quarter when it came to protecting wilderness. But not reflexively; the group's logo was a green fist and its slogan was "No compromise in defense of Mother

Earth," but its critique of mainstream environmentalism was never an unthinking, doctrinaire position. Earth First!ers—as they called themselves—continually debated the relative effectiveness of civil disobedience and sabotage, on the one hand, and lobbying and lawsuits, on the other. In 1984 Dave Foreman, one of Earth First!'s founders, wrote in the journal *Earth First!* about professionalization and environmentalism. Acknowledging the successes of the established organizations, Foreman claimed that nevertheless "the environmental movement has been slowly co-opted by the concept of professionalism to the detriment of the vision, activism, ethics and effectiveness of the cause." Others rallied to the defense of the mainstream groups. Kirk Cunningham, a Sierra Club volunteer, reminded *Earth First!* readers that "we still live in something vaguely resembling a democracy," where only votes and political pressure could accomplish wilderness protection. That sort of political haggling, Cunningham said, was "best done by the coordinated work of specialists and 'Washington-types,' people who understand real power politics even if they are not personally familiar with the areas in question."[13]

Earth First! tried to balance lively debate and disagreement with a basic commitment to radical action. Its rhetoric shifted frequently from frustrated calls for revolutionary change to measured proposals for more wilderness. Some Earth First!ers advocated an informal partnership with mainstream groups, while others disavowed those groups entirely. The never-ending arguments in the journal *Earth First!*, however, took for granted a suspicion of conventional politics and a strong belief that, left alone, those politics would drag on year after year as forests were cleared, species were extinguished, and entire ecosystems were disrupted. The sense that every passing moment spent in negotiation ceded more wild land and that every compromise bargained away thousand-year-old trees informed all of the actions that Earth First! took.

The shouting matches between Earth First!ers reached a crescendo over the question of violence. And the form that violence most immediately took for Earth First! was tree spiking. To "spike" trees was to insert large metal nails—or ceramic, in order to frustrate metal detectors—in trees scattered throughout a stand designated for logging. Earth First! protocol was to then inform the Forest Service that the stand had been spiked and that logging the trees could result in serious damage to mill equipment when saw blades struck nails. The Service then had to choose between spending time and money removing all of the nails or simply giving up on the sale of those trees. Done right, Earth First!ers insisted, tree spiking would not hurt anyone, because spiked trees would never reach the mill; but if anything went awry, the Forest Service and timber companies pointed out, mill saws could explode and chainsaws could kick back, threatening the lives of mill workers and loggers. For Earth First! this was partly a matter of efficiency and effectiveness; other strategies for stalling logging, like road blockades and tree-sits, were generally temporary and limited in their reach. Spiking could complicate the logging of a large stand with only a few hours' work.

But spiking was also in a different category of tactics from blockades and tree-sits, which were out in the open and essentially forms of civil disobedience. Spiking was anonymous and performed under the cover of night. It was sabotage in defense of

natural places, what activists in the 1970s had called "ecotage" and Earth First!ers preferred to call "monkeywrenching" after the band of eco-saboteurs in Edward Abbey's novel *The Monkeywrench Gang*. Lacking the nobility of standing in front of a bulldozer, monkeywrenching was harder to defend. But Earth First!ers did defend it. Foreman cowrote a book with the pseudonymous Bill Haywood called *Ecodefense* that offered both detailed instructions and an ethical justification for various tactics. Monkeywrenching, Foreman insisted, was "not directed toward harming human beings or other forms of life. It is aimed at inanimate machines and tools." However, Foreman continued, trying to square the circle, monkeywrenchers "although nonviolent—are warriors.... They remember that they are engaged in the most moral of all actions: protecting life, defending the Earth." This was the tightrope that Earth First!—and later the Earth Liberation Front—tried gingerly to walk, between a commitment to not harming living beings and the conviction that defending the natural world was a moral absolute. Monkeywrenching was an act of last resort, but the time for last resorts had been reached. "Representative democracy in the United States," Edward Abbey wrote in the "Forward!" to *Ecodefense*, "has broken down." Only dedicated individuals acting on their own initiative could prevent environmental devastation. "It is time" Foreman wrote, "for women and men, individually and in small groups, to act heroically and admittedly illegally in defense of the wild."[14]

The backlash against tree spiking came quickly. In Oregon, the Forest Service offered $5,000 for any information about tree-spikers. John Davis, general manager of timber and logging for Willamette Industries, said tree spiking was "deadly serious business," while Louisiana-Pacific's managers began calling tree-spikers "environmental terrorists," a term that soon even other environmentalists were willing to use. Doug Scott, the Sierra Club's associate executive director, said, "action in the night is on a slippery slope down toward terrorism, and that is a slippery slope that I abhor." In 1988, after a Louisiana-Pacific mill worker was seriously injured when a mill saw hit a spike, senators from Idaho and Oregon attached a rider to a drug enforcement bill that made tree-spiking a felony. Ten years later Representative Frank Riggs claimed—inaccurately—that the Louisiana-Pacific mill worker had been killed.[15]

The criticisms directed at Earth First! were nothing that monkeywrenchers had not heard already—from each other. Earth First!ers had debated the question of violence from the very beginning. The initial editor of *Earth First!* soon resigned over an editorial disagreement stemming from his unease with the "Dear Ned Ludd" column, which discussed monkeywrenching. The column, the ex-editor explained to readers, "progressed from relatively harmless and humorous pranks to ones which I feel border on outright violence." The poet Gary Snyder expressed his own conflicted view in *Earth First!*. Violence, Snyder said, could only be undertaken with "true warriors' consciousness, that is to say, the deliberate and thoughtful attitude of one who has investigated and exhausted all other possible avenues, and then turns toward violence with full, sad, precise comprehension of the cause-and-effect chains such an act would generate."[16]

The debate about monkeywrenching reached a crescendo in 1990, when several branches of Earth First! in Oregon and California called for a ban on tree-spiking. Earth First!er Judi Bari, an environmentalist with roots in organized labor, led the effort. Bari

argued that spiking trees was both ineffective and unethical, and that it prevented a logger-environmentalist alliance against timber companies that Bari hoped to organize. Her proposal kicked off a whole new round of debate in the pages of *Earth First!* Logger and Bari ally Gene Lawhorn appealed to others to renounce tree-spiking. Several Earth First! stalwarts denounced this appeal, insisting that without sabotage they would be yet another entrenched, unwieldy, compromise-prone group. One reader's comment—"Go back to the Sierra Club"—neatly summed up the ban opponents' position.[17]

The ongoing debate about tree-spiking was characteristic of Earth First! Violence was always an open question but it was never axiomatic. Monkeywrenchers did not consider themselves terrorists, but they recognized what they did as entailing some risk, both to themselves and to others. Earth First!ers debated, again and again, whether the risks were justified, and they based their arguments on both their values and their estimation of what conventional democratic politics could or could not achieve. They acted with the determination of the reconciled, not with the passion of the converted.

Ecoterrorism emerged not only from the choices that radical environmentalists made, but from how those choices were framed. The history of ecoterrorism is to some extent a history of the term itself. Acts that could easily qualify as ecoterrorism by the time of the ELF and ALF arrests had happened at least since the 1970s, but it was not until the 1990s that such acts received their own legal category and the serious attention of Congress. "Ecoterrorism" is a vague term because "terrorism" is a vague term, as most scholars who study it admit. Modifying the word "terrorism" with the prefix "eco" adds a motive to a tactic; ecoterrorists are generally understood as those who commit violent acts out of concern for the natural world. But this was not always the case. Just as "terrorism" once connoted the use of violence and fear by the state in order to intimidate individuals and now generally connotes the opposite, "ecoterrorism" (or "ecological terrorism," or "environmental terrorism") has implied the use—generally by a state—of coercive measures performed *through* the natural world and now implies almost exclusively the use—generally by sub-national groups—of coercive measures in the name of the natural world. In January 1991, after the United States began bombing Iraqi forces in retaliation for Iraq's invasion of Kuwait but before the United States commenced a ground assault, Saddam Hussein ordered millions of gallons of oil dumped into the Persian Gulf from an offshore Kuwaiti terminal. President George Bush called this act "environmental terrorism," in his January 29th State of the Union address and in a press conference on February 6, and a spokesman for the Pentagon repeated the phrase. *New York Times* columnist William Safire called it "ecoterrorism." After the U.S. ground invasion, Hussein's retreating forces ignited hundreds of oil wells in Kuwait, creating vast clouds of soot and toxic fumes and releasing huge stores of carbon into the atmosphere. Scientists monitoring the wells' effects suggested a new Geneva Convention protocol outlawing "environmental terrorism." For several years after the Gulf War, legal scholars, journalists, and government officials continued to use the term "environmental terrorism" to mean acts of environmental destruction used to threaten people or nations.[18]

"Ecoterrorism" as violence against nature and "ecoterrorism" as violence in defense of nature were in simultaneous use in the late 1980s and early 1990s. And the second

definition was not always used in a critical sense. Ron Arnold often takes credit for first associating the term with environmental activists in a 1983 article in *Reason* magazine in which he tried to connect ecoterrorists to mainstream environmental groups. But the *Chicago Tribune* reported on "environmental terrorism" two years before Arnold's article in a piece on Paul Watson and Sea Shepherd, a group Watson founded after Greenpeace expelled him for his confrontational tactics. By 1981 Sea Shepherd already had a reputation for ramming rogue whaling ships on the high seas and scuttling ships in harbor that had violated the International Whaling Commission's restrictions. In the *Tribune* article, it was an animal rights activist, not a police officer, who called Watson's actions "environmental terrorism." Brian Davies, the head of the International Fund for Animal Welfare, said "The democratic way of doing things hasn't worked, and people in the movement, who were once considered to be conservative, are now rethinking their methods." Of the strategies employed by Sea Shepherd and the Animal Liberation Front, Davies remarked, "Without tougher, no-nonsense legislation and an effective international policing body, there will be more and more environmental terrorism until the world is forced into taking meaningful action."[19]

"Ecoterrorism" as a term for environmental saboteurs took a more concrete form in Northern Arizona in the late 1980s. There, the law-enforcement perspective (that ecoterror was an organized and widespread phenomenon spearheaded by Earth First!) and Earth First!'s own perspective (that monkeywrenching was something individuals or small groups could only do on their own initiative) collided, hardening an association between environmentalism and criminal enterprise. On October 4, 1987, a group of saboteurs hiked to the Snowbowl ski resort outside of Flagstaff and cut through the main chairlift's pylons with a welding torch. On September 25, 1988, environmental saboteurs cut several power lines that ran to a uranium mine on the rim of the Grand Canyon. On May 30, 1989, four people approached a pole supporting a power line carrying electricity to one small section of the massive Central Arizona Project (CAP), which carried water from the Colorado River to Central and Southern Arizona. They began cutting through the pole when fifty FBI agents, on foot, on horseback, and in two helicopters, burst out of the darkness. The agents arrested Mark Davis and Marc Baker but lost Peg Millett, who escaped into the desert and hitchhiked back to Prescott, where the FBI caught up to her the next day. At 7:00 in the morning on May 31, FBI agents entered the home of Dave Foreman and his wife, Nancy Morton, in Tucson and roused Foreman at gunpoint. Months later agents arrested a fifth suspect, Ilse Asplund, and charged her with having participated in the first two incidents. The fourth saboteur at the CAP pole, Mike Tait, was never arrested; his real name was Mike Fain and he was an undercover agent who had infiltrated the Northern Arizona radical environmental community.[20]

The "Arizona 5" received their sentences two years later, after a truncated trial and a complicated round of plea bargaining. Under the agreement, Davis went to jail for six years, Millett for three, Baker for six months, and Asplund for just one month. Foreman had not participated in any of the crimes but had met with Tait to discuss some of his ideas and given Tait some money from an Earth First! yard sale. Prosecutors tried to use this connection to link the Arizona 5 with Earth First! and the environmental movement

more broadly. They asked Foreman to recant monkeywrenching. He refused, but agreed to remain largely silent about it. Then he pled guilty to a felony conspiracy charge that would be reduced to a misdemeanor after five years of probation.[21]

The arrests and the trial remained in the minds of government officials and environmental activists for years after. To federal agents, the Arizona 5 were a cautionary tale, a skilled and organized group who, according to Fain, had discussed the possibility of cutting power lines running from several nuclear plants in the West, an even more ambitious undertaking. It did not help their cause that the group called themselves the Evan Meacham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC), a sarcastic reference to the arch-conservative ex-governor of Arizona. A decade-and-a-half later EMETIC remained, for the government, a principle example of the threat of ecoterrorism. In a 2005 Senate hearing, in response to a question from Senator Barack Obama about the scope of ecoterrorism beyond ALF and ELF, FBI Deputy Assistant Director John Lewis used EMETIC as his sole example. Three years later an ecoterrorism threat assessment contracted by the Department of Homeland Security pointed to EMETIC as crucial evidence.[22]

For Earth First!ers the case against EMETIC confirmed their suspicions that the FBI was determined to mischaracterize and harass them. After the arrests Earth First! tried to cultivate a greater sense of wariness—both of FBI informants and of public perception. Dave Foreman warned that monkeywrenchers had to be fastidious about the reality and perception of violence. Monkeywrenching, he predicted, had entered "a more difficult era" and "a new, more dangerous environment," and its practitioners should avoid even "public statements or writings that can be construed as advocating 'violence.'" Earth First!ers remained committed to monkeywrenching (until the West Coast Earth First!ers' disavowal of tree-spiking the next year), but grew increasingly concerned about the perception of violence within their movement. Although the FBI had failed to jail Foreman or to make a convincing case that EMETIC was Earth First! under another name, it had succeeded in associating radical environmentalism even more closely with dangerous and destructive acts.[23]

By the 1990s, after a decade of debate about Earth First! and tree-spiking capped by the EMETIC arrests, the overlapping space between environmentalism and violence was big enough to fit even a notorious terrorist. The environmental movement was, for some, directly implicated in the violent actions of a man the FBI called "Unabom," the press named "the Unabomber," and the public finally learned was an ex-math professor named Theodore Kaczynski. Kaczynski's acts were unfathomable to most, and the more unfathomable they were the easier it was to make them fit any of a number of ideologies or motives. Probably the most successful characterization of Kaczynski, though, was as a radical environmentalist and anti-humanist. And to the degree that Kaczynski could be linked to radical environmentalism, so could homicidal aggression and unambiguous terrorism.[24]

The Unabomber mailed and planted bombs over a seventeen-year period, bombs that injured twenty-two people and killed three. Authorities had few convincing leads and little sense of who the Unabomber was until 1995, when he demanded that the *New York*

Times and *Washington Post* print a 35,000-word essay called "Industrial Society and its Future" and better known as "the Unabomber Manifesto." When the *Post* printed the Manifesto with the support of the *Times*, Kaczynski's brother and sister-in-law recognized the angry ideas as Theodore's, and contacted the FBI. Less than a year later agents arrested Kaczynski in a remote cabin outside of Lincoln, Montana, where he had been living for two decades.

Within days commentators began linking the Unabomber to the environmental movement. ABC World News Tonight ran a story suggesting that the FBI was investigating a connection between Earth First! and the Unabomber. Days later, Linda Chavez tried to connect Kaczynski to both Earth First! and the Sierra Club in a *USA Today* editorial. In 1997 Ron Arnold published *Ecoterror—The Violent Agenda to Save Nature: The World of the Unabomber*, a book that argued the Unabomber was following the ideas and at times the explicit directives of certain radical environmental groups. In a 1998 Congressional hearing on ecoterrorism, Representative Steve Chabot called Kaczynski a "radical environmentalist."[25]

It was not unreasonable to suggest Kaczynski shared views held by environmentalists. He spent some of his time in and around Lincoln sabotaging logging and construction equipment—he later called it "monkeywrenching"—years before Earth First! did. His major complaints in "Industrial Society and its Future" were against technology and industrialization, and he explicitly held up nature as an ideal. In his philosophy and in his lifestyle Kaczynski seemed sympathetic to anarcho-primitivism, an anarchist strain of radical environmentalism that held up hunter-gatherer societies as the best model for human civilization. John Zerzan, one of the most well-known anarcho-primitivist philosophers, corresponded with Kaczynski during and after his trial and began admiring his ideas even before the Unabomber's identity was made public. There is evidence that Kaczynski read radical environmental publications like *Earth First!* and *Live Wild or Die*, and may have written in to them.[26]

The "ecoterror" label is only a partial fit for Kaczynski, though. Although Kaczynski held the natural world in high regard and sought its solitude in remote Montana, the focus of "Industrial Society and its Future" is clearly individual human freedom and not the natural world for its own sake. Most of the Unabomber Manifesto is a critique of industrial society's limitations on individual freedom, and when Kaczynski finally proposes a foil to that society he does so in highly functional terms. "Nature," he writes, "makes a perfect counter-ideal to technology for several reasons," chief among them that it saves the effort of creating a utopian social system and "most people will agree that nature is beautiful; certainly it has tremendous popular appeal." Kaczynski's programmatic attitude toward the natural world and his interest in individual freedom above all else align him more with anarcho-primitivists than with Earth First!ers, who were generally willing and eager to sacrifice human freedom for the sake of nature.[27]

Even anarcho-primitivists, though, did not embrace the Unabomber unreservedly. Some anarchist publications rejected his efforts outright. Others hedged their bets, neither endorsing nor approving; the editors of *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* wrote cryptically of Kaczynski, "Those who engage in insurrectionary violence will always

have a limited understanding of the historical situation. They will always make mistakes. They will always possess finite judgement." Most sanguine on the question of the Unabomber was *Green Anarchist*, a British anarchist publication that never shied from radical action—its subtitle was "For the Destruction of Civilization." Even there, anarchists criticized Kaczynski more than they lionized him. One writer suggested Kaczynski's focus on technology alone was a myopic view of what restrained human freedom, and that killing people in technical fields was a largely pointless way of going about liberating individuals. Another writer, who had no compunctions about violence used effectively, nevertheless concluded that Kaczynski's bombs were "ultimately worthless" in that they were easily marginalized and suggested a limited understanding of institutional power. Eco-anarchists and anarcho-primitivists took Kaczynski's ideas and actions seriously, but never embraced them outright.[28]

Theodore Kaczynski was (and remains) sympathetic to radical environmentalism, but he was not a radical environmentalist himself. And while radical environmentalists recognized shared values and criticisms in his writing, they never accepted his ideas or his methods uncritically. Like tree-spiking, and like all forms of illegal direct action, the Unabomber was something to be discussed and debated. The majority of radical environmentalists quickly denounced Kaczynski's methods; others were more willing to consider them, but almost none supported them unambiguously. In both cases what determined activists' views of Kaczynski was less personal disposition or spirituality than an estimation of what such radical acts might lead to and whether they held any political utility.

There are lines to be drawn between pouring sand or sugar into the gas tanks of bulldozers or backhoes, spiking trees, toppling power lines, burning down ski lodges, and mailing bombs to individuals. Gathering all of these activities under the umbrella term "ecoterrorism" covers too much disparate activity to hold much meaning. "The Fox," who could easily be labeled a terrorist under much recently proposed ecoterror legislation, was occasionally celebrated in his day: the commissioner of the Water Quality Administration said in 1970 that the Fox "challenges us all with the question: Do we, as individuals in a technological society, have the will to control and prevent the degradation of our environment?" Even with a strict definition of ecoterrorism, specific context and history are central to understanding the decision to carry out radical and violent acts. It is one thing to pathologize the Unabomber; it is another thing entirely to pathologize a movement that sprang from a sense of impending crisis and frustration with sluggish reform, and that endlessly debated the merits and legitimacy of radical and dangerous actions even as it embarked on them. Radical environmentalists at various points instigated and engaged in acts that are now called "ecoterrorism," and they did so as a response to what they perceived to be the inadequacies of liberal democratic reform.[29]

Those acts can easily be judged excessive and immoral, but they should not be judged irrational. The political philosopher Michael Walzer writes, "When we think about terrorism we have to imagine a group of people sitting around a table, arguing about what ought to be done." We have to imagine violent acts as rational and conscious choices, in other words, and not inevitable endpoints of personalities or worldviews. Walzer advises

this primarily in order to undermine terrorists' claims that there were no other options—terrorism, he says, "is always a choice." But it is equally important to imagine the debate behind the act in order to avoid simplifying the actors themselves, taking them out of their particular context and presenting them as simply the manifestations of emotional or philosophical excess.[30]

Whatever its definition, ecoterrorism should be understood as a political act. Environmentalists who participated in illegal actions did so because they believed, rightly or wrongly, that such actions were their best means of advancing specific political goals. This was a choice, as Walzer points out, for which those doing the choosing should be held responsible. But it was nevertheless a decision informed by several decades of political and social history: the increasing awareness of environmental harm in the 1960s and 1970s, the decreasing effectiveness of mainstream environmental groups in the late 1970s and 1980s, and the ongoing argument among environmentalists about how to confront a crisis that most people seemed loathe to confront. To whatever degree environmentalists were ecoterrorists, they were ecoterrorists by choice, not by nature.

Notes

1. On the ALF/ELF arrests, see Will Potter, *Green is the New Red: An Insider's Account of a Social Movement under Siege* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2011); and Kera Abraham, "Flames of Dissent," a five-part series in *Eugene Weekly* (November–December 2006).
2. Michael Janofsky, "11 Indicted in 17 Cases of Sabotage in the West," *New York Times*, January 21, 2006, A9; Memorandum opinion, *United States v. Thurston*, 2007 WL 1500176 (D. Or.).
3. On the "terrorism enhancements," see Shane Harris, "The Terrorism Enhancement," *National Journal*, July 14, 2007. On ecoterrorism legislation and the Animal Enterprise Protection Act, see Potter, *Green is the New Red*, 115–140. On the Animal and Ecological Terrorism Act, see American Legislative Exchange Council, *Animal and Ecological Terrorism in America* (Washington, DC: American Legislative Exchange Council, 2003).
4. Alyson Walker, "A Field of Failed Dreams: Problems Passing Effective Ecoterrorism Legislation," *Villanova Environmental Law Journal* 18 (2007): 102; Donald Liddick, *Eco-Terrorism: Radical Environmental and Animal Liberation Movements* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), 8–9; William Cason, "Spiking the Spikers: The Use of Civil RICO against Environmental Terrorists," *Houston Law Review* 32 (1995–1996): 752.
5. Although the mainstream animal rights and environmental movements have significant philosophical differences, the radical wings of each movement find common cause in their opposition to modern society and in their tactics. For Ron Arnold quotes, see Arnold, *Ecoterror: The Violent Agenda to Save Nature: The World of the Unabomber* (Bellevue, WA: Free Enterprise Press, 1997), 292, 294, 302. For DHS "threat assessment" report, see Helios Global, Inc., *Ecoterrorism: Environmental and Animal Rights Militants in the United States* (2008), 24, 34. *Ecoterrorism and Lawlessness on the National Forests: Oversight Hearing before the Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health of the Committee on Resources*, 107th Cong., 2d Sess. (2002), 2. For more psychological interpretation, see Sean Eagan, "From Spikes to Bombs: The Rise of Eco-Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 19 (1996), 1–18.

6. See Bron Taylor, *Dark Green Religion: Nature Spirituality and the Planetary Future* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); and Bron Taylor, ed., *Ecological Resistance Movements: The Global Emergence of Radical and Popular Environmentalism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).
7. Martha Lee, *Earth First!: Environmental Apocalypse* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995); and Martha Lee and Herb Sims, "American Millenarianism and Violence: Origins and Expression," *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 1 (2007): 107–126. On Taylor and the unlikelihood of ecoterrorism, see Bron Taylor, "Threat Assessments and Radical Environmentalism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15 (Winter 2003): 173–182.
8. Martha Hutchinson, *Revolutionary Terrorism: The FLN in Algeria, 1954–1962* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1978), 130.
9. On professionalization, see Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1993), 117–161; and Christopher Bosso, *Environment, Inc.: From Grassroots to Beltway* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005).
10. On the various eco-guerillas, see "The Eco-Guerillas Are Coming," *Harry*, April 24–May 7, 1971, 9; "Eco-Guerillas," *Northwest Passage*, August 16–September 5, 1971; "The 'True' Adventures of Billie Board," *Argus*, June 1971, 6–7. For a sampling of Royko's columns, see Sam Love and David Obst, *Ecotage!* (New York: Pocket Books, 1972).
11. Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," in *Managing the Commons*, ed. Garrett Hardin and John Baden (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Company, 1977); William Ophuls, *Ecology and the Politics of Scarcity: Prologue to a Political Theory of the Steady State* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Company, 1977), 152–156. See also Robert Heilbroner, *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1974).
12. On the Forest Service inventory (the second Roadless Area Review and Evaluation), see Dennis Roth, *The Wilderness Movement and the National Forests* (College Station, TX: Intaglio Press, 1988), 53–55; and Dave Foreman, *Confessions of an Eco-Warrior* (New York: Crown, 1991), 12–16.
13. Dave Foreman, "Making the Most of Professionalism," *Earth First!*, August 1, 1984, 16; Kirk Cunningham et al., "Professionalism: A Discussion," *Earth First!*, December 21, 1984, 16–17. See also Michael Hamilton, "Real Environmental Professionalism," *Earth First!*, May 1, 1985.
14. Dave Foreman and Bill Haywood, *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching* (Tucson, AZ: Ned Ludd Books, [1985] 1990), 34, 8, 14.
15. On backlash, see Ken Slocum, "Radical Ecologists Pound Spikes in Trees to Scare Loggers and Hinder Lumbering," *Wall Street Journal*, November 14, 1985, 1; for Scott's comments, see Trip Gabriel, "If a Tree Falls in the Forest, They Hear It," *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, November 4, 1990, 58. On the Louisiana-Pacific mill worker and why the spiked tree was likely not an act by Earth First!, see Mike Roselle, *Tree Spiker: From Earth First! to Lowbagging* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009), 88. *Acts of Ecoterrorism by Radical Environmental Organizations: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary*, House of Representatives, 105th Cong, 2d Sess. (June 9, 1998), 12.
16. On Pete Dustrud's resignation and Gary Snyder's letter, see *Earth First! Newsletter*, August 1, 1982.
17. On the tree-spiking ban, see Elliot Diringer, "Environmental Group Says It Won't Spike Trees," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 11, 1990, A24; and Judi Bari, *Timber Wars* (Maine: Common Courage Press, 1994), 271–282. For the continuing debate, see Gene Lawhorn,

"Why Earth First! Should Renounce Tree Spiking," *Earth First!*, September 22, 1990, 9; John Henry, letter to the editor, *Earth First!*, August 1, 1990, 3; see also Paul Watson, "In Defense of Tree Spiking," *Earth First!*, September 22, 1990, 7–9.

18. Bruce Hoffman discusses the near-impossibility of defining "terrorism," despite attempts by scholars such as Alex Schmid and Walter Laqueur; see Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, [1998] 2006). On the oil spill in the Persian Gulf and "environmental terrorism," see Robert McFadden, "Oil Threatens Fishing and Water Supply," *New York Times*, January 26, 1991, 1; "Transcript of President's State of the Union Message to Nation," *New York Times*, January 30, 1991, A12; "Excerpts from Talk by Bush on Gulf War," *New York Times*, February 6, 1991, A10; for Pentagon spokesman, see R. W. Apple, Jr., "Bush Condemns Act," *New York Times*, January 26, 1991, 1; for Safire's comment, see William Safire, "Don't Throw Away Victory," *New York Times*, January 31, 1991, A23. On the oil wells, see "Saddam Hussein's Inferno," *New York Times*, June 9, 1991, E16. On the continuing mixed use of "environmental terrorism," see Daniel Schwartz, "Environmental Terrorism: Analyzing the Concept," *Journal of Peace Research* (1998): 483–484; and Michael Penders and William Thomas, "Ecoterror: Rethinking Environmental Security After September 11," *Natural Resources & Environment* (Winter 2002).
19. Ron Arnold, "Eco-Terrorism," *Reason*, February 1983, 31–36; Eric Schwartz, "Ecologists Escalate Fight over Nature," *Chicago Tribune*, May 30, 1981, S11.
20. This story is told most thoroughly in Susan Zakin, *Coyotes and Town Dogs: Earth First! and the Environmental Movement* (New York: Viking, 1993), 316–341.
21. Brenda Norell, "Earth First! Defendants Seek Plea Bargain," *High Country News*, August 26, 1991, 3.
22. *Ecoterrorism, Specifically Examining the Earth Liberation Front and the Animal Liberation Front: Hearing Before the Committee on Environment and Public Works*, United States Senate, 109th Cong., 1st Sess. (May 18, 2005), 42. Helios Global, Inc., *Ecoterrorism*, 8, 35.
23. Dave Foreman, "Whither Monkeywrenching?" *Earth First!*, November 1, 1989, 32.
24. On the Unabomber and environmentalism, see Bron Taylor, "Religion, Violence and Radical Environmentalism: From Earth First! to the Unabomber to the Earth Liberation Front," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 1–42.
25. On the reaction to the Unabomber by the press generally and ABC World News Tonight specifically, see Alexander Cockburn, "Earth First!, the Press, and the Unabomber," *The Nation*, May 6, 1996, 9. Linda Chavez, "Want Motive for Unabomber?" *USA Today*, April 10, 1996, 11A. *Acts of Ecoterrorism by Radical Environmental Organizations: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary*, House of Representatives, 105th Cong., 2d Sess. (June 9, 1998), 81.
26. On Kaczynski and monkeywrenching, see James Brooke, "New Portrait of Unabomber: Environmental Saboteur around Montana Village for 20 Years," *New York Times*, March 14, 1999, 20; "Industrial Society and its Future" is available, among other places, in David Skrbina, ed., *Technological Slavery: The Collected Writings of Theodore J. Kaczynski, a.k.a. "The Unabomber"* (Port Townsend, WA: Feral House, 2010); on Zerzan and Kaczynski, see Kenneth Noble, "Prominent Anarchist Finds Unsought Ally in Serial Bomber," *New York Times*, May 7, 1995, 24.
27. See Kaczynski, "Industrial Society and Its Future," in Skrbina, ed., *Technological Slavery*, 97.
28. On anarchist criticism of Kaczynski, see Michael Taylor, "Real Anarchists Decry Unabomber," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 16, 1995, A1; Paul Zimons and Jason McQuinn,

"Two, Three, Many Unabombers," *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* (Fall/Winter 1998–1999), 2; formerly Feral Faun, "Fixed Ideas and Letter Bombs," *Green Anarchist* 45–46 (Spring 1997), 11; Leigh Starcross, "Exploding Myths," *Green Anarchist* 53 (Autumn 1998): 15.

29. Douglas Martin, "James Phillips, 70, Environmentalist Who Was Called The Fox," *New York Times*, October 22, 2001, F6. Pathologizing the Unabomber, however, comes with its own set of problems; see William Finnegan, "Defending the Unabomber," *New Yorker*, March 16, 1998, 52–63.
30. Michael Walzer, *Thinking Politically: Essays in Political Theory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 270.

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PART IV

TRANSNATIONAL TERRORISM

CHAPTER 25

MODERN REBELS?

Irish Republicans in the Late Nineteenth Century

NIALL WHELEHAN

Often described as "primitive" during the twentieth century, the rebels of the nineteenth century have recently been remodeled as modern. In 1959, Eric Hobsbawm dismissed anarchists, for instance, as "almost incapable of effective adaptation to modern conditions."[1] Yet some scholars of political violence have rethought the primitive interpretation and found anarchists to be the protagonists of the first period of modern terrorism that struck high tide in the decades between the Paris Commune and World War I. During these years, episodes such as the assassinations of heads of state, an explosion in a Parisian café, or the bombing of Barcelona's Teatro Liceu, appeared to indicate that revolutionary violence and so-called "propaganda by the deed" had taken an extremist turn. The global dimension of these actions, their urban setting, and the public anxieties they provoked were all factors that suggested a new, extremist turn in the development of revolutionary violence.[2] Although this period of violence has become principally associated with anarchists, a new departure in revolutionary violence was also evident among other groups during the same period, particularly militant Irish republicans.[3] Often viewed in the contemporary press to be the anarchists' strange bedfellows, they showed themselves to be equally if not more willing to engage in unprecedented acts of violence in pursuit of their political goals.

From the 1860s, "Fenian" came to represent an umbrella term for the different organizations committed to Irish republicanism and also a term associated with violence by government and in the mainstream press.[4] In March 1867 the Fenians' attempt to start a rebellion in Ireland failed, but it was in the following months that anxieties about violence intensified. In the winter of 1867–68 Fenians were involved in an explosion at London's Clerkenwell prison that killed twelve people, the assassination of Irish politician Thomas Darcy McGee in Canada, and the attempted assassination of Prince Alfred in Australia. The latter act was perpetrated by an individual with very tenuous links to Fenianism and none of these episodes formed part of an organized strategy. But coming as they did in quick succession, not long after the attempted rebellion, these events gave

the impression of a global threat and represented, historian Brian Jenkins has argued, a form of terrorism that challenged liberal British institutions.[5]

The threat quickly faded by mid-1868, however, and it was not until the 1880s that Irish nationalists were again achieving international notoriety. In 1882 the Chief Secretary of Ireland and his deputy were assassinated in broad daylight in Dublin by a faction on the fringe of the Fenian movement. The previous year dynamiters, or "skirmishers" as they sometimes called themselves, began a bombing campaign in British cities using homemade explosive devices. Many of their "infernal machines" were no more than squibs, but particularly during the years 1883–85 their actions generated serious concerns and trembling among the political class and wider public in Britain. They typically targeted official buildings, but on three occasions they placed bombs in the London Underground and also made empty threats to blow up passenger steamships as they crossed the Atlantic from Britain to the United States. A failed attempt was also made to damage the offices of *The Times*. Organized in multiple centers across the United States, Britain, and Ireland, there was an international dimension to the dynamiters' networks that made the policing of their activities difficult for British and Irish authorities.[6]

This chapter explores these militant republicans' actions and attitudes to violence. Their adoption of an urban bombing campaign reflected a desire to embrace science and modern methods of warfare and, far from being peculiar to Irish nationalism, their strategies found parallels with those of contemporary revolutionary movements in Europe and the United States. Urban guerrilla warfare, the employment of dynamite and nitroglycerine, political assassination, and the global stretch of revolutionary networks were all elements that militant Fenians held in common with anarchist "propaganda by the deed." Similar to some anarchist *attentats* at the fin-de-siècle, the actions of the Irish dynamiters placed innocent lives at risk and are comparable to aspects of modern terrorism. At the same time, the terrorist paradigm holds limitations for understanding revolutionary violence in the nineteenth century. When investigating violent movements, it is helpful to bear in mind the language used by the relevant actors and existing studies of the dynamiters agree that terrorist "was a term they never applied to themselves."[7] Nor did others readily apply it to them and prudence is necessary when discussing terrorism in the nineteenth century. The term has become weighed down with so many polemics and negative connotations that it is difficult to employ it neutrally. Today, terrorism immediately evokes indiscriminate violence against civilians, but with the notable exception of the 1893 bombing of a Barcelona opera house that killed twenty-two people, relatively few civilian deaths were caused by anarchists or Irish nationalists during the period from the 1871 Paris Commune to the outbreak of World War I, despite all their bloody rhetoric.[8] This appears to indicate the existence of culturally derived limitations on the potential targets of violence in the nineteenth century, limitations that faded during the "Age of Extremes."

Revolutionary violence in the late nineteenth century was ruthless and reckless, but evoking the dynamiters as the forerunners of modern terrorism risks a linear analysis of their activities in light of events that occurred over a century later, an approach that limits our understanding of how their actions were viewed at the time, by themselves and

others. In addition, the term "terrorism" held different associations in nineteenth-century Ireland, Britain, and the United States when compared to the turn of the twenty-first century. It did not readily evoke spontaneous, indiscriminate attacks on civilian targets, but appeared principally in the contexts of autocratic repression or systematic intimidation. For example, the *Brooklyn Eagle* newspaper employed "terrorism" to describe the intimidatory tactics of Democrats in the run-up to elections in 1876, and also when reporting on a thirty-minute brawl that brought New York's Sixth Avenue to a standstill in 1878. The London *Times* branded the members of Irish agrarian secret societies as terrorists for their use of systematic violence to regulate land occupancy and jobs, while the Dublin-based *Freeman's Journal* used the term to describe efforts to "violate the secrecy of the ballot, or attempting to unduly influence the votes of electors."[9] The terrorism of electoral violence or rural secret societies was systematic and predictable, differing from the actions of the militant Irish nationalists. It is with these reservations in mind, then, that terrorism is considered in this essay.

Irish nationalism and revolutionary violence

The revolutionary violence that erupted in late-nineteenth-century Europe held some roots in the conspiratorial organizations that emerged in the wake of the French Revolution, and Irish nationalism was also shaped by this context. The United Irishmen's rebellion in 1798 was directly influenced by the French and American revolutions and the promise of military help from France. The rebellion was a failure, though it lasted for four months and was characterized by gruesome violence on both sides that lived long in memory.[10] The next significant outbreak of nationalist unrest came half-a-century later and was again responsive to events in continental Europe. In 1848 news of events in Italy and France moved members of the Irish Confederation and Young Ireland movement closer to republicanism and violent revolt. Ireland experienced a decidedly less dramatic 1848 when compared to Paris or Palermo, but nonetheless the year was a marker for the development of the nationalist movement and stirred the idea of violence as the primary agent of political change. Two attempts at uprisings in that year, however, proved to be demoralizing failures for all involved.[11]

The botched nature of the Young Ireland revolt forged a stronger commitment among Irish republicans to master techniques of rebellion and to do so they sought contact with continental revolutionary societies. The future founders of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB)—James Stephens and John O'Mahony—participated in the abortive 1848 uprising and fled to Paris in order to escape arrest. The pair of exiles resolved to use their time in France to observe and soak up the lessons of revolutionary conspiracy. James Stephens remarked that, in Paris, he began "a particular study of continental secret societies, and in particular those which had ramifications in Italy; for Italians

have in a certain way perfected conspiracy, and I thought that with certain reserves they were the best models to follow."[12] Stephens's knowledge of Parisian secret societies would appear to be borne out by the configuration of the IRB in the 1860s. The cellular structure, secret oaths, emphasis on military discipline, and Stephens's insistence on playing the role of a "provisional dictator" were all elements of Auguste Blanqui's vision of the revolutionary organization. The IRB staged a rebellion in 1867, but when confronted with the resources of the modern state it quickly collapsed and resulted in the incarceration of the leadership and much of the rank-and-file.[13]

Failed rebellions led revolutionaries to regroup and reconsider their approaches to insurrectionary warfare. As a consequence, the emphasis shifted from insurrection to ideas of irregular warfare that incorporated the surgical use of violence against the state by individuals and guerrilla bands. During the 1870s militant Irish nationalists, exiled in New York, began calling for bands of men to "skirmish" in Great Britain. Dismissing the idea of insurrection as "untimely and ill-advised," they established a "Skirmishing Fund" in *The Irish World* newspaper in 1876 to finance a campaign of urban guerrilla warfare.[14] The editor Patrick Ford explained that the idea was to modernize Irish warfare by training small groups of skirmishers to travel to Britain, and assemble and plant explosive devices at political and economic sites in cities. Bomb attacks spared the Irish population the hardships of rebellion, he argued, and disrupted economic life in the metropole in ways that revolt in Ireland could not.[15]

Another key advocate of dynamite was Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, a member of the IRB who was jailed in Ireland in 1865. His harsh treatment in prison—he spent thirty-four days with his hands cuffed behind his back in jail—became the focal point for an amnesty campaign for Fenian prisoners and he was released in 1871 with the proviso that he not return to his home country. From his base in New York, O'Donovan Rossa eulogized dynamite and urban guerrilla warfare. He stopped short of calling himself a terrorist, but a typical editorial in the 1880s proclaimed, "Dynamite is the might that has terror in it for England, and anything that will strike terror into her is what Irishmen have to use to get rid of her."[16] His rhetoric was often ferocious, but O'Donovan Rossa originally envisaged that the principal role of skirmishers was to free political prisoners and prevent executions. It was Patrick Ford and his brother Augustine who expanded this idea to include the bombing of symbolic sites in British cities.

The dynamite campaign began with a blast at a Manchester army barracks in January 1881. In the troubled winter of 1867 three Fenian prisoners known as the "Manchester Martyrs" had been executed at Salford prison near the city. The prison had been closed in 1868 and therefore the dynamiters, searching for a symbolic target, elected to bomb the army barracks instead. This first explosion claimed the only civilian fatality of the campaign when it knocked an outer wall of the barracks and killed a seven-year-old boy named Richard Clarke. The attack was carried out by men from the relatively small faction of skirmishers headed by O'Donovan Rossa. The following March, two more of Rossa's men attempted an explosion at the Mansion House in London, but the smoldering bomb was spotted by a policeman and defused before it could detonate. Two months later a police station and town hall in Liverpool were targeted, but little damage was

done beyond broken windows. Unlike in London or Manchester, the Liverpool police succeeded in arresting two men. They were later sentenced to life imprisonment for their involvement in the affair, and one died in jail. Their accomplices succeeded in returning to the United States and one of them—Patrick Coleman—proudly told the story in New York of the London Mansion House explosion amid a flurry of press interest. Yet local police, despite protests in Britain, did not arrest him.[17]

The backgrounds of Coleman and the two men arrested in Liverpool, McKevitt and McGrath, were representative of many of the dynamiters. The three worked at manual or unskilled jobs. McKevitt was born in Ireland, but worked in Liverpool as a dock laborer. Coleman was born in Ireland, had lived in England for a number of years, and then moved to the United States. McGrath was born to Irish emigrants in Glasgow, but had lived for a few years in New York. Although the dynamite plots were principally organized in the United States, the second- and third-generation immigrants that became the mainstay of Irish American nationalism in the twentieth century did not feature significantly. The operatives who carried out the attacks were typically Irish-born emigrants or the sons (they were all men) of Irish emigrants in Britain. Many traveled to New York where they obtained training in the manufacture of explosives and then sailed to Britain to bomb set targets before returning to the safe haven of the United States. Some moved back and forth across the Atlantic a number of times, while others, such as William Lomasney, traveled from the United States to Paris, and organized his operations in London from that city. Clearly, the dynamite campaign of the 1880s would not have been possible even twenty years earlier as cheap and speedy movement across borders, made possible by changes in transportation and new technologies, was key to how militants combined across the Atlantic.

In the midst of these bombs in 1881 arrived the stunning news of Alexander II's assassination in St. Petersburg. The Tsar was killed by a dynamite bomb thrown by a member of the People's Will, a deed that reverberated around the world and spurred other revolutionary groups to action. *The Irish World* did not extol the assassination but clearly sympathized with the People's Will, while O'Donovan Rossa was energized by the act, declaring a "canister of dynamite flung under [Gladstone's] carriage wheels" to also be the best remedy for Irish problems.[18] Curiously, the Manchester explosion had stirred relatively little outcry, indeed Richard Clarke's death was told almost as an aside in mainstream newspaper reports of the episode. The death of Alexander II provoked a different reaction and moved the British authorities to take the threat from militant Irish nationalists more seriously.

Yet few foresaw the assassination in May 1882 of the Irish Chief Secretary Frederick Cavendish and Under-Secretary Thomas Burke on a Saturday afternoon in Dublin's Phoenix Park. Although nominally subordinate to the Lord Lieutenant or Viceroy of Ireland, in practice the two men held the most senior official positions in the country and their deaths effectively beheaded the Irish administration.[19] Cavendish, who held familial connections to Prime Minister William Gladstone, had just formally taken up the post on the day of his death and was probably not a target, but found himself in the wrong place. The primary targets were Burke and William Forster, Cavendish's

predecessor, who were responsible for enforcing coercive legislation in Ireland the previous year. The attack was carried out by the Irish National Invincibles, a small secret society of about thirty-five to forty men on the fringes of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. They held no discernable links to Irish American organizations, although like the dynamiters they were influenced by John McCafferty, an American Civil War veteran who was considered to be an extremist by many within the nationalist movement.[20]

Political assassination represented a stunning departure in tactics for Irish nationalists. Previously, an "assassination committee" connected to the Irish Republican Brotherhood had operated in Dublin during the 1860s, but the members targeted informers, not representatives of the state.[21] The Phoenix Park assassinations revealed unprecedented ambition for militant nationalists and the inspiration, one scholar has observed, "almost certainly came from international example."[22] Cavendish and Burke were killed in daylight with surgical knives, even though the perpetrators were armed with revolvers at the time of the attack. The face-to-face nature of the killings stood in contrast to the dynamiters, who deposited timed explosive devices at a stone building, and then observed the destruction from a distance. The Invincibles' conscious choice of old-fashioned weapons suggested that they believed assassination should be carried out according to particular rules or conventions. In this way their actions bore a greater resemblance to the 1878 assassination in St. Petersburg of General Mezentsev, the head of the Russian secret police, than the killing of Tsar Alexander II. Mezentsev was stabbed in broad daylight by Sergei "Stepniak" Kravchinskii who, according to one study, "composed his assassination to recall the venerated tradition of tyrannicide."[23] Stepniak subsequently escaped to London and became a vocal proponent of revolution in Russia, and proclaimed the terrorist to be "noble, terrible, irresistibly fascinating."[24] He found a ready audience for his criticisms of Tsarist Russia and wrote a column in *The Times*, where he also criticized the amateurism of the Irish dynamiters.[25]

If the Irish National Invincibles had, like Stepniak, chosen to strike in public and use old-fashioned weapons in order to evoke tyrannicide and legitimize their attack, their endeavors completely failed. The Phoenix Park assassinations were almost universally condemned by all sections of opinion in Ireland and delivered a very damaging blow to the wider nationalist movement. Perhaps as a result of the overwhelmingly negative reaction, political assassination did not become part of the repertoire of militant Irish nationalism to the extent that it did among other European revolutionary movements. Instead, the following years witnessed an intensification of "skirmishing" and a bombing campaign that struck principally at London.

The dynamiters returned to Britain in 1883, with the most dangerous attack occurring in October when men connected to the Irish American organization Clan na Gael planted a bomb on an Underground train near London's Praed St. (Paddington) station. Seventy-two passengers suffered injuries from flying glass and debris, with thirty of them being treated in hospital. The explosion occurred shortly after 8 p.m. and the majority of the injured were workers riding in the third-class carriage of the train, and a number of them were surely Irish emigrants. The following year, the dynamiters succeeded in exploding a bomb at Scotland Yard that partially destroyed the records of the Irish Special Branch, which had been recently established to investigate their activities.

Perhaps the most remarkable explosions occurred on a Saturday afternoon in January 1885, when three men—two wearing large overcoats and one dressed as a woman—moved among the numbers of tourists at the Tower of London and the Palace of Westminster, which were open to the public each Saturday. The buildings were heavily guarded due to the previous explosions, but the three visitors succeeded in passing unnoticed. At the Tower of London, the first bomber's timing and competence failed him. His device detonated prematurely, injuring four people, and leaving insufficient time for him to escape. He was arrested and later sentenced to life imprisonment for treason felony. A few minutes after the Tower bomb, a constable spotted a smoking parcel in the crypt of Westminster Hall, grabbed it, and dashed for the exit. It exploded outside, blowing a hole in the ground and injuring the constable and a tourist. The noise drew the attention of police in the House of Commons, who rushed to aid their colleague. They exited just before the fuse blew on a third bomb, which caused extensive damage, but no injuries, as the chamber was not in session and there was nobody inside. Both bombers had timed their fuses correctly, and escaped before the explosions.[26]

"Dynamite Saturday," as it became known, stirred public outrage and frustration in government that police measures had not prevented the explosions from happening. In New York, *The Irish World* and the *United Irishman* printed pictures of the destruction caused and wrote in celebratory tones about a "victory that all patriotic Irishmen and justice loving Americans will appreciate."[27] One of the perpetrators was almost certainly a man named Luke Dillon, who was born in Britain to Irish emigrants, but lived in Philadelphia for a number of years. Interestingly, despite traveling between the United States and Britain a number of times, he never set foot in Ireland, even though he lived to see independence in 1922.

The thinking behind the bomb attacks in Britain was underpinned by the dynamiters' belief that they were the army of a nation-in-the-making, fighting a war using new, modern tactics. Their faith in the transformative power of new technologies revealed an eagerness to keep apace with the most recent developments in science and to adopt up-to-date weapons and military strategies, which some of them had experienced firsthand in the American Civil War and American Indian Wars.[28] One of the more ambitious proposals came in 1876 when the Clan na Gael, the main Irish American nationalist organization at that time, hired an Irish inventor—John P. Holland—to develop a submarine that was to be armed with a pneumatic gun to target British commercial ships. Over the next seven years, prototypes persistently failed and eventually the submarine, what the *New York Sun* labeled the "Fenian Ram," was placed in a warehouse in 1883, although Holland's designs were later purchased by the U.S. Navy.[29] Similar to the infernal machines, the Fenian Ram project was devised in the context of awe and fascination with the speed of technological advances, which led to the dynamiters' confidence in the transformative power of science, a confidence that was ultimately misplaced as the changes they imagined in warfare did not occur until decades later.

The "art of scientific warfare" formed a central part of the violent strategies promoted in *The Irish World* and *The United Irishman*. O'Donovan Rossa actually established a "dynamite school" in Greenpoint, Brooklyn in order to instruct "any man of average intelligence" in the handling of nitroglycerine and the mechanics of exploding devices.[30]

Claiming the same right to manufacture bombs as others held for firearms, the Brooklyn dynamite-school also purported to be a legitimate business that was operated by a joint-stock company, with the rather long-winded name "The Mansonitor Manufacturing and Experimental Chemical Company." Profits were to come from sale of the articles manufactured in the school during the training process, though shares in the project were sold with some difficulty. O'Donovan Rossa did not encourage Irish Americans to enroll, but preferred willing students from Ireland, Scotland, and England to travel to Brooklyn and then return home equipped with a new knowledge of explosives. Thirty days of instruction was sufficient to fully train willing skirmishers: the course was free to those who agreed to travel as "missioners" to Britain; otherwise the price was thirty dollars, including board and lodgings.[31]

The school's chief instructor was a chemicals expert named Professor Mezzeroff who was hired by O'Donovan Rossa to lend an air of scientific professionalism to proceedings. Mezzeroff traded as a Russian nihilist but was in reality a New York native, born to Russian and Scottish parents. Nonetheless, his lectures to Irish nationalists, Cuban nationalists, and German anarchists attracted widespread interest. Maintaining quite a high public persona in the 1880s, Mezzeroff delivered numerous public presentations of his bomb-making pamphlet, *Dynamite Against Gladstone's Resources of Civilisation*. He professed to be a soldier and his experiences on the battlefields of the Crimean War had taught him "there is no such thing as honourable warfare." Each speech produced the same argument: dynamite would imminently replace guns, cannons, and swords. Rather than providing a small revolutionary vanguard with the necessary means of revolution, Mezzeroff held that the ease with which infernal machines could be manufactured meant that "every trade society and workingman's club," indeed entire populations could be armed for war. In Ireland, "five millions of people armed with chemical science…are invincible against any which the enemy can send against them." O'Donovan Rossa agreed and urged that "every Irishman and Irishwoman put a bit of [dynamite] in their pocket and become a walking revolution."[32]

Parallels in Irish nationalist and anarchist violence

The belief that dynamite would speedily transform conflict was not peculiar to this faction of Irish nationalists in New York. What they called skirmishing, others called propaganda by the deed. In 1881 the news of Tsar Alexander II's death ensured that questions of revolutionary violence were central to discussions at the International Social Revolutionary and Anarchist Congress in London. During the congress, a declaration was agreed on that recommended the application of "technical and chemical sciences" for "defensive and offensive purposes," and one delegate proposed a school for instruction in military science.[33] Similar to the Irish dynamiters, many anarchists

turned to small group and individual violence after participating in failed rebellions. In 1877 Italian anarchists attempted to start a rebellion in a mountainous region in the south of the country, but within a week they were all under arrest. When writing later about the episode, one of the band acknowledged that official "modernization" in the form of the army, telegraph, and railway narrowed the virtues of rebellion and put the anarchists at a disadvantage before they even began.[34] Carlo Cafiero, who also participated, declared the "classic school" of rebellion to be dead, and in 1881 embraced what he called the new, "modern school" of propaganda by the deed.[35]

Closer to the Irish militants' safe-haven in New York, the revolutionary grammar of German anarchist Johann Most chimed with that of O'Donovan Rossa. Both were conscious of portraying themselves as modern, of advancing scientific methods of revolution. Like O'Donovan Rossa, Most had been jailed in Britain (he was defended in court by Irish nationalist Alexander M. Sullivan), and upon his release he relocated to the United States. In New York he published a collection of articles on how to mix and handle explosives in a pamphlet entitled *The Science of Revolutionary War*. The pamphlet read like a duplicate of the literature sold through O'Donovan Rossa's *The United Irishman*, such as Mezzeroff's *Dynamite Against Gladstone's Resources of Civilisation* (1883) and *Scientific Warfare or the Resources of Civilisation* (1888).[36] All were a mix of do-it-yourself instruction and theories that declared regular fighting to be obsolete, and urged readers to familiarize themselves with explosives and prepare for modern warfare. Most's compatriot Wilhelm Hasselmann provided classes in explosive making to anarchists in January 1885.[37] Professor Mezzeroff also occasionally wrote in Most's newspaper *Die Freiheit* and the Chicago-based *Alarm*, promising readers that he would not "stop until every workingman in Europe and America knows how to use explosives against autocratic government and grasping monopolies."[38]

The Alarm was edited by American Civil War veteran Albert Parsons, who praised the actions of the Irish dynamiters and predicted that dynamite would change the modern era just as gunpowder had revolutionized feudal times: "in giving dynamite to the downtrodden millions of the globe science has done its best work."[39] Dyer Lum, an anarchist syndicalist who began contributing to *The Alarm* in 1884, previously wrote a regular column in *The Irish World*. When eight anarchists, including Parsons, were arrested in 1886 after an unknown bomber caused eleven deaths at a labor demonstration at Haymarket Square in Chicago, Lum plotted a prison-break and smuggled four dynamite bombs and a dynamite capsule into the prison. The bombs were discovered, but the dynamite capsule was used by one of the arraigned anarchists to commit suicide in his cell. Lum's articles in *The Alarm* echoed the violent rhetoric of Patrick Ford in *The Irish World*, while his description of August Spies as the "head center" of the anarchist movement was clearly borrowed from the Fenian movement. It appears that Lum's familiarity with *The Irish World* and skirmishing influenced his attitude toward dynamite and political violence.[40]

O'Donovan Rossa sympathized with the Haymarket anarchists and before Parsons was executed he wrote to the Governor of Illinois, asking that he show clemency. The German anarchist Rudolf Rocker also maintained that Johann Most was briefly in

communication with O'Donovan Rossa, but he was almost certainly mistaken. Anarchist violence found no sympathy in the Irish nationalist press and O'Donovan Rossa threatened to sue one newspaper for continually associating him with Most.[41] The Irish dynamiters were all Catholics, and aside from their own considerable ideological aversion to anarchism, courting even the most cursory connections with godless revolutionaries risked further condemnation and alienation from the Catholic Church, the most influential institution in Irish and Irish emigrant communities.

International headlines and much contemporary comment followed the dynamiters, but the attention focused on their rhetoric and violence obscured the fact that they were a small minority within the wider nationalist movement. When the dynamite campaign began in 1881 the dominant organization of Irish nationalism was the Irish National Land League, a transnational organization that extended from Ireland across the Irish diaspora. Its campaign for agrarian reform was accompanied by mass mobilization, boycotts, rent strikes, sabotage, and low-level violence. Interestingly, it was the tactics of the Land League that grabbed the attention of the anarchists and militant socialists to a greater extent than the dynamite campaign. In 1881, anarchists in Naples wrote "it is time to declare our solidarity with the courageous champions of the soil in Ireland!"[42] In New York, the anarchist journal *Il Grido degli Oppressi* (*The Cry of the Oppressed*) recommended the taking of private property and the founding of leagues to resist landlords along the lines of the "illegal agitation in Ireland."[43] The famed Russian revolutionary Peter Kropotkin viewed the tactics of the Land League as a solution to the moderation of the British labor movement. The Land League began with "an excessively moderate demand—no high rents," he argued in *Le Révolté*, but through the employment of the "boycott, resistance by force to evictions, etc.…today, its watchword has already become *No More Rents! Land to the Cultivator*." Kropotkin favored revolutionary action but held little sympathy for dynamite and urban bombing campaigns.[44] In 1897, the year an Italian anarchist assassinated the Spanish prime minister Cánovas del Castillo, Errico Malatesta sympathized with the act, but at the same time urged anarchists to adopt the collective tactics of boycotting, "which originated in County Mayo, Ireland, against Captain Boycott."[45] In the same year the tactics of boycotting and "go canny" were unanimously approved at a meeting of the General Confederation of Labor in Toulouse and adopted by the French syndicalist movement.[46]

Opposition to the dynamite campaign and agents provocateurs

Elements in the Irish Land League organization were connected to the dynamiters through their association with the Clan na Gael organization in the United States, but in Ireland and Britain the majority opposed the bombing campaign and maintained that O'Donovan Rossa damaged the nationalist movement. *The Irish World* was an important

supporter of the Land League, channeling substantial financial support from Irish America to Ireland and also championing the radical theories of land nationalization promoted by Michael Davitt, a former member of the IRB and one of the Land League's most influential personalities. Davitt and Patrick Ford sang from the same hymn sheet in terms of a solution to the Irish land question, but a sharp divergence was found in their attitudes to dynamite. Davitt held a deep-rooted opposition to the bombing campaign and individual violence that was intensified by the 1882 Phoenix Park killings. He unequivocally condemned the episode, which he feared would lead to anti-Irish reprisals in England. Dynamite bombs were symptomatic of "the surrender of reason to rage," Davitt argued, damaging individuals and buildings, but not systemic injustice and misgovernment. "Principles of reform, intelligently and fearlessly propagated," he wrote, "are far more destructive to unjust or worn out systems than dynamite bombs which only kill individuals or knock down buildings, but do no injury to oppressive institutions."[47]

William O'Brien, like Davitt a former IRB man and the editor of the Land League newspaper, *United Ireland*, unequivocally condemned explosions that were "as contemptible as schoolboys squibs" and would "create more resentment than a pitched battle." The dynamiters were "dupes," *United Ireland* asserted, whose dander was up due to the coercive legislation then in place in Ireland, but this desire for retaliation was seized upon and manipulated by police and *agents provocateurs*: "If they are trapped by the police, well and good. If they succeed in exploding their squibs, care is taken that nothing except noise shall come of the explosion."[48] The press reaction in Britain vexed O'Brien, particularly after the 1885 House of Commons explosions when the self-proclaimed terrorist Stepniak described the attack in *The Times* as "mere babywork" when compared with the activities of Russian nihilists. O'Brien declared, "Nothing could be more wantonly mischievous [than the] platonic affection for foreign explosionists" in the British daily press, which "lionized" Stepniak despite his violent credentials. In Westminster, the constitutional nationalist J. J. O'Kelly asserted: "There are Members of this House who did not hesitate to support Stepniak, a confessed murderer. It is only when these acts are directed against yourselves that they become crimes."[49]

Davitt and O'Brien convincingly argued that explosions were politically counterproductive and the dynamiters' actions undoubtedly intensified the repression of nationalists of a less militant stripe. The bombing campaign and the Phoenix Park assassinations encouraged government to greatly increase spending on security and led to the establishment in Britain and Ireland of sophisticated mechanisms of intelligence gathering, the passing of the 1883 Explosive Substances Act and the institutionalization of a "secret service" in Scotland Yard. These developments played an important role in modernizing institutions and methods of policing in Britain. At the same time, new legislation equipped police with more rigorous powers and created opportunities to chase bigger game like the IRB, even though that organization had remained opposed to dynamite attacks throughout the 1880s.[50]

Agents provocateurs infested the dynamiters' organizations in Ireland, Britain, and the United States and the 1883 Explosive Substances Act created more scope for them to manipulate bomb plots in order to discredit the wider nationalist movement. John Daly,

for example, was a veteran of the 1867 Fenian uprising and a member of the Supreme Council of the IRB. He held no discernible connection to O'Donovan Rossa or the dynamiters, but in 1883 he was arrested in Liverpool in possession of explosives. The devices had been made to order for the police and then planted on Daly by a double agent, at the direction of the head of anti-Fenian operations, Edward Jenkinson. Daly was sentenced to life imprisonment and, despite convincing evidence pointing to his entrapment, he remained in prison until 1898.[51] Alleged links between dynamiters, assassins, and the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Charles Stewart Parnell, were investigated by a specially established commission in 1888. Jenkinson was involved in the collection of evidence and a British spy, who had supported the dynamite campaign from inside the Clan na Gael, traveled from the United States to testify at the hearings. By early 1889, however, the case collapsed when one witness admitted to falsifying documents and Parnell emerged strengthened by the affair.[52] Such high-level intrigue astounded many contemporaries in the House of Commons, where Irish members and the republican MP Charles Bradlaugh raised embarrassing questions for government about the use of spies.[53] Revelations of bogus plots and police spies caused many to wonder where the activities of double agents stopped and those of genuine dynamiters began, and the events of the 1880s must have provided some inspiration for Joseph Conrad and G. K. Chesterton's turn of the century novels about secret agents and revolutionary undergrounds.[54] Yet it would be mistaken to see the dynamite campaign as almost all the work of *agents provocateurs*. Explosions such as those at Westminster Palace and the London Underground demonstrated that determined individuals within the Irish republican movement were committed to bombing British cities, without the encouragement of secret agents.

The bombing campaign was a new departure in political violence that aimed to focus international attention on the Irish question and attempted to create sufficient chaos in British cities to force the government into taking concrete steps toward addressing Irish political and social grievances. Ultimately the dynamiters caused limited disruption, but the threat of future, more destructive explosions was taken seriously by the secret service and had an impact on the Liberal Party's conversion to the policy of Home Rule for Ireland in 1885–86.[55] The campaign of urban guerrilla warfare, similar to propaganda by the deed, was shaped by past experiences of failed rebellions, imprisonment, exile in the United States, and the desire to embrace modern weapons and tactics. These rebels consciously described themselves and promoted their activities as modern, scientific, and innovative, in contrast to the pikes and pitchforks of the past. In breaking with rebellion, the traditional vehicle of revolutionary activity, and embracing new technologies and small group violence, they represented an important juncture in the history of political violence, moving guerrilla warfare from the country to the city, and involving new actors in the fighting.

Notes

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2. Richard Bach Jensen, "Daggers, Rifles and Dynamite: Anarchist Terrorism in Nineteenth Century Europe," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16 (2004): 116–153; Ulrich Linse, '"Propaganda by Deed' and 'Direct Action': Two Concepts of Anarchist Violence," in *Social Protest, Violence, and Terror in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe*, ed. Wolfgang Mommsen and Gerhard Hirschfeld (London: Berg, 1982), 201–229; Marie Fleming, "Propaganda by the Deed: Terrorism and Anarchist Theory in Late Nineteenth Century Europe," in *Terrorism in Europe*, ed. Yonah Alexander and Kenneth A. Myers (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 8–28.
3. The political scientist David C. Rapoport has labeled this period the "anarchist wave." This well-known framework is not employed in the present essay as it separates the contemporaneous actions of militant Irish nationalism, associating them with a later, "anti-colonial wave" of political violence. David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, ed. A. K. Cronin and J. M. Ludes (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 47–52.
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5. Brian Jenkins, *The Fenian Problem: Insurgency and Terrorism in a Liberal State, 1858–1874* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008); Michael De Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 167–168.
6. Niall Whelehan, *The Dynamiters: Political Violence and Irish Nationalism in the Wider World, 1867–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Christy Campbell, *Fenian Fire: The British Government Plot to Assassinate Queen Victoria* (London: HarperCollins, 2002); Peter Alter, "Traditions of Violence in the Irish National Movement," in *Social Protest*, ed. Mommsen and Hirschfeld, 137–154; Michael Laffan, "Violence and Terror in Twentieth Century Ireland: IRB and IRA," in *Social Protest*, ed. Mommsen and Hirschfeld, 155–174; Charles Townshend, *Political Violence in Ireland: Government and Resistance since 1848* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); K. R. M. Short, *The Dynamite War: Irish-American Bombers in Victorian Britain* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1979).
7. Short, *The Dynamite War*, 1; Lindsay Clutterbuck, "The Progenitors of Terrorism: Russian Revolutionaries or Extreme Irish Republicans?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16 (2004): 154–181, 161.
8. Jensen, "Daggers, Rifles and Dynamite," 134.
9. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, January 21, 1876; September 13,1878; *The Times*, October 7, 1879; *Freeman's Journal*, April 3, 1880.
10. See Thomas Bartlett, David Dickson, Dáire Keogh, and Kevin Whelan, eds., *1798: A Bicentenary Perspective* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003).
11. Robert Sloan, *William Smith O'Brien and the Young Ireland Rebellion of 1848* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000); D. N. Petler, "Ireland and France in 1848," *Irish Historical Studies* 24 (1985): 493–505.
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16. *United Irishman*, November 19, 1881.
17. *The Times*, April 1, 1881; *New York Tribune*, April 10, 1881; Short, *Dynamite War*, 55–56.
18. *Irish World*, March 26, 1881; May 28, 1881; *United Irishman*, October 29, 1881.
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26. See Whelehan, *The Dynamiters*; Short, *The Dynamite War*, 205–208; Campbell, *Fenian Fire*, 156–158.
27. *Irish World*, February 7, 1885.
28. Whelehan, *The Dynamiters*, 145–157; Ann Larabee, "A Brief History of Terrorism in the United States," in *Technology and Terrorism*, ed. David Clarke (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2004), 19–40.
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31. Joseph Cromien to P. Kelly, September 21, 1882, National Library of Ireland, John Devoy Papers, MS 18016 (2); *The United Irishman*, March 24, 1882; September 30, 1882; April 7, 1883.
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CHAPTER 26

POLICING ANARCHIST MIGRATION ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

Italy and Argentina during the Belle Epoque

RICHARD BACH JENSEN

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Buenos Aires harbored the largest and most important anarchist community in the world. Over the preceding decades, millions of European immigrants had poured into the great port city, bringing with them their European ideologies. For a time these newly arrived masses made Argentina the world's preeminent immigrant country and one of the most important sites of anarchist terrorism. The focus of this chapter will be on the often-conflicting efforts of Italy and Argentina to police these emigrants/immigrants with an eye to monitoring anarchists and preventing terrorism. Despite an acknowledged common bond in the fight against terrorism, divergent national interests led to frequent disputes between the two governments regarding what were the best tactics to pursue. While Italy made some initial missteps, its approach proved increasingly successful after 1900, as it combined an enlarged and modernized police force at home and abroad with domestic policies of social and political liberty. On the other hand, the draconian responses of the Argentinian government exacerbated the problems they were supposed to resolve: Buenos Aires failed to reform and expand its policing forces sufficiently to meet the challenge posed by its ballooning immigrant population. At the same time, the violent overreaction of the government to anarchist-inspired strikes and to fears of anarchist immigration were critical in provoking the outbreak of anarchist terrorism.

Terrorism and Counterterrorism in the Nineteenth century

The global sweep, highly symbolic targets, and apocalyptic challenge of anarchist "propaganda by the deed" captured the imagination of the age, leading some scholars to

denominate the entire period of modern terrorist history, from the late 1870s to about 1920, as the era of anarchist terror.[1] It became the first authentically worldwide form of terrorism. While the Irish and Italian nationalists and the Russian populists had previously resorted to bombings and assassinations, their campaigns of political violence were largely specific to one country or another. Anarchist terrorism knew no national boundaries. Anarchists denounced the nation-state as an oppressive structure and had migrated everywhere due to persecution and to the increasing globalization of the world economy. Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, it was anarchist terrorism that had come to dominate public thinking and discussion about the phenomenon. Eventually the word "anarchism" became in the popular mind and among the authorities virtually synonymous with terrorism, and often a substitute for the latter term.

Many people feared that the anarchists were after nothing less than the destruction of church, state, big business, and even the family. However false this view of anarchism, given the stresses and strains that industrialization, urbanization, and mass involvement in political and social life were causing traditional society, such an apocalypse did not seem inconceivable. Anarchism served as a scapegoat or lightning rod for the era's fears and, in the case of its malcontents, hopes. The new mass journalism gave generous coverage to its violent deeds and all this publicity tended to exaggerate their importance.

Exaggeration aside, the anarchists, real or self-styled, slaughtered an unprecedented number of monarchs and heads of state and government. Between 1894 and 1921, nine such leaders were murdered and many others attacked or injured. The anarchists also staged a number of notorious bombings, often using their signature weapon, dynamite. Bombing "campaigns" alarmed and sometimes terrified the populations of Paris, Madrid, Barcelona, and Rome in 1893–94, Barcelona again in 1907–9 and 1919–21, Buenos Aires in 1909–10, and the United States in 1908 and 1919–20.[2] It is extremely difficult to give an exact figure for the number of people afflicted by anarchist terrorism, since its worst episodes took place during periods of quasi-civil war in Russia and Spain. At least hundreds were killed and possibly thousands if one can rely on estimates for the conflicts in the latter two countries.[3]

Public anxieties produced by the symbolic threat and the real danger of anarchist terrorism led governments to respond both domestically and internationally in several ways. Besides enacting domestic measures of repression, Argentina concluded police and diplomatic agreements within the Americas. For example, on January 28, 1902, Argentina, together with the United States and other countries attending the Second Pan-American Conference in Mexico City, signed a "Treaty for the Extradition of Criminals and for Protection against Anarchism." This treaty provided for the extradition of assassins (Art. 1st. III.1), thus removing anarchist assassins from the protection of the political exemption clause found in most extradition treaties. This measure (the so-called Belgian Clause) had also been recommended by the Rome anti-anarchist conference of 1898, a conference to which only European states had been invited. The Argentine police also signed two conventions with the police of the other southern cone states, plus Brazil and a few other South American countries, that implicitly (October 20, 1905) or explicitly (February 29, 1920) targeted the anarchists.[4]

In addition, Argentina signed bilateral agreements with European states, cooperated with foreign police agents stationed in Buenos Aires, and, exceptionally for the Americas, stationed its own policemen abroad.

Anarchism in Argentina

At the end of the nineteenth century the economic, social, and political problems of Europe and the possibility of achieving prosperity in the New World led millions of men and women to cross the Atlantic. Argentina with its abundant needs for labor in agricultural and livestock production, for building railways, and in constructing and servicing the booming port city of Buenos Aires proved especially attractive. By 1895 the Argentine capital, soon to become the largest city in Latin America, had a population of 50 percent foreign born; the entire country was over 25 percent foreign born.[5] The largest number of these immigrants came from Italy (49 percent), followed by those from Spain (19.8 percent) and France (9.4 percent).[6] By 1914, the nation's population was one-third immigrant, giving it the highest proportion of immigrant to native population of any country in the world.[7]

Some of the immigrants, fleeing political repression and harsh economic conditions in their home countries, were anarchists before they arrived in Argentina.[8] After their arrival, the immigrants' difficulties in adjustment, economic exploitation, and political marginalization provided fertile terrain for the further growth of anarchist ideas and organizations. Beginning in the 1870s, French, Spanish, and Italian speakers each formed anarchist groups. Errico Malatesta, the foremost Italian anarchist, traveled to Argentina where he lived between 1885 and 1889. While Malatesta arrived seeking refuge, he soon realized that there were opportunities for propaganda. In 1887 he helped the bakers of Buenos Aires organize the first militant workers' union. Other anarchist-dominated unions and organizations followed, as well as newspapers and public libraries.[9]

Estimates of the size of the anarchist population in Argentina vary widely.[10] In 1900, the Argentine police hazarded a guess that 5,000 anarchists resided in the country with 1,500 in Buenos Aires.[11] Later estimates are much higher. In January 1901, Italian police inspector Francesco Parrella asserted that there were 7,000 anarchists, mostly Italians, in Buenos Aires alone.[12] In that same year the Argentine police reported to the Spanish legation that 3,500 Spanish anarchists resided in the capital and that the Italian anarchist contingent was even larger.[13] A German correspondent came up with a still higher figure, alleging that altogether 20,000 anarchists lived in Buenos Aires.[14] Reports from August 1901 and 1909 speak of 10,000 to 11,000 anarchists in the city.[15] This compares with estimates for Barcelona, the other great anarchist metropolis (although, with its 587,000 inhabitants, much smaller than Buenos Aires with its 1.23 million), of 6,000 anarchists in 1903 and 9,500 in 1910.[16] While these various figures for both cities are at best educated guesses, they suggest that more anarchists resided in Buenos Aires than in

Barcelona, and therefore than in any other city in the world. Further evidence for this conclusion derives from Buenos Aires's greater number of anarchist groups and periodicals, and its higher level of anarchist newspaper circulation than in Barcelona.[17] In addition, at least until 1910, the size of the anarchist-dominated labor movement, with 20,000 or more members and the capacity to mobilize hundreds of thousands for protest strikes, was larger in the Argentine capital than anywhere else.[18]

During the early 1890s, many of Argentina's anarchists fell under the spell of propaganda by the deed, and their periodicals exalted violence and the glory of dynamite. Interestingly, inflammatory words did not as yet translate into destructive deeds, and after 1895 more and more Argentine anarchists spoke out against individual acts of terrorism and in favor of mass action. Involvement in organizing Argentine workers promised to yield greater benefits for the anarchist cause than throwing bombs.[19] In an 1898 speech given in Buenos Aires, Pietro Gori, a well-known Italian anarchist, pointed out how Argentine anarchists enjoyed greater liberty of thought and expression than their much persecuted brethren in Italy and Spain (and, by implication, less reason to resort to extreme measures of resistance and revenge).[20] Like Malatesta, Gori favored anarchist participation in the labor movement.[21]

Before 1900: Monitoring Anarchist Migration between Italy and Argentina

Argentina had long favored a policy of promoting European immigration as a means of developing and civilizing an underpopulated land. By the mid-1890s, however, the press and the government began to view with mounting nervousness the increasing flow of immigrants with their unknown number of anarchist sympathizers. Until 1908, when Spanish immigration began to surpass it, Italian immigration provided by far the greatest number of arrivals in Argentina.[22] Moreover, Italian anarchists were infamous as Europe's great assassins, since between 1894 and 1900 they killed the president of France, the prime minister of Spain, the empress of Austria, and the king of Italy.

This explains why on June 20, 1894, the Argentine chargé d'affaires proposed to the Italian foreign ministry that the two countries sign a reciprocal agreement designed to forewarn each other of arriving anarchists.[23] If possible, Argentina wanted to learn the distinguishing features of emigrating Italian anarchists.[24] At first Rome greeted Buenos Aires's initiative with enthusiasm. In a passage omitted from the final draft of his response, the Italian foreign minister revealed his view that the Argentine proposals "will serve me as the basis of study for those international accords that are already being aired between some European states and that perhaps, in a not distant future[,] will be translated into pacts promulgated between all civilized nations."[25]

The Italian interior ministry, however, soon threw cold water on the Argentine plan. It objected that the suggested agreement would be impossible to enforce in a compre-

hensive fashion, given the widespread diffusion of anarchist doctrines, "the hundreds of emigrants leaving Italy for abroad at every departure of a steamship," and the emigrants' option of leaving their country clandestinely or via ports in France. Moreover, Rome had no interest in the expulsion of Italian anarchists from Argentina (after all, they might come back to Italy!).[26] This would prove a consistent theme in Italian policy. In 1908 Giovanni Giolitti, interior minister (February 1901–June 1903) and later prime minister (1903–5, 1906–9, 1911–14, 1920–21), pointed out that Italy was a country with "a large anarchist emigration," which it wished to encourage and not in any way to disrupt.[27] Moreover, in July 1894, the Italian minister in Argentina informed his superiors that, in the past, the Argentine police had failed to keep careful watch over the arrival of anarchists and had not been able to let him know when, or if, they had subsequently departed.[28] In short, the Argentines might not be able to keep up their end of the bargain.

Therefore, instead of Argentina's comprehensive plan of surveillance, in 1894 Prime Minister Francesco Crispi suggested: "accords…for a reciprocal communication of all news that might come to the knowledge of the Italian and Argentine police regarding anarchists and anarchist plots."[29] A formal convention would not be necessary for these communications, which might transpire directly between Buenos Aires's police department and Rome's Director General of Public Security (DGPS).[30] In other words, an agreement similar to those already made between Italy and France, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Bavaria, and other countries in August and September 1894.[31] By giving the green light to police communications, these countries hoped to avoid the cumbersome diplomatic process and consequent delays that for years had clogged the free flow of information between countries regarding suspicious characters.

Argentina accepted Crispi's plan but remained unsatisfied. In November 1897 Buenos Aires requested that the agreement be extended to directly involve the provincial prefects at Italy's major ports. The prefects were asked to notify the Argentine consuls regarding the departure of anarchists and persons "affiliated with the subversive parties." Argentina would adopt analogous measures in regard to its ports, informing Italian consuls about the embarkation of subversives for Italy.[32] Again, the DGPS objected, but this time the Italian foreign ministry ignored him and agreed to the Argentine proposal.[33]

The concerns of the DGPS (and earlier, of the Crispi government) proved accurate and the Italo-Argentine anti-anarchist agreement soon backfired. At the end of March 1898, after the Italian police had identified Emilio Mei of Livorno as an anarchist, the Argentines forbade him to disembark at Buenos Aires and then arrested him, although he was furnished with a regular passport.[34] According to Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Visconti Venosta, Mei might be an anarchist, but he was neither dangerous nor guilty of any crimes.[35] Argentina's action therefore violated "norms accepted universally, according to which States do not as a rule prohibit the disembarkation of citizens of another State and only expel them when they act in a manner that disturbs order or contravenes the laws of the country of which they are guests." Ascribing to fanatical ideas or being associated with anarchist circles was not against the immigration laws enforced in the Argentine

republic.[36] The irony of the Italian foreign minister defending the rights of an anarchist is quite apparent given how often during the 1890s Italian governments had treated the anarchists harshly, imprisoning or forcibly detaining them merely for their beliefs.

The Argentine courts subsequently ruled that the government lacked any legal authority to bar immigrants, and the police ordered that all anarchists arriving in Buenos Aires be allowed free entrance. Foreign Minister Amancio Alcorta noted bitterly that his government, unlike those in Europe, lacked the authority to expel, and once "affiliates of the subversive sects" had embarked, they "had to be considered as equals of Argentinian citizens." Therefore, in Alcorta's personal opinion, the Argentine-Italian anarchist accord was of no practical importance and he was ready to denounce it.[37] While this did not occur, Buenos Aires was forced to acquiesce to Rome's interpretation of the agreement.[38]

After 1900: Italy's Policing of Anarchists in Argentina

In July 1900, the assassination of King Umberto I by Gaetano Bresci, an Italian anarchist who had been living for years in Paterson, New Jersey, transformed Rome's policy toward anti-anarchist policing in Argentina and elsewhere. While for decades Italy had hired informers to spy on anarchists and other alleged subversives through its consular offices, it had posted only one policeman abroad on a permanent basis (to Paris). For the Italian authorities, Bresci's unnoticed return to Italy and murder of the king was a wake-up call that the large Italian immigrant communities overseas were potential sources of bomb-throwers and assassins about whom the Italian government knew little. To hire informers and monitor the anarchists, Rome sent Italian police to New York City in October 1900, and later on to London, Brazil, and various cities in France and Switzerland.

In October 1900, at the request of the Italian minister in Argentina, Rome decided to send Assistant Police Inspector Francesco Parrella to Buenos Aires. The sending of a professional policeman to Buenos Aires was urgently needed, since the Italian diplomat had noted with alarm that a large number of local anarchists among the immigrant Italians were glorifying the murderer of King Umberto, and that neither Argentine laws nor the police could be counted on.[39] The Italian government believed that a thread of anarchist activity ran from the Argentine capital to Paterson, New Jersey, from Paterson to London, and then on to Switzerland.[40] Later the Italian security agent in Buenos Aires came to the equally farfetched conclusion that the Argentine capital, because of the great freedom there to conspire and plot, had become the headquarters of Europe's entire anarchist movement.[41] This helps to explain why Buenos Aires was selected, second only to New York, to form a key link in the new Italian anti-anarchist dragnet.

The new Italian "system" did not become effective in monitoring the anarchists for some time. This was due to staffing deficiencies, such as the incompetence of Officer

Parrella, and to disputes with the Argentinian government and police. In a report submitted shortly after his arrival, Parrella makes clear that he subscribed to all the worst stereotypes about the anarchists: they were immoral, common criminals, and ignorant.[42] According to Parrella, Pietro Gori, who resided in Buenos Aires between 1898 and 1902, possessed only a "superficial education" and was living incestuously with his sister. In fact, Gori was a formidable intellectual and a man of great integrity, a lawyer, a playwright, author of three volumes of poetry, and composer some of the best-loved anarchist songs. While in Buenos Aires, he founded a journal of criminology and became a popular university lecturer who was on friendly terms with prominent figures in Argentine society.[43] In 1901 he played a decisive role in the founding of the anarchist-dominated Argentine Workers' Federation (FOA), which soon emerged as the most important labor organization in the country. Since their increasing involvement in the labor movement was an important reason that most French and Italian anarchists abandoned propaganda by the deed after 1900, Parrella should have been doing everything he could to support Gori's actions, rather than trying to discredit him. Equally off-base were Parrella's comments about the Italian contingent in the local anarchist population. He described them as being "the most fanatical and the readiest for action" of all the anarchists in Buenos Aires. Yet subsequent events demonstrated that it was not the Italian anarchists, absorbed in their multitude of social, educational, and labor organizations, who turned out to be the terrorists in Argentina (at least before World War I), but immigrants from Catalonia and Russia.[44] The flawed anti-terrorist policies of many governments at the turn of the century were due to the same conceptual failure as Parrella's, that is, to distinguish between dangerous, violence-prone subversives, on the one hand and nonviolent idealists and opponents of the status quo, on the other.

Apart from misunderstanding the forces he was confronting, the Italian police officer's efforts were stymied by the actions and inactions of the Argentine police, mutual distrust, and very practical problems. Parrella complained that the Argentine police knew all about the violent plots of the anarchists but did nothing to stop them, since it hoped in this way to maintain the peace, a view apparently shared by the Argentine interior minister who believed repressive measures would turn the anger of the anarchists against any government that applied them.[45] Therefore, while the Argentine police put an agent at Parrella's disposal, this agent was under the severest orders to reveal nothing. Moreover, the Argentine police shadowed the Italian officer and the informants he had hired.[46] Because of this and because he could not trust his informants, Parrella claimed that, in order to obtain information, he had to carry out acts that were abhorrent and potentially dangerous. These included infiltrating secret anarchist meetings, entering the "lower depths of society," talking to workers in public, and listening to anarchist speeches.[47]

Given all these difficulties, the Italian legation in Buenos Aires asked Rome for additional money and personnel in order to make monitoring the anarchists more efficacious.[48] Without hesitation Interior Minister Giolitti indicated his willingness to increase funding, noting the difficulties posed by Argentina's immense size. He advised the consul to draw up a surveillance plan along the lines of that established for the

United States and centered on New York City, a plan that included selecting able informants chosen on the spot.[49]

In August, Vincenzo Macchi di Cellere, the chargé d'affaires, presented his proposal.[50] He requested a police assistant for Parrella as well as money for six informers. He proposed that the informers be put on monthly salary, rather than being paid piecemeal or part time, so that they would not be forced to obtain other sources of income (which might limit their time for spying) and could be fired if they proved incompetent or disloyal. Altogether, the minister recommended allocating 2,567 lire a month for secret service costs, which was about 120 percent more than what was currently being expended. According to María Rosaria Ostuni, the interior ministry considered this proposal exorbitant and refused it (although she does not provide explicit documentation for this claim).[51] In any case, less than a year later, in May 1902, Parrella left Buenos Aires. The Italian minister to Argentina told his German colleague that the police officer had been recalled since his efforts had produced no practical results and were a waste of money.[52] Police Inspector Antonio Genovesi, who replaced Parrella, proved more durable in his position, remaining in Buenos Aires more than six years until he died there in February 1909. He continued, however, to face some of the same problems as Parrella.

The clash of interests between Italy and Argentina was starkly revealed in December 1902, when Argentina requested reactivation of the 1897 agreement whereby each country would notify the other of the departure from their ports of anarchists and "suspects."[53] While the Argentine government had earlier concluded that the agreement was useless, because it lacked the power to expel anarchists, by the end of 1902 this had changed. On November 20 the anarchist-dominated labor unions proclaimed Argentina's first general strike—a strike that the authorities had helped provoke. This precipitated congressional passage on November 22 of the notorious Law of Residency, which gave the authorities sweeping power to block the entrance into Argentina or to expel any foreigner whose conduct compromised national security or perturbed public order.[54] Since so many of the anarchists were foreign born, the law conferred on the government enormous power to expel almost any anarchist it wished. Given the continuing social upheaval in Argentina, which the Law of Residency exacerbated, the authorities were especially eager to prevent the entrance into the country of more anarchists, and thus their interest in reviving the 1897 agreement with Italy.

Giolitti was wary and critical of this newfound Argentinian enthusiasm for cooperation. He thought the Argentine authorities had previously stymied operation of an accord based on "sincere and cordial reciprocity," since they wanted Italian help but had "always tried to hinder" and continued to hinder in every way the efforts of the Italian police officer in Buenos Aires.[55] Moreover, Italian government officials severely criticized Argentine policies and actions toward the anarchists. DGPS Francesco Leonardi judged the Argentine police as "still not well disciplined" and as "seemingly unequal to the task to which it was entrusted."[56] Their enforcement of the Law of Residency had led to various abuses. "In fact, up until now the law has on many occasions been made to serve political purposes and also personal vendettas," rather than a "true" and "consistent" "purification of the environment." According to Leonardi, inno-

cent socialists, fierce enemies of the anarchists, had been labeled dangerous anarchists, arrested and deported to distant, inhospitable regions of the republic. Those threatened with expulsion faced "vague, indeterminate or gratuitous" charges. All these abuses had resulted in a worldwide anarchist-led protest campaign. Such criticism reflected fundamental political disagreement. While Argentine policy was still inspired by the mindset of the conservative oligarchy that ran the country until the expansion of the electorate in 1912 and the elections of 1916, the Italian approach after February 1901 reflected a rejection of the reactionary politics of the 1890s and the coming to power of the left liberals led by Giuseppe Zanardelli (1826–1903) and Giolitti, who sought to end the government's confrontation with the labor movement and the socialists.

Although these clashing worldviews continued, in 1906 an important development occurred in Italian policing. In March of that year the Italians finally found a way around the obstructions of the Argentines by recruiting a member of their own police department, Giuseppe Di Frisina, as a "top secret agent." Di Frisina was an Italian native who worked for the Buenos Aires police department's office of investigations with ready access to information about the city's subversives. He helped Inspector Genovesi recruit "an extensive network of confidential agents infiltrated into the numerous anarchist element." Eventually Genovesi made Di Frisina his right hand man with the task of engaging and managing these agents.[57] In effect, the Italian minister's 1901 request for an additional policeman to staff the anti-anarchist office had come to pass. The mature system of Italian anti-anarchist policing in Argentina as it now emerged was, as before, under the overall supervision of the consul general of Buenos Aires who had the assistance of consuls throughout the country. The system's core consisted of a police officer from Italy with the help—beginning in 1906—of the local police official Di Frisina who planted or recruited Italians in the anarchist movement in order to spy on it. The data collected was organized in a filing system. Essential was the close cooperation of the Argentine police and probably employees inside the Argentine post office. If the intelligence gathered was urgent or in response to Rome's questions, it went directly to the "special office," which came to be designated the "confidential office" (*ufficio riservato*) of the General Directorate of Public Security in Rome. Otherwise, Rome could expect weekly reports.[58] Occasionally, the police official or his assistant made investigative trips to the provinces, to Uruguay, and after 1913, to Brazil.

As for the day-to-day world of anti-anarchist surveillance, at least in the countryside and before the system became more effective under Genovesi and Di Frisina, we can obtain insight into it by examining the case of Gaetano Ercolani. On September 22, 1906, Consul General Testa of Rosario (a town said to be "infested" with anarchists) sent a coded telegram to Rome reporting that on September 18 Ercolani had left on the French ship *Algérie* for Barcelona and then on to Marseilles or Naples. Ercolani was planning to assassinate the king of Italy. The consul provided a vague description: Ercolani was a thirty-six-year-old Tuscan of short stature with "blond and white" hair. A follow up message provided more details and some corrections and also revealed that the Italians were monitoring and opening Ercolani's mail. Testa personally verified that the danger of this plot was, "if not certain, at least probable."[59] After infinite difficulties, the consul

was able to obtain Ercolani's photograph. It turned out that he was not Tuscan, but Abruzzese, from Teramo. According to new information unearthed by Testa (but which he could not verify 100 percent), Ercolani was an "individualist" anarchist and his criminal proposal resulted from a spontaneous and personal decision. Understandably enough, Testa complained that unlike the consul general in Buenos Aires, he lacked "*any secure and valid instrument for investigations*" [*sic*]).[60] Temporarily Ercolani slipped from view but the DGPS in Rome doggedly pursued him. Every three to four months it inquired of the Italian authorities in Argentina and Teramo about his whereabouts. He was finally located in August 1912.[61]

A surviving 1910 report by the Italian policeman in Buenos Aires suggests that a much better informed and complex understanding of Argentina's social and political problems and of the genesis of terrorism had developed since 1901. In it Inspector Pitri observed that the Radical Party and other political opponents of the government, including the former vice-president of the Senate, "fan[ned] the flames" of anarchist violence in order to undermine and perhaps get rid of the unpopular oligarchical Argentinian regime.[62]

In the end, how effective was this system in preventing assassinations and bomb-throwings? An initial assessment might consider it very successful, since during the 1901–14 period Italian anarchists returning to Italy from Argentina committed no acts of propaganda by the deed. A deeper assessment, however, might attribute the lack of violence to the fact that the Italian anarchist community of Argentina was not prone to terrorism, despite the occasionally alarming rhetoric of its publications. Instead it was absorbed in organizing labor and in labor's struggles with employers and the government.

1905–1910: The Emergence of Terrorism in Argentina, and Argentine Anti-Anarchist Policing Abroad

After 1905 Argentina experienced increasingly violent confrontations between the anarchist-dominated labor movement and the authorities and a mounting tempo of terrorist incidents. Two Argentinian presidents suffered assassination attempts (August 1905 and February 1908). Ten bombings and violent assaults hit such targets as the Spanish consulate in Rosario (October 1909) and the cathedral of Buenos Aires (May 1910); the latter attack killed one person and severely injured another.[63] The assassination of Ramón Falcón, the police chief of Buenos Aires, on November 14, 1909, and the bombing of the world famous Colón Opera house during a performance on June 26, 1910, exercised the most impact, sending both the populace of Buenos Aires and the Argentine government into panic. The murder of the dynamic and feared Falcón was significant because he was by far the most important police official in Argentina, since his Buenos Aires police were responsible for monitoring the anarchists throughout the

entire country. He and his security force were a central pillar of the Argentine state. The assassination of Falcón shocked the Argentine people provoking well-founded fears of further *attentats*.[64]

Falcón's assassin was a Jewish anarchist, Simón Radowisky, who had recently emigrated from the Russian Empire. He had arrived as part of a wave of immigrants escaping Tsarist repression following the 1905 Revolution. On the other hand, no convincing evidence proves that any Italian anarchists were directly implicated in the terrorist incidents of 1905–10. If they did engage in violence, it involved labor disputes or the protests during the "Red Week" of May 1909.[65]

This is not to argue that the arrival of Russian-Jews and Catalans on Argentine shores was the principal cause of terrorism. Russians and Spaniards who had immigrated before 1905 had not resorted to violence. Nor were the terrorists of 1905–10 all immigrants. Francisco Solano Regis, who attempted the president's life in 1908, was Argentinian. The fundamental cause of Argentine terrorism was the country's highly charged atmosphere after years of growing confrontation between an exasperated labor movement and an increasingly repressive and brutal police and government.

The authorities' response to the bombings of 1909–10 was as stunning as the events themselves. After having long been neglectful of the social question, the authorities now imposed, in the words of the Italian minister, a "sudden," "disproportionate," and "violent repression."[66] Martial law was proclaimed for the entire country for unusually long periods: sixty days after the assassination in 1909 and ninety days following the theater bombing in 1910. In an indiscriminate crackdown, the police arrested thousands of people, some of whom were not anarchists let alone dangerous. Newspapers and union offices were closed down. Many were deported, some were tortured, and others were sent to Argentina's "Siberia," in the desolate far south of the country.[67] After the attack on the *Teatro Colón*, the Argentine congress rushed through a draconian Law of Social Defense. This legislation prohibited the entry and provided for the expulsion of various categories of foreigners including anarchists, it prohibited anarchist associations and meetings, even behind closed doors, it punished coercive actions used to promote strikes or boycotts, and it penalized apology for anarchist crimes in the press and the abusive use of explosives.[68]

Furthermore, the Argentine government employed this law as a mandate to send policemen abroad to monitor anarchists who were immigrating to Argentina.[69] In 1908, the Argentine government had first resorted to this measure, when, without the prior agreement of either Spain or Italy, it had sent policemen to Genoa and Barcelona.[70] After the bombing of the *Teatro Colón*, the Argentine government launched a more widespread project in transatlantic policing.[71] Police commissioners, attached to the local consulates, were sent to Vigo and Barcelona in Spain, Genoa in Italy, Marseilles in France, Trieste in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Southampton in England, and Hamburg and Bremen in Germany.[72] While the Argentine consuls introduced the police officers to local officials, once again no effort was made to negotiate these placements with the countries affected.[73] This especially displeased Rome, since it soon became apparent that the Argentine police were not simply going to monitor subversive

Argentinians in Italy but were also going to attempt to control the emigration of Italians to Argentina.[74] Undermining Argentinian police efforts, however, was the fact that they were soon uncovered by the anarchists. On October 15, 1910, in an article entitled "The Dogs of Prey," *La Rivolta*, a Milanese anarchist periodical, published the names and locations of all the Argentine officers stationed abroad. Numerous copies of this issue were forwarded to Buenos Aires for the edification of its anarchists.[75]

Rather than pouring funds and manpower into policing anarchist immigration abroad, Argentina would have been better served by improving its police at home. The Italian authorities were appalled by the undisciplined, incompetent, and arbitrary actions of the police of Buenos Aires. Historians have confirmed their view. According to Julia Kirk Blackwelder, the police were grossly understaffed, since while the population of the capital expanded 250 percent between the 1880s and 1914, the size of the police increased only 20 percent. They were also underpaid, inadequately trained, and lacking "the most modern police technology."[76] In October 1910, a new Argentine government under the reform-minded Roque Sáenz Peña came into power and professed to be shocked by the "thoughtless actions" of the previous administration. The Argentine foreign minister assured the Italians that in the future the actions of the Argentine police abroad would be severely restricted; the interior minister soon replaced an especially highhanded official in Genoa.[77] He even said it was probable that these agents would all be recalled. Nonetheless, a year later the Spanish consul in Marseilles referred to an Argentinian police commissioner as still attached to the Argentine consulate in that city.[78]

Conclusion

In dealing with the anarchists and potential terrorists after 1900, Italy and Argentina moved in opposite political directions. These were partly determined by opposing national interests rooted in the fact that Italy was an emigrant country and Argentina an immigrant state; the one an "exporter" of anarchists and the other an unwilling "importer." This fundamental condition together with mistaken Argentine policies led to calamitous results for the latter country. The Argentine government abandoned its liberal, laissez-faire policies of the nineteenth century and embarked on an erratic course of sporadic and violent confrontation and repression aimed not only at the anarchists but also at socialists and labor organizations. Ineptly enforced laws designed to root out resident anarchists and stem future anarchist immigration exacerbated social tensions. Too little was done too late to improve labor conditions and integrate the alienated foreign population into Argentine society. Instead immigrants were often stigmatized as the cause of all of Argentina's problems. Too little was done to modernize and expand the police so that it might meet the challenges of labor militancy without resorting to violence or calling in the military. One consequence was the eruption of terrorism

between 1905 and 1910. Clumsy attempts at international policing and international accords with Italy did nothing to ameliorate this situation.

Italy, on the other hand, turned its back on brutal nineteenth-century policies of repression and engaged in an opening to the left. Socialists and radicals were invited to join the cabinet. The government no longer blocked strike activity (outside the public sector) and encouraged labor organization. Freedom of the press and assembly and the right to associate were upheld as necessary safety valves for social and political dissent. A dialog was begun with other groups previously marginalized. At the same time, while martial law was abandoned as a tool of social control, Giolitti made sure to increase the size, training, and effectiveness of the State's regular public security and intelligence-gathering forces.[79] In the twentieth century, Italian officials also seem to have understood better than their Argentinian counterparts the critical role of publicity in the modern era. Discreet surveillance of the anarchists could provide the authorities with valuable understanding or even the capacity to stop the odd terrorist plot. Heavy-handed police actions carried out in the glare of the media usually accomplished little and only stoked the hatred of the anarchists, some of whom sought violent revenge. Avoiding such methods in Italy after 1900 rendered the chronic terrorism of the 1890s a thing of the past.

In retrospect the large amount of effort and money expended to monitor Italian anarchists in Argentina may have been unnecessary, given the relative moderation of that community, especially as opposed to the Catalan and Russian anarchists. But from the Italian government's point of view, this was a small price to pay if it served as insurance against unpleasant terrorist surprises. At its best, carefully conducted anarchist surveillance provided Italy with an increased capacity for calculability and rational control, and these are qualities that, according to Max Weber, are the hallmarks of modernization.[80]

Notes

1. David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, ed. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 47, 50–52.
2. Richard Bach Jensen, "Daggers, Rifles and Dynamite: Anarchist Terrorism in Nineteenth Century Europe," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16 (2004): 116–153, and "The Evolution of Anarchist Terrorism in Europe and the United States from the Nineteenth Century to World War I," in *Terror from Tyrannicide to Terrorism*, ed. Brett Bowden and Michael Davis (St. Lucia, Queensland: Queensland University Press, 2008), 134–160.
3. Richard Bach Jensen, "The International Campaign against Anarchist Terrorism, 1880–1930s," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21 (2009): 90, 101.
4. International American Conference (2nd: 1901–02, Mexico), *Actas y documentos. Minutes and documents* (Mexico City: Tip-de la Oficina Impresora de Estampillas, 1902), 749–7;55; Adolpho Rodriquez, *Historia de la Policía Federal Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Policía Rodriquez, Adolpho. *Historia de la Policía Federal Argentina. Volume 6: 1880–1916.* Buenos

Aires: Federal Argentina, 1975), 523–525; *Control of Terrorism: International Documents*, ed. Yonah Alexander et al. (New York: Crane Russak, 1979), 3–9, 11–16.

5. Ronaldo Munck with Ricardo Falcón and Bernardo Galitelli. *Argentina: From Anarchism to Peronism* (London: Zed Books, 1987), 26, 43–44. Luis Alberto Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (University Park, PA: Pensylvania State University Press, 2004), 18.
6. Munck, *Argentina*, 26.
7. Iaacov Oved, *El anarquismo y el movimiento obrero en argentina* (Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 1978), 31. David Rock, *Argentina 1516–1982* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 166.
8. Oved, *Anarquismo*; Juan Suriano, *Anarquistas: Cultura y política libertaria en Buenos Aires, 1890–1910* (Buenos Aires: Manantial SRL, 2001); translated as *Paradoxes of Utopia: Anarchist Culture and Politics in Buenos Aires, 1890–1910*, trans. Chuck Morse (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2010).
9. Jose Moya, "Italians in Buenos Aires's Anarchist Movement: Gender Ideology and Women's Participation, 1890–1910," in *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World*, ed. Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 189–216.
10. Oved, *Anarquismo*, 137–138.
11. Francesco Beazley to Interior Minister Felipe Yofre, Buenos Aires, September 1, 1900, Argentine *Archivo General de la Nación, Ministero del Interior*, file (*legajo*) 16, n. 3080.
12. Parrella to Minister Obizzo Marquis Malaspina, Italian legation, Buenos Aires. January 20, 1901. Italian Foreign Ministry archives, International Policing (*Polizia internazionale*) (hereinafter cited as: IFM, PI), file (*busta*) (hereinafter cited as f.) 28.
13. Feliciano Otamendi to Beazley, June 7, 1901, attached to Julio Arellano y Arróspide, Buenos Aires, to foreign minister, Madrid, June 14, 1901. Spanish Foreign Ministry archive (hereinafter cited as SFM), Orden Público (hereinafter OP), file (legajo; hereinafter f.) 2750.
14. *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, September 19, 1900.
15. Macchi di Cellere, Buenos Aires, to Foreign Minister Giulio Prinetti, Rome, August 9, 1901. IFM, PI, file 28; *Times*, November 17, 1909, 5.
16. Joaquín Romero Maura, *"La rosa de fuego," Republicanos y anarchistas: La politica de los obreros barceloneses entre el desastre colonial y la semana trágica, 1899–1909* (Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1975), 245, 249. In 1910, the Italian consul, citing the local police, gave a figure of more than 9,500 anarchists in Barcelona. Consul general to foreign ministry, Rome, May 27, 1910. IFM, *contenzioso* Z, f. 48.
17. In 1900–1901 the anarchists produced a handful of periodicals in Barcelona, while according to Police Chief Beazley, Argentine anarchists published fourteen newspapers (*diarios*), five regularly, in Buenos Aires. *Archivo General de la Nación, Ministero del Interior*, f. 19, n. 3080. In 1910–11, the best-selling anarchist periodical in Barcelona, *Tierra y Libertad*, reached a circulation of around 10,000 weekly, while by the beginning of 1910 the Argentine anarchist *La Protesta* printed 16,000 copies daily. Angel Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction: Catalan Labour and the Crisis of the Spanish State, 1898–1923* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2007), 196; Suriano, *Anarquistas*, 188. J. J. Sanchez Aranda and Carlos Barrera, *Historia del periodismo Español* (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 1992), 256. According to the Beazley report (to Interior Minister Yofre, September 1, 1900; cited below), in 1900, seventy-seven anarchist groups existed in Buenos Aires. Suriano, *Anarquistas*, 50, utilizing evidence from anarchist periodicals, gives a figure of forty anar-

chist centers in Buenos Aires in 1907. This compares with Barcelona's fifteen to nineteen anarchist affinity groups in 1907. Smith, *Anarchism*, 151–152.

18. Ronaldo Munck, "Cycles of Class Struggle and the Making of the Working Class in Argentina, 1890–1920," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 19, no. 1 (May 1987): 19–39. Angel Smith, "From Subordination to Contestation: The Rise of Labour in Barcelona, 1898–1918," in *Red Barcelona: Social Protest and Labour Mobilization in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Angel Smith (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 31–32; Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists* (New York: Free Life Editions, 1977), 160, 164, 169–71.
19. Oved, *Anarquismo*, 64.
20. Ibid., 109–110.
21. Munck, *Argentina*, 49.
22. Figure 1, Jose Moya, *Cousins and Strangers. Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850–1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press,1998), 19.
23. Mss., foreign minister, Rome, to Argentine Chargé d'Affairs A. Del Viso, Rome, June 25, 1894. IFM, PI, f. 28.
24. Italian Legation to foreign ministry, Rome, July 31, 1894. IFM, PI, f. 28.
25. Mss. foreign ministry to A. Del Viso, chargé d'affaires, Argentina, Rome, June 25, 1894. IFM, PI, f. 28.
26. Interior to foreign minister, September 15, 1894, IFM. PI, f. 28. Copy, foreign minister, Rome, to Italian legation, Buenos Ayres, confidential, September 21, 1894. IFM, PI, f. 28.
27. Giolitti, interior ministry (hereinafter MI), General Directorate of Public Security (hereinafter DGPS), to foreign minister, Rome, August 30, 1908. IFM, Serie P, Politica, f. 47. Maria Rosaria Ostuni, "Inmigración política italiana y movimiento obrero argentino," in *La Inmigración Italiana en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 1985), 107.
28. Italian legation to foreign ministry, Rome, July 31, 1894. IFM, PI, f. 28.
29. MI to foreign minister, Rome, September 15, 1894, IFM. PI, f. 28.
30. Ibid., Rome, April 29, 1895. IFM. PI, f. 28.
31. Foreign minister, Rome, to Italian legation, Buenos Ayres. May 6, 1895. IFM. PI, f. 36.
32. Mss. Visconti Venosta to MI, Rome, November 30, 1897. IFM. PI, f. 28.
33. Bonin, foreign ministry, Rome, to MI, December 19, 1897. IFM. PF, f. 28.
34. Di Cariati, chargé d'affaires, Buenos Aires, to foreign ministry, Rome, April 3, 1898; mss. Visconti Venosta, Rome, to Prince di Cariati, April 20, 1898. IFM, PI, f. 28.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.; copy, Di Cariati to Foreign Minister Amancio Alcorta, Buenos Aires, May 16, 1898. IFM, PI, f. 28.
37. Malaspina, Buenos Aires, to Canevaro, Rome, September 3, 1898, IFM, PI, f. 30.
38. Mss. Malvano, foreign ministry, Rome, to Malaspina, Buenos Ayres. October 8, 1898. IFM, PI, f. 30.
39. Copy of Malaspina, Buenos Aires, to Prime Minister Giuseppe Saracco, Rome, August 22, 1900. IFM, PI, f. 28.
40. Pasetti, Rome, to Goluchowski, Vienna, April 25, 1901. Hof-Haus-und Staat Archiv, Vienna, Informationsbüro 1901, GZ. 36.
41. Parrella to Malaspina, Buenos Aires, January 20, 1901, in Malaspina to Visconti Venosta, January 26, 1901. IFM, PI, f. 28.
42. Ibid.
43. Gonzalo Zaragoza, *Anarquismo Argentino (1876–1902)* (Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1996), 233–246.

44. Moya, "Italians," 207; and Jose Moya, "The Positive Side of Stereotypes: Jewish Anarchists in Early-Twentieth-Century Buenos Aires," *Jewish History* 18 (2004), 31, 34–35, 38.
45. Malaspina, Buenos Aires, to Prinetti, Rome, April 12, 1901. IFM, PI, f. 28.
46. Giolitti, DGPS, MI to foreign minister, Rome, December 17, 1902, IFM, Serie P. politica, f. 47.
47. Parrella to Malaspina, Buenos Aires, January 20, 1901. IFM, PI, f. 28.
48. Report, Macchi di Cellere, April 30, 1901; mss. memo, Foreign Minister Prinetti, Rome, to DGPS, May 26, 1901. IFM, PI, f. 28.
49. Giolitti to foreign minister, Rome, June 3, 1901. IFM, PI, f. 28.
50. *Servizio di sorveglianza anarchica nell'Argentina*, chargé d'affaires, Buenos Aires, to DGPS–Cabinet, Rome, August 7, 1901. IFM, PI, f. 28.
51. Ostuni, "Inmigración," 125.
52. Von Wangenheim, Buenos Aires, to von Bülow, Berlin, no. 71, June 2, 1902. Polizeipräsidum Berlin, former Zentralarchiv, Potsdam (Orangerie) Rep. 30, Tit. 8756, Lit. A.
53. Argentine legation, Rome, to foreign minister, Rome, December 3, 1902. IFM, PI, f. 47.
54. Oved, *Anarquismo*, 256–258; Munck, *Argentina*, 50.
55. Giolitti, DGPS, MI to foreign minister, Rome, December 17, 1902, IFM, Serie P. politica, f. 47.
56. Mss. Leonardi, DGPS, MI, Rome, to Italian ambassador, Madrid, September 3, 1903. Central Archive of the State (hereinafter cited as ACS), MI, DGPS, Confidential Office (*Ufficio riservato*) (hereinafter cited as UR), 1905, 21.
57. Mauro Canali, *Le spie del regime* (Bologna: Mulino, 2004), 30.
58. Macchi di Cellere, Buenos Aires, to Foreign Minister Prinetti, Rome, April 23, 1901. IFM, PI, f. 28.
59. Report, Testa to Foreign Minister Tittoni, Rome, September 22, 1906. IFM, Serie Politica P, f. 47.
60. Testa, to MI, DGPS (Gabinetto), Rome, November 22 and December 24, 1906. IFM, Serie Politica P, f. 47.
61. ACS, C.P.C., b. 1887 "Gaetano Ercolani fu Daniele."
62. Copy, [Ispettore di P.S.], "Movimento Anarchico. Minaccia Di Sciopero General Rivoluzionario Per Le Feste Del Centenario," attached to Macchi di Cellere, Buenos Aires, to Foreign Minister Antonio di San Giuliano, Rome, May 15, 1910. IFM, Z–contenzioso, f. 49, folder 908.
63. Julio Herrera, *Anarquismo y defensa social* (Buenos Aires: Librería e Imprenta Europea de M. A. Rosas, 1917), 93; Moya, "The Positive Side," 19–48.
64. Macchi di Cellere, Buenos Aires, to Tittoni, Rome, December 4, 1909; A. Nobili [?] to Undersecretary Prince di Scalea, February 5, 1910. IFM, series Z–contenzioso, f. 49, folder 908; *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), November 15–16, 1909.
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66. Macchi di Cellere to Tittoni, Rome, December 4, 1909; Macchi di Cellere to Di San Giuliano, May 15, 1910. IFM, series Z–contenzioso, f. 49, folder 908.
67. Juan Suriano, *Trabajadores, anarquismo y Estado repressor: De la Ley de residencia a la Ley de defensa social (1902–1910)* (Buenos Aires: CEAL, 1988), 16. Angel J. Capelletti, "Anarquismo Latinoamericano," in *El Anarquismo en América Latina*, ed. Carlos M. Rama and Angel J. Cappelletti (Caracas, Venezuela: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1990), xxxii; Moya, "Positive Side," 37.

68. Law of Social Defense number 7029, Ch. III, Art. 14. For the full text of the law, see Herrera, *Anarquismo*, 346–352. Eduardo Zimmerman, *Los liberales reformistas: La cuestión social en la Argentina, 1890–1916* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana/San Andrés, 1995), 161.
69. [Italian Minister, Buenos Aires] to Di San Giuliano, Rome, November 7, 1910; Italian consul general, Buenos Aires, to MI, DGPS, November 14, 1910. ACS, DGPS, UR (1913), f. 41.
70. Rodriquez, *Historia Policia*, 6:351, 398.
71. DGPS to the foreign minister, Rome, August 14 and September 20, 1910. IFM, series Z–contenzioso, f. 49, folder 908.
72. Commissariato dell'emigrazione to MI, DGPS, October 29, 1910, ACS, DGPS, UR (1913), f. 41.
73. Lanza di Scalea, undersecretary of foreign affairs, to MI, DGPS, September 29, 1910. ACS, DGPS, UR (1913), f. 41.
74. Leonardi, MI, DGPS-UR, to foreign minister, Rome, September 23, 1910. IFM, series Z–contenzioso, f. 49, folder 908.
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CHAPTER 27

TWENTIETH CENTURY WEST BALKAN TERRORISM, FROM SARAJEVO TO THE END OF STATE SOCIALISM

MATE NIKOLA TOKIĆ

Few single acts of terrorism have had a more indelible impact on European, if not global, history than the assassination of Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914. The Austro-Hungarian archduke's mortal wounding at the hands of Gavrilo Princip did not cause World War I, but it did serve as the pretext for the greatest conflagration the world had ever seen. But if the Sarajevo Attentat is by far the most well-known example of West Balkan terrorism, it by no means stands alone. Prior to 1914 there had been numerous attempts on Austro-Hungarian officials by South Slav subjects of the empire. The period following World War I, meanwhile, saw the rise of the Croatian Ustaša movement, which masterminded the assassination of Yugoslavia's King Aleksandar Karađorđević in Marseilles, France, in 1934. And during the cold war, radical Croatian separatists became among the world's most active terrorists, engaging in a campaign of violence that lasted two decades and extended from Sydney to Stuttgart and from Belgrade to Brooklyn.

This said, West Balkan terrorism remains mostly a footnote in history. This is true both in the study of political violence and terrorism and in the historiography of the lands of the former Yugoslavia. Works on terrorism often mention the Sarajevo shooting, but analysis of the assassination generally begins and ends with a reference to how Princip was a Bosnian Serb nationalist who may or may not have been in league with elements within Serbia itself. Some may also cite Croatian acts of separatist violence before and after World War II, but almost invariably only as a means to contextualize

"major cases" of twentieth-century nationalist and separatist terrorism, such as that perpetrated by the Irish, Basques, Algerians, or Palestinians. Histories of Yugoslavia, meanwhile, relegate terrorism to more general discussions of ethnic relations and political violence among the nationalities in the lands that made up the former state. Acts of terror are cited as extreme expressions of the nationalistic and ethnic strife that afflicted both incarnations of Yugoslavia and that served, according to the literature, as a precursor to the genocides of World War II and the wars of 1991–1995. But rarely has terrorism itself been treated as a subject worthy of special focus within the greater history of the West Balkans.[1] Instead, it has been subsumed into the larger study of nationalism and nationalist violence in the region, viewed as little more than a subset of the various nationalistic conflicts and cruelties that have come to define—at least in the Western imagination—twentieth-century southeast European history.

South Slav terrorism, however, is a political and historical phenomenon separate from, if related to, the other forms of violence borne by the peoples of the region since the turn of the twentieth century. This can be seen not only in the contextual and conceptual frameworks that first engendered and then defined extremist nationalist separatism, but also in the organizational structures and practices underlying the radicalization process. Central to this is the way in which transnational as much as national forces led at least some political actors to view terrorism as an acceptable—if not in fact necessary—form of political engagement. Of course, the "nation"—however understood—most often served as the impetus, focus, and object of West Balkan proponents of terror. But equally formative in defining the aims, character, and strategies of radical movements throughout the twentieth century were decidedly transnational forces.[2] From the Young Bosnians to the Ustaše to postwar Croatian separatists, West Balkan separatists of all kinds navigated a complex network of transnational politics, ideological struggles, and organizational structures. These frameworks simultaneously expanded and limited the possibilities of both action and communication for nationalist political actors. As the transnational milieu within which these actors operated grew increasingly radicalized, so did their own political thinking.

Stated another way, it was not the nationalism(s) of the three main West Balkan radical movements of the twentieth century alone that engendered radicalization. Instead, it was these movements' engagement with particular transnational structures and practices that stimulated certain political actors first to imagine, then to develop, and finally to justify the decision to incorporate violence into their repertoires of political engagement. In this way—to borrow from Arjun Appadurai—landscapes became as important as lands in envisioning, organizing, and realizing violence in the name of national liberation.[3] For the Young Bosnians, interwar Ustaše, and postwar Croatian separatists alike, it was only once the national interacted with the transnational that the process of radicalization could take root. And while these interactions may have been for each movement historically distinctive and contingent, the result was the same: terrorism became an integral component of the West Balkan political landscape for nearly a century.

Young Bosnia: 1908–1914

Nationalist terrorism in the West Balkans can be traced to the anti-Austro-Hungarian secret societies that developed across the South Slav lands of the Empire starting in the 1890s, particularly in Bosnia.[4] These societies borrowed the idea of achieving national liberation through a cultural "reawakening" from similar organizations across Central and Eastern Europe. In addition to Tomáš Masaryk, young conspirators at the core of these secret societies looked to Giuseppe Mazzini, Giuseppe Garibaldi, and German nationalist philosophers for their intellectual guidance.[5] On the whole, turn-of-the-century West Balkan intellectual youth initially rejected both revolutionary and terroristic activities, believing instead that the emancipation and political unification of the South Slav people(s) would come only following a revival of their culture, literature, and identity.[6] This "rediscovery" of the "forgotten" cultural foundations of the South Slavs, so the thinking went, would lead to a recovery of national pride, dignity, and self-respect that would end, inexorably, in the ultimate deliverance of the West Balkans from both foreign oppressors and domestic reactionaries.[7]

For a generation, Masaryk's gradualist approach to national liberation through cultural nationalism served as the dominant model for youth politics in the West Balkans. By the second decade of the twentieth century, however, three developments had brought about a shift in the political thinking of the region's student intelligentsia. The first and most formative was Austria-Hungary's full annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908. Predictably and understandably, Vienna's move precipitated a radicalization of opposition to the Habsburg monarchy.

The second was an increase in transnational contacts fostered by nationalist anti-Habsburg students and radical youths from across the South Slav lands of Austria-Hungary, including Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Particularly after 1910, young South Slavs increasingly pursued university studies abroad, most notably in Belgrade, Vienna, Lausanne, and Paris. There vanguard members of the South Slav opposition grew more radicalized as they became acquainted not only with the ideas of Russian anarchist and socialist revolutionary groups, but in fact personally with many of their leading figures, including Mark Natanson, Anatoly Lunacharsky, Julius Martov, and even Leon Trotsky.[8] As a result, these students began to abandon Masaryk's approach to national liberation through cultural revival and instead embraced openly violent revolutionary ideas.[9] This led to the emergence of a new, more revolutionary movement known as Young Bosnia (Mlada Bosna) in the newly annexed territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Young Bosnia was not an organization in and of itself, but rather an umbrella term for the various anti-Austro-Hungarian secret societies that were materializing. While some of these groups supported mass revolutionary action over political assassination in the struggle against the dual monarchy, the majority came to embrace individual terrorism as the most effective means of realizing national liberation.[10]

The third change was the radicalization of politics in neighboring Serbia, which directly impacted both the strategic and the organizational development of radical nationalism across the region. During the Bosnia Crisis of 1908 a group of prominent nationalists in the Serbian capital, Belgrade, established National Defense (Narodna odbrana [NO]) in an effort to hinder Vienna's annexation of neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina. The idea behind National Defense was to orchestrate direct revolutionary agitation against Austria-Hungary. These activities would be organized in Belgrade but undertaken by youths from Bosnia. Although the NO itself would ultimately be neutered by Austria-Hungary, the organization established the general framework for transnational action against Vienna.

In 1911 NO's original mission was rejuvenated by Union or Death (Ujedinjenje ili smrt), a clandestine organization founded by a cabal of military officers. At the core of Union or Death were many of the officers behind the assassination of Serbia's Habsburg-leaning King Aleksandar Obrenović and his wife, Queen Draga, in 1903—most notably, Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijević, better known as Apis.[11] The regicide of 1903 led to increased militarism of the state in both its foreign and domestic policies as the officers who were involved in the murders—and ultimately formed Union or Death—greatly expanded the role of the armed forces in Serbia in the decade following the bloody coup d'état. The humiliation of 1908, however, led these officers to conclude that the institutions of the Serbian state alone would never bring about the end of Habsburg and Ottoman influence in the Balkans. Instead, they embraced the idea of transnational non-state action—that is, terrorism and revolutionary agitation within Austria-Hungary—as the best means to achieve national liberation.[12]

Importantly, what "national liberation" meant for the Union or Death—also known informally as the Black Hand (Crna ruka)—was different from what it meant for the radical students and intellectuals of Young Bosnia.[13] Apis and his co-conspirators were staunch Serb nationalists. They saw their mission not as being the liberation of all Yugoslavs and the establishment of a single federal state—as the majority of Young Bosnians supported—but rather as the expansion of Serbia itself to encompass all lands occupied by ethnic Serbs. The Young Bosnians, meanwhile, embraced radical Yugoslavism—as opposed to particularistic nationalism—throughout the Balkans, putting them in the vanguard of the region's revolutionary youth.[14] Although the Young Bosnians consisted primarily—but not exclusively—of Bosnians from Eastern Orthodox families, they balked at chauvinistic pan-Serbianism, promoting instead the national and political unity of all South Slavs.

Nevertheless, there was considerable contact between Union or Death and Young Bosnia between 1911 and 1914, particularly during and after the two Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. The success of the Serbian army in both wars increased greatly the prestige of the country and of the Serbian military among revolutionary youths throughout the Balkans. The Young Bosnians turned to Union or Death for assistance in acquiring weapons and explosives and transporting them across the border from Serbia into Bosnia when organizing acts of terror. Union or Death, meanwhile, used the Young Bosnians to help further undermine Austro-Hungarian rule in the Balkans. The

conditions of the day aligned the idealism of the young radicals in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the more cynical realism and self-interest of the military conspirators in Serbia, leading each to pursue cooperation with the other, their significant philosophical and strategic differences notwithstanding.

What remains—and most likely will always remain—unclear is the degree to which Union or Death had a hand in the assassination of Franz Ferdinand. Although the archduke's death is often attributed to Union or Death, in reality the group neither instigated nor was directly involved in the Attentat. Instead, the assassination was the work of a small circle of Young Bosnians who formed a secret society called Death or Life (Smrt ili život), spearheaded by a nineteen-year old-Bosnian student living in Belgrade by the name of Gavrilo Princip. Death or Life came into being shortly after Ferdinand's trip to Sarajevo was announced by the Austro-Hungarian government in March 1914 and had as its sole aim the murder of the Empire's heir apparent. The group—which ultimately came to consist of seven members—believed that by killing the Archduke, Austria-Hungary would be plunged into political turmoil that would lead first to revolution within the dual monarchy and then, ultimately, to the national liberation of the South Slavs. There is strong evidence that the guns and bombs used in the assassination were supplied by a member of Union or Death's central committee and that the young radicals entered into Bosnia from Serbia with the help of Union or Death's connections within the Serbian military. But the extent to which the leadership of Union or Death supported the plot—or even had clear prior knowledge of it—remains a point of historiographical contention. Still, whatever lack of evidence there exists tying Death or Life to Union or Death, there is no question that both were operating within the same transnational revolutionary milieu, one that was highly radicalized and had nationalist separatism—however defined—at its core.

In any case, the end result of the conspiracy remains the same. The archduke survived the first attempt on his life that fateful day, a bomb thrown at his motorcade as it traveled along Appel Quay in central Sarajevo. This led to a change in Ferdinand's plans for the afternoon: he elected to visit the military hospital where an officer wounded in the first attack was being treated. Unfortunately, the driver of the archduke's car was unfamiliar with the streets of Sarajevo and missed the turn-off for the hospital. Realizing his mistake, the driver halted the car and proceeded to back up. As fate would have it, he reversed directly to where Princip—who had missed his previous opportunity to shoot at the Austrian heir apparent—was standing. Given this second chance, Princip fired twice into the car, killing the archduke and his wife. One month later Europe was at war.

The Ustaša: 1929–1941

Of the newly formed post-Versailles states, Yugoslavia—which was officially called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes from 1918 to 1929—was the most ethnically heterogeneous.[15] It was also perhaps the most complicated, owing to the diversity of its

political traditions, socioeconomic standards, legal systems, religious faiths, and cultural influences.[16] The main political debate in nascent Yugoslavia revolved around the highly contentious question of whether the state should be based on a centrist-unitarist or a federalist constitution, that is, a system that promoted a common Yugoslav identity or one that embraced national particularism. Although the debate was not exclusively a national one, it had a strong ethnic dimension that pitted the new country's two largest national groups, the Serbs and Croats, against one another. In the end, the weight of the main Serbian political parties won out, leading to the adoption of a centrist-unitarist constitution—often referred to as the Vidovdan Constitution—on June 28, 1921.[17]

Of the many parties that opposed the new constitution, the Croatian Party of Rights (Hrvatska stranka prava [HSP]) was the most radical. The party promoted exclusionary nationalism, meaning opposition both to any form of Yugoslavism and to any political cooperation between Croats and other national groups, notably Serbs.[18] In one instance, the leadership of the HSP went so far as to declare the party "the bearer of an uncompromising and revolutionary struggle [against Belgrade]" in the name of greater rights for Croats within Yugoslavia.[19] In another, one of the rising starts of the HSP—a young lawyer named Ante Pavelić—openly referred to Croatia as an occupied land and called for national liberation based on the principle of historical state rights.[20] Despite imagining itself to be the sole proprietor of true Croatian nationalism, however, the HSP enjoyed only limited popularity in interwar Yugoslavia. The party—whose roots reached as far back as 1861—drew its support primarily from the urban petit bourgeoisie and nationalist intelligentsia within an ethnic community that remained predominately rural.

The militant rhetoric of the HSP remained just that—rhetoric—for the first decade of royalist Yugoslavia's existence. This changed dramatically in the closing years of the 1920s. On June 20, 1928, a Montenegrin Serb deputy of the People's Radical Party (Narodna radikalna stranka [NRS]) shot five members of the Croatian Peasant Party (Hrvatska seljačka stranka [HSS]) during a session of parliament. Among those shot was Stjepan Radić, the charismatic and popular leader of the HSS—Croatia's most popular political party and the main opposition party in Yugoslavia. Two of the deputies died on the floor of the chamber; Radić died six weeks later. The parliamentary murders led to a worsening of the already precarious political situation in Yugoslavia. With compromise between the centrist-unitarists on the one side and the federalists on the other seeming to move beyond reach, King Aleksandar—head of the Serbian royal house and monarch of Yugoslavia—stepped in to solve the crisis through the force of his own personal rule.[21] Six months following the murders, on January 6, 1929, King Aleksandar proclaimed the establishment of a royal dictatorship.

Fearful that the arrest of prominent Croatian nationalists and political hardliners was imminent, many members of the HSP—led by Ante Pavelić—fled Yugoslavia. It was there, in exile, that several members of the party radicalized, embracing for the first time political violence and terrorism as act rather than simply idea. This was due to the exiles' engagement with new and formative transnational spaces, practices, and structures.

Shortly after fleeing Yugoslavia, Pavelić established ties with two groups for whom violence was fundamental. One was the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (Vnatrešna Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija [VMRO]), with whom Pavelić signed a declaration of common struggle against both the Yugoslav state and Serbian hegemony. The second was the fascist party of Benito Mussolini. Italy had long blamed Belgrade at least in part for its "mutilated victory" after World War I, and many of Mussolini's imperialistic pretentions—both rhetorically and strategically—in the interwar period relied on a destabilization of Yugoslavia. Mussolini provided both refuge for and support to Pavelić and his followers in the hope of nurturing a possible source of unrest in Yugoslavia.

Both inspired and encouraged by his various sponsors and partners, Pavelić set out to recruit a small but fervent and dedicated cadre of émigrés willing to take up armed struggle against what they saw as the Serbian occupation of Croatia. These recruits came primarily from the diaspora, often returning to Europe from the Americas. Not unlike Young Bosnia before the war, this cadre was made up of radicals in their teens and twenties. Also like the Young Bosnians, these conspirators came originally from regions of Yugoslavia that were both ethnically heterogeneous and relatively underdeveloped, which contributed to the militancy that came to characterize both groups.[22] In 1932 Pavelić formalized his movement under the name of Ustaša—Croatian Revolutionary Organization (Ustaša—Hrvatska revolucionarna organizacija).[23] The raison d'être of the Ustaše was the establishment of an independent Croatian state by whatever means and at whatever cost necessary. To quote Pavelić, "The Ustaša movement has the task of liberating Croatia from under a foreign yoke, using all means, including an armed uprising, in order that it become a completely free and independent state in the whole of its ethnic and historical territory."[24]

Taking their cues from the Fascists in Italy and the National Socialists in Germany, the Ustaše coupled integral nationalism with a cult of violence. They believed that the unity of the Croatian nation, which they viewed as an organic entity, could be preserved only through the destruction of all threats to the nation, both internal and external. They also came to view revolutionary violence as the only strategy available to them for achieving national liberation. To quote the party newspaper from the year of its founding, "The dagger, revolver, machine gun, and time bomb: those are the bells that will announce the dawn and the resurrection of the Independent State of Croatia."[25] Furthermore, the Ustaše resembled the Fascists and National Socialists in that they were fiercely anticommunist, anticapitalist, and opposed to liberal democracy. They also cultivated a strong cult leader in the person of Pavelić. At the same time, the principles of Ustašism remained rudimentary and poorly developed throughout the 1930s. Little thought or care was given to the ideological underpinnings of either the Ustaša movement or the Croatian state that the movement would one day—hopefully—bring into existence.[26] Instead, the core of Ustaša ideology remained focused almost exclusively on the liberation of the Croatian nation.

To this end, Pavelić and his fellow co-conspirators established two military-style camps to train a "revolutionary army" in the tactics of terrorism and guerilla warfare,

one in the northern Italian town of Bovegno and one just three kilometers from the Yugoslav border on a southwestern Hungarian estate called Janka Puszta. Backed by Rome and Budapest—much as Young Bosnia had been backed by Belgrade—the Ustaše opened a campaign of terror, sabotage, and political murder against royalist Yugoslavia. Between 1929 and 1934 Pavelić's supporters committed numerous acts of terror within Yugoslavia, including assassinations, assassination attempts, and the detonation of bombs in and around police stations, government buildings, and trains. The Ustaše also planned and executed an uprising in the Lika region of Croatia that greatly riled the authorities in Belgrade but ultimately ended in failure.[27] In response to these acts, Yugoslav authorities engaged in their own campaign of violence in Croatia in an effort to suppress any revolutionary tendencies among the population. While this met with success in the short term, it served to exacerbate the already deteriorating view of the state—and by extension of Serbs—held by many Croats.

The greatest success of the Ustaše, meanwhile, led to its marginalization. On the afternoon of October 9, 1934, Vlado Chernozemski murdered King Aleksandar in Marseilles at the start of an official state visit to France. Although the assassin was a Bulgarian member of the VMRO, the plot had been planned primarily by the Ustaše. The idea behind the murder was not dissimilar to that held by Death or Life in 1914: that, in the political vacuum caused by the monarch's death, Yugoslavia would descend into chaos and quickly fall apart, paving the way for Croatian independence. As it turned out, the assassination had the opposite effect: the murder was strongly condemned throughout Croatia, and the general population reacted to the murder not with revolutionary energy but with unease, apprehension, and even sorrow.[28] On the international stage, King Aleksandar's assassination proved awkward for Italy, whose links to the Ustaše were well established. Seeing the Ustaše now as more a liability than an asset, Mussolini moved to neutralize the organization. Together with ordering all Ustaše in the country to disarm, the Italian government exiled the majority of the organization's members to the Sicilian island of Lipari. Additionally, Pavelić and Eugen Dido Kvaternik, the architects of Aleksandar's assassination, were imprisoned for two years. In 1937 Italy went so far as to sign an agreement of friendship with Yugoslavia. Although the nucleus of the Ustaše remained intact in Italy and elsewhere during the second half of the 1930s, the organization as a whole was broken, ending all possibilities for further action in the name of Croatian independence.

Emigrant Croatian Separatism: 1960–1980

Had it not been for World War II, the Ustaše most likely would have remained in relative obscurity, the notoriety of Aleksandar's assassination notwithstanding. But Pavelić returned to prominence—and soon infamy—when he was chosen by Hitler and Mussolini to serve as the leader of the quisling Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna Država Hrvatska [NDH]) in Axis-occupied Yugoslavia. Soon after coming into power,

Pavelić and the Ustaše executed a program of ethnically motivated violence that rivalled any within Nazi-occupied Europe. Serbs, Jews, Roma, and Croatian antifascists all faced brutal persecution by state and military authorities, with Serbs in particular singled out for systematic eradication. Units of the Ustaša militia were given free rein to terrorize the Serbian population throughout the NDH, and in the village of Jasenovac, some one hundred kilometers from Zagreb, a network of concentration camps was established that by the end of the war had claimed at least fifty thousand and possibly up to one hundred thousand lives.[29] Between 1941 and 1945 the Ustaše killed more than 350,000 Serbs in the NDH. In total, over one million people lost their lives in Yugoslavia during World War II, placing the country third behind only the Soviet Union and Poland for total casualties in fascist-occupied Europe.[30]

The Allied defeat of the Axis powers in 1945—including the Yugoslav Partisan defeat of both the Nazis and Ustaše in the Balkans—marked the end of Ustaše's rule in Croatia. But it did not mark the end of either the Ustaše or radical Croatian separatism. Following the war, much of the political and military leadership of the Ustaše managed to secure refuge in the West, including the head of the infamous Jasenovac concentration camp, General Vjekoslav "Maks" Luburić; the Minister of the Interior of the NDH, Andrija Artuković; and Pavelić himself, who found sanctuary in Juan Perón's Argentina. These officials were accompanied in the West by an additional thirty thousand former Ustaše, anticommunists, and Croatian nationalists who fled communist-controlled Yugoslavia in the immediate aftermath of the war.[31] Like the majority of postwar anticommunist Central and Eastern European exiles, these new Croatian émigrés were scattered, disjointed, and in political limbo. But they nevertheless imagined themselves the "true protectors" of the nation and were determined first to regroup and then to refashion themselves, becoming even stronger than before.

Attempts by former Ustaša leaders to revive and revitalize the Croatian separatist movement by giving it both organizational cohesion and political legitimacy proved elusive, however. This was due in large measure to complications brought on by the internal and external pressures of being forced to operate in unfamiliar transnational space. Pavelić sought to reassert his supremacy over the Ustaša movement in the immediate postwar period but soon found himself increasingly isolated. Unlike during the interwar period, supporters of Croatian separatism were not concentrated in a relatively small geographic area easily controlled by the Poglavnik. Instead, his adherents were dispersed across the globe. This rendered the movement vulnerable to the development of deep cleavages and political infighting as increasingly influential challengers around the world sought to establish themselves and their followers as the true core of the Croatian separatist movement.[32] By the end of the 1950s, the Croatian separatist movement was divided into three main and countless smaller factions that fought for control and authority over the remnants of the wartime Ustaša movement.

Accompanying these internal cleavages and conflicts was a general marginalization of Croatian émigré politics within the larger transnational geopolitical landscape. Up to the assassination of King Aleksandar, the Ustaše had an ally in the international political situation, since both Italy and Hungary were interested in the destabilization of

Yugoslavia. After World War II—and particularly after the split in 1948 between Stalin and Tito—the major powers in the West to whom émigré Croats turned for support had no interest in challenging the status quo in Tito's Yugoslavia. In fact, they had a vested interest in maintaining that country's territorial integrity. The Western powers believed that a strong, unified, and neutral Yugoslavia, even if communist, would forestall Soviet expansion in Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe. A fractured West Balkans, meanwhile, would open the region to far greater Soviet influence.[33] Together, the factional splintering and unfavorable international politics led over the course of the 1950s to an operational deradicalization of the émigré separatist movement. Croatian nationalists in the diaspora remained rhetorically as militant and extremist as ever, but their ability to translate revolutionary and terroristic discourse into direct violent action effectively disappeared. Simply put, terrorism—once a cornerstone of the Ustaša movement—essentially ceased to be part of the functional political repertoire of radical émigré separatism.

A fundamental shift in the transnational framework of the diaspora community at the start of the 1960s, however, once again gave violent impetus to Croatian nationalist separatism. Toward the end of the 1950s, the postwar generation of émigrés began to be joined by a younger generation of "semi-émigrés"—individuals who fled Yugoslavia for reasons that were as much economic as political. In general, these new emigrants were not nearly as engaged politically as those who left Yugoslavia in the war's immediate aftermath. Their demographic background, however, made them well suited—which is not to say predestined—for radicalization once abroad. Predominately young, undereducated, impoverished, disenchanted, and hailing from regions in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina that had been Ustaša strongholds during the war, the semi-émigrés left Yugoslavia with little love for Tito, communism, Serbs, or the federal state.[34] Upon arrival in the West, these new emigrants were targeted by competing factions of older separatists who used networks for securing papers, housing, and jobs to win-over potential new recruits. Unsurprisingly, these networks became the pivot around which the social, political, and economic lives of these new semi-émigrés revolved. More important, they also became places where the younger generation was first politicized and then radicalized through quasi-military structures, politically charged peer networks, and the institutionalization of an extremist cultural milieu.[35]

Perhaps ironically, further radicalizing many of these new semi-émigrés was a sense among later arrivals in the West that the immediate postwar generation had hurt more than it had helped the Croatian cause since its return to exile.[36] In the eyes of many younger Croats abroad, the constant infighting, misplaced faith in the Western powers, and general inertia of the separatist movement in the first fifteen years of the Cold War had been to the benefit of no one but Tito and the communists in socialist Yugoslavia.[37] Needed instead, the thinking went, was a return to the strategy that had first thrust the Croatian separatist movement onto the world stage three decades before and was by the early 1960s showing signs of great success in the anticolonial struggles of Asia and Africa, namely armed insurrection and political violence. The Algerians, Angolans, and Vietnamese, among others, had demonstrated the power of violent struggle against

colonial suppressors, which, legitimate or not, was how many radical Croats framed the nature of communist Yugoslavia. If, to quote one revolutionary pamphlet from the 1960s, the "negro [*sic*] tribes whose structure has hardly any national characteristics" could achieve independence through violence, so too could a nation with as "established" a national tradition as the Croats.[38]

Terrorism, as a result, came to be seen not simply as a legitimate strategy for political action, but indeed as a necessary one. Croatian separatists clearly could not hope to match the overwhelming force of both international politics and the Yugoslav People's Army. But by targeting the Yugoslav state wherever and however they could, including extraterritorially, the new generation of semi-émigré separatists could work to undermine the state, hence laying the groundwork for the desired—and in their view inevitable—general Croatian uprising against the regime in Belgrade. This meant attacking all institutions of Yugoslavia abroad, including embassies, diplomats, trade missions, and travel agencies, and employing all forms of political violence available to them, including sabotage, bombings, assassinations, hijackings, and even armed incursions. As the Australia-based Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood (Hrvatsko revolucionarno bratstvo [HRB]) instructed its members, to give one example: "Destroy all Yugoslav embassies and consulates, kill Yugoslav diplomatic representatives because they are common criminals and Fascists. Prevent migrants from traveling on Yugoslav aircraft, and destroy Yugoslav aircraft. Wreck the travel agencies."[39]

Starting in 1962, radical semi-émigré separatists embarked on a quarter-century-long campaign of decidedly transnational violence against Yugoslavia. In November of that year, twenty-six members of a group called the Croatian Crusaders Brotherhood (Hrvatsko križarsko bratstvo [HKB]) stormed the Yugoslav trade mission in Bonn-Mehlem, blowing up a portion of the building and killing the mission's Serbian porter. Less than a year later, in July 1963, three troikas of heavily armed West German–trained, Australian-based separatist guerrillas crossed from Italy into Yugoslavia with the intent of engaging in acts of sabotage across the country. Between 1965 and 1971 Croatian separatists killed two Yugoslav diplomats—the ambassador to Sweden, Vladimir Rolović, and the vice-consul in Stuttgart, Sava Milovanović—and made attempts on the lives of at least three others. And in 1968 West German–based Croatian separatists entered Yugoslavia through Austria in order to plant bombs in the main train station and in a crowded movie theater in Belgrade. These incidents were accompanied by numerous other violent acts globally, including the detonation of bombs in the offices of the official airline and government-run tourist bureau of Yugoslavia—JAT and Jugotours—in cities such as Cologne, Sydney, and Paris, and on the Akropolis Express, a daily train that ran from Munich to Athens through Yugoslavia.

Following Tito's suppression of a popular nationalist Croatian movement in 1971, Croatian separatists stepped up their program of violence against socialist Yugoslavia.[40] In the summer of 1972 a group of nineteen members of the HRB staged a failed armed insurrection deep in the hinterlands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina in the misguided hope of inciting a general uprising against the regime in Belgrade. Two months later semi-émigré Croats in Sweden hijacked an airplane, demanding—and successfully

securing—the release of those arrested for the assassination of Ambassador Rolović the year before. The next day radical separatists simultaneously detonated two powerful bombs on Sydney's main downtown shopping and business boulevard. Four years later radical separatists hijacked a second plane, this time out of New York City. And in 1980 Croatian separatists even successfully detonated a bomb in the Story Room of the Statue of Liberty. In all, semi-émigré Croatian separatists were responsible for scores of significant acts of violence from the early 1960s to the mid-1980s. Croatian semi-émigré separatists may not have made the headlines in the same way the Irish Republican Army, the Red Army Faction, or the Palestinian Liberation Organization did, but they remain all the same among the era's most active terrorists.

Conclusion

By the mid-1980s a number of factors converged to render violent, radical Croatian separatism once again impotent. Critical among these was an increase in state security measures implemented transnationally to contend with both the nationalist and left-wing revolutionary terrorism of the era. Nevertheless, many Croatian separatists in the emigration lived to see their dream come true. In 1991, riding the wave of democracy and national self-determination that, starting in 1989, spread across Central and Eastern Europe, Croatia declared its independence from socialist Yugoslavia.

This too is a bond shared by the Young Bosnians, interwar Ustaše, and postwar semi-émigrés: in each case the ultimate aim of their terrorism was fulfilled even if not necessarily a direct result of their actions. It would be specious to argue that the terroristic violence perpetrated by each these groups led directly and linearly to the "national liberation" they desired. But in each case national liberation did in fact come. And while terrorism played at best only a peripheral role in each case of national liberation, what cannot be denied is the centrality of political violence in defining the parameters of the debates surrounding South Slav national politics throughout the twentieth century. Simply put, nationalism and terrorism have been intricately linked in the West Balkans for much of the region's recent history.

This said, it would be a disservice to our understanding of ethnonationalist terrorism to focus too much on the national. From the militant evolution of the Young Bosnians to the proto-fascist—and later fully fascist—underpinnings of the Ustaše to the embrace of new tactics—such as airplane hijackings—by postwar semi-émigré Croatian separatists, West Balkan terrorism has consistently been both informed and reinforced by the transnational frameworks and practices of the day. Each of these groups was successful in adapting the revolutionary theories, political strategies, ideological foundations, and geopolitical constraints and opportunities of their time to fit the specific circumstances of their own struggles. The Young Bosnians and interwar Ustaše, for instance, may have shared little ideologically other than a desire for national liberation, but they both demonstrate the degree to which political actors in the West Balkans fit within the much

larger transnational landscape of European and indeed global modernization and its concomitant mobility of ideas. This is even more true for the Cold War–era Croatian separatist movement, which had to contend with the ever-expanding landscapes and practices that came to define post–World War II transnationalism.

Contrary to both the notion and the aim of the phenomenon, the "nation" as a category of identity is neither spatially nor territorially bounded. As such, nations do more than simply coexist with deterritorialized landscapes. Instead, nations and their nationalisms are firmly embedded in and integral to transnational structures and activities. In the case of West Balkan political violence, this relationship comes into sharp relief. With only minor exceptions, twentieth-century West Balkan terrorism was carried out in the name of national liberation. But the radicalization of West Balkan separatism in all its forms was the result of transnational as much as national frames. Ultimately these frames led to terrorism becoming central to the West Balkan political landscape, from the birth of the "short twentieth century" until its demise.

Notes

1. A notable exception to this is in the official historiography of socialist Yugoslavia, where the perpetuation of discourses of terrorism served to reinforce the legitimacy of the state. For a more detailed discussion of how this functioned, see Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Political Archives of the Foreign Office [of Germany]; henceforth PAAA). Bestand B42 (Bd. 98): Doc.1222/61 (December 7, 1961), "Die kroatischen Exil—Ustaschen."
2. On transnationalism, particularly as it relates to migration studies, see Ewa Morawska, "Disciplinary Agendas and Analytic Strategies of Research on Immigration and Transnationalism: Challenges of Interdisciplinary Knowledge," *International Migration Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 611–640; Roger Waldinger and David Fitzgerald, "Transnationalism in Question," *American Journal of Sociology* 109, no. 5 (2004): 1177–1195; Alejandro Portes, "Introduction: The Debates and Significance of Immigrant Transnationalism," *Global Networks* 1, no. 3 (2001): 181–194; and Steven Vertovec, "Migration and Other Modes of Transnationalism: Towards Conceptual Cross-Fertilization," *International Migration Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 641–665.
3. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
4. For a detailed and authoritative exploration of the political development of Bosnian youths around the turn of the century, see chap. 10 in Vladimir Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966).
5. Wayne S. Vucinich, "Mlada Bosna and the First World War," in *The Habsburg Empire in World War I: Essays on the Intellectual, Military, Political and Economic Aspects of the Habsburg War Effort*, ed. Robert A. Kann, Béla K. Király, and Paula S. Fichtner (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 45–70.
6. Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo*, 178–179.
7. For a broad exploration of the relationship between culture and politics among South Slavs, see Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

8. Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo*, 180.
9. Paul Jackson, "'Union or Death!': Gavrilo Princip, Young Bosnia and the Role of 'Sacred Time' in the Dynamics of Nationalist Terrorism," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 7, no. 1 (March 2006): 52.
10. For a discussion about the internal struggle over what tactics to adopt, see Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo*, 235.
11. For a detailed examination of both Union or Death and the life of Apis, see David MacKenzie, *Apis, The Congenial Conspirator: The Life of Colonel Dragutin T. Dimitrijevic* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).
12. As Article 2 of Union or Death's constitution stated, "This organization chooses revolutionary action rather than cultural, and is, therefore, kept secret from the general public." Quoted in Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo*, 374.
13. For a discussion of the rather amorphous notion of nationality held by Young Bosnians, see Dennison Rusinow, "The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia," in *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918–1992*, ed. Dejan Djokić (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 24.
14. Ibid., 214.
15. For a brief demographic examination of interwar Yugoslavia, see Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), 202
16. Ibid., 201.
17. Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 332.
18. Ibid., 260–280.
19. Mark Biondich, *The Balkans: Revolution, War, and Political Violence since 1878* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 127.
20. Bogdan Krizman, *Ante Pavelić i ustaše* (Zagreb: Globus, 1978), 18–21.
21. Dejan Djokić, *Elusive Compromise: A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 64–68.
22. Biondich, *The Balkans*, 128–129.
23. *Ustaša* is the Croatian word for "insurgent. After 1933 the word *organizacija* (organization) in the name was changed to *pokret* (movement) in order better to fit the vision Pavelić had for the Ustaša. In Croatian, the plural of Ustaša is Ustaše.
24. Quoted in Krizman, *Ante Pavelić i ustaše*, 89.
25. Ibid., 85.
26. For an exploration of the evolution of Ustaša ideology in the years leading up to and including World War II, see Ana Antic, "Fascism under Pressure: Influence of Marxist Discourse on the Ideological Redefinition of the Croatian Fascist Movement, 1941–1944," *East European Politics and Societies* 24, no. 1 (2010): 116–158.
27. For a remarkably insightful contemporary examination of the Ustaša movement and its activities, see R. W. Seton-Watson, "King Alexander's Assassination: Its Background and Effects," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1931–1939)* 14, no. 1 (January–February 1935): 20–47.
28. Djokić, *Elusive Compromise*, 98.
29. For an overview of the NDH, see Sabrina Ramet, "The NDH—An Introduction," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 7, no. 4 (December 2006): 399–408. For a

discussion of atrocities committed within the NDH, see Alexander Korb, "Understanding Ustaša Violence," *Journal of Genocide Studies* 12, no. 1–2 (March–June 2010): 1–18.

30. The issue of the number killed by the Ustaše during the war is highly contentious and a matter of considerable dispute. For a cursory but useful overview of demographic debates surrounding the issue of Yugoslavia's war dead, see Srdjan Bogosavljević, "Nerasvetljeni genocide," in *Srpska strana rata: Trauma i katarza u istorijsko pamćenju*, ed. Nebojša Popov (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1996).
31. Uki Goñi, *The Real Odessa: How Perón Brought the Nazi War Criminals to Argentina* (London: Granta Books, 2002); Michael Phayer, *Pius XII, the Holocaust, and the Cold War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008).
32. PAAA. Bestand B12, Bd. 562: Dok. 684/56; "Die jugoslawische Emigration von 1914 bis zur Gegenwart, 1956" (20. Juni 1956).
33. National Archives and Record Administration (U.S.). RG 59—D 383 (1 of 5) (1948–56). File 3 (Inside Yugoslavia 1948–1952). Memo from Robert P. Joyce to Mr. B.C. Connelly, May 26, 1949. This view would define Western policy toward Yugoslavia for the entirety of the Cold War.
34. PAAA, Bestand B42, Bd. 999: "Probleme der jugoslawische Jugenderziehung" (January 28, 1959).
35. PAAA, Bestand B12, Bd. 562: "Die Auseinandersetzungen in der kroatischen Emigration."
36. University of Melbourne Archives (henceforth UMA), Malcolm Fraser Archives. B18. Cr(oatian) Rev(olution) and Its Preparations. Exhibit 30, p. 1.
37. Ibid., 1–2.
38. UMA, Malcolm Fraser Archives, C10, "*Curse*: In Lieu of a Forward," 1.
39. Quoted in Stephen Clissold, "Croat Separatism: Nationalism, Dissidence and Terrorism," *Conflict Studies* 103 (January 1979): 16.
40. Steven Burg, *Conflict and Cohesion in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 126; Jill A. Irvine, *The Croat Question* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 258–272.

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CHAPTER 28

TERRORISM AS THIRD FRONT

The Radicalization of the New Left in Italy and West Germany

PETRA TERHOEVEN

When the International Vietnam Congress convened on February 17, 1968 in West Berlin, an event began that we clearly recognize today as the most impressive demonstration of the transnational character of the so-called 68er movement.[1] It was no coincidence that it was this asymmetrical war in Southeast Asia that brought together some five thousand participants, predominantly students, from fourteen different countries. While their national agendas varied considerably, outrage over morally dubious American operations in Vietnam was the internal force that drove the movement more than anything else and linked its members across national borders.

"Two, Three, Many Vietnams": Global Solidarity and Militant Self-Empowerment around 1968

Attention in West Berlin was not focused on the suffering of the North Vietnamese civilian population, however. It went to the struggle of the North Vietnamese guerilla fighters who—as proved by the recent Tet Offensive—continued to successfully resist the U.S. military machine even after three years of war. With decidedly radical rhetoric and rhythmic, "Ho Chi Minh" chants, the conference participants voiced their hope that the

National Liberation Front (Front Libération National; FLN), vanguard of an international anti-imperialist movement that included liberation movements in Latin America and Africa, would soon bring the mighty United States to its knees once and for all. At the height of the Cold War, even the decision about where to hold the event was tantamount to a maximum provocation: the heavily symbolic "frontline" city of West Berlin, the anti-Communist island in the middle of the Eastern Bloc, was the stage where a public challenge was issued to the world power, the United States.

The self-image and general attitude of the provocateurs were perhaps best expressed by Rudi Dutschke, the charismatic leader of the rebelling German students and the decisive driving force behind the congress. "Comrades! We do not have much more time. In Vietnam we too are being crushed every single day, and that is no mere image and is no catchphrase," he exhorted his listeners. "We now have a historical opportunity. How this period of history ends depends primarily on our will."[2] Dutschke was seconded by his Persian-born comrade Bahman Nirumand, who invoked Frantz Fanon and Karl Marx: "Let the awakening of the wretched of this earth (*Erwachen der Verdammten*) be followed by the awakening of those whose minds have been dulled (*Erwachen der Verdummten*)! (…) Let us remember that the weapon of critique cannot replace the critique of weapons."[3]

In addition to its public dimension, the Vietnam Congress also had a clandestine one. At secret meetings held in various private Berlin apartments, discussions took place in quite specific terms about the possibility of establishing a "third" front in addition to Vietnam and Latin America as a way to combat American imperialism.[4] Voiced here for the first time, this idea of armed partisan units in Europe took hold in the minds of some activists, where it remained even after the general decline of the protest movement. Even so, it took almost two years before, in the space of a few short months in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and Italy, a number of different groups formed that followed in the footsteps of their heroic role models from the Southern Hemisphere and were drawn into the armed underground. Which factors were responsible for the internal and external militarization of these radical splinter groups of a protest movement whose original aim had been precisely to critique the inherent violence of the Western "system"? Why did such a fascination with the notion of guerilla warfare develop specifically in Germany and Italy? And why were the terrorist organizations that developed there so long-lived? The two most famous and powerful terrorist organizations of this period, the German Red Army Faction (Rote Armee Fraktion) and the Italian Red Brigades (Brigate Rosse), dissolved for good only twenty and thirty years later respectively, each after protracted agonizing phases; leftist terrorism claimed a total of 41 lives in the FRG and 179 in Italy.[5]

Answers to these questions should be seen as attempts to disentangle complex issues.[6] We can, however, begin with the basic principle that terrorism, understood as a political communication strategy, involves multiple players and results from the interaction of different—and in some cases, entirely contingent—factors.[7] Accordingly, we need to take into account the specific historical constellations in which the decision to challenge the state's monopoly of legitimate violence *could*—but did not have to—arise. Instead of

searching for "objective" conditions, we must pay more attention to the subjective interpretation of reality by the parties involved. On this level in particular, considerable similarities and reciprocal projections and influences existed between the Italian and German leftist terrorists who shared the life experiences and the ideological imprints of the protest movement of 1968. Unlike more traditional research that has tended to emphasize their (often stated rather than proven) differences in background, social peer groups, ideological tools, and models for action, here the focus will instead be on the ways in which these two terrorisms were intertwined. By activating feelings of solidarity and rivalry, the German-Italian dynamic of radicalization played a key role in the escalation of violence in both countries. On this communications level, the cultural coding of violence and the staging of historical images counted most—codes and images that were revived, combined in new ways, and thereby recharged. The desired media effect of the terrorist act now became the real battlefield of political conflict, which in turn affected the counterterrorism performance of the state: successful performance meant not only police pursuit and control, but also the destruction of the terrorist communication strategy.[8]

The International Vietnam Congress, which was completely dominated by its European organizers' over-identification with the fight against colonial and postcolonial structures of oppression, had already been a shared German-Italian initiative. As part of his plan to create an international network for the German student movement, Rudi Dutschke, the *spiritus rector* of the event, had contacted the wealthy Milan publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli in the late summer of 1967 and convinced him to provide financial support for the planned rally in West Berlin.[9] Dutschke and Feltrinelli served as the most important gatekeepers in Germany and Italy respectively for the ideas of younger guerilla thinkers in worldwide circulation at the time.

Feltrinelli regularly traveled to Havana after Fidel Castro's takeover of Cuba, and in August 1967 he began publishing an Italian edition of *Tricontinental*, a journal launched in Cuba that appeared in multiple European-language editions and that glorified the accomplishments of the Castro regime and the struggle for liberation of South American and African guerillas. The letter by Che Guevara containing the now-famous phrase "let us create two, three, many Vietnams" had appeared in *Tricontinental* (April 16, 1967), and the journal included several contributions by Feltrinelli himself, among them the first published interview with Yasser Arafat.[10]

In 1967 Feltrinelli's publishing house also brought out Guevara's guerilla-*foco* theory in a new edition that quickly sold out. In this work, the *guerrillero* summed up his experiences during the military overthrow of Cuba in a kind of handbook for revolutionizing the Latin American subcontinent. Many Europeans were electrified as well by the book's central message that "the powers of the people (…) can win a war against a regular army. We do not always need to wait until all conditions are ripe for a revolution; the rebellious focus itself can produce such conditions."[11] In the fall of 1967, when the violent death of Guevara, at that time active in Bolivia, made it clear that the *foco* theory's chances of success were highly unlikely, it was Feltrinelli who immediately sought to visually overwrite this defeat. By circulating an evocative photographic portrait of "Che"

from the triumphant Cuban years, he gave the global protest movement an icon that did more than convey an identity: it also demanded radicalization, and it proved to be a powerful mobilization tool.[12]

Though Rudi Dutschke was unable to afford the trips to Cuba so common among the leftist intellectual elite of Western Europe around 1968, he maintained close ties to the Latin American students in his Berlin circle, and he too preached the relevance of the *foco* theory in a European context at every opportunity. With help from his Chilean friend Gaston Salvatore he translated into German Guevara's martial calls to action. Which "specific forms of battle" Dutschke thought appropriate for his urban audience—he spoke of "actions against the centers of manipulative, bureaucratic, or military power over people"—remained undetermined.[13] From his New Left perspective, a syncretistic neo-Marxist viewpoint shared by his audience, it may not have seemed the least bit absurd to transfer the heroism of the *guerrilleros* onto parliamentary democracies of the West, even if people living in those democracies, according to Herbert Marcuse's cultural-pessimistic diagnosis, had been so completely alienated from their real needs by the manipulative media and consumption industry that they could no longer perceive the exploitative and criminal character of capitalism.

It was precisely younger, well-educated Western Europeans who felt personally inspired by the anticolonial message of Fanon that the enslaved consciousness of the "wretched of the earth" could advance and become truly human only by taking the path of liberating violence. They were equally drawn to Guevara's call to join forces in preparing the way toward socialism and with it a presumably better world without war and exploitation.[14] Be that as it may, only a small minority of Dutschke's inner circle radicalized his missionary volunteerism and his belief in the power to create one's own history after Dutschke himself barely survived a right-wing assassination attempt in April 1968.[15]

It was Feltrinelli who became the most important patron of an emerging radically anti-imperialist minority that was increasingly prepared to use violence. The publisher helped Italian, German, and initially also French members establish contacts outside their countries, and his generous financial support, together with his connections to Palestinian guerilla organizations, made him the central contact person for a kind of European "revolution tourism" that survived the decline of the student movement.[16]

Militarization: The Lesson of Carlos Marighella and the Model of the Tupamaros

In the spring of 1970 Feltrinelli also became an intermediary for the protagonists of the first German urban guerilla experiments—Dieter Kunzelmann, Gudrun Ensslin, Andreas Baader, and Ulrike Meinhof—on their way to the Jordanian training camps of

the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (al-Jabhah al-Sha`biyyah li-Taḥrīr Filasṭīn; PFLP). Like many other German militants, they had experienced the energizing atmosphere of the *rivoluzione dietro l'angolo*, or "revolution around the corner," that started later in Italy than in the rest of Europe but grew all the more intense in the "Hot Autumn" of 1969.[17] The publisher himself had already gone underground at the end of that year, since he apparently felt directly threatened by the search for perpetrators of the Piazza Fontana bombing in Milan (December 1969), which had left seventeen dead and eighty-eight wounded.[18] Although neofascists had been responsible for the attack, at first the police looked for the guilty party exclusively among those on the political Left. With the founding of the Partisan Action Groups (Gruppi di Azione Partigiana; GAP) in northern Italy, Feltrinelli established a paramilitary formation that claimed to be acting as the vanguard of a revolutionary people's movement. He never tired of asserting that only an armed offensive could prevent a rightist putsch in Italy.

When the once successful publisher died in the failed bombing of a utility pole on the outskirts of Milan in 1972, his comrades-in-arms from the GAP found a new home in the Red Brigades. This group pinned its revolutionary hopes on the industrial workers of large factories, following the teachings of *operaismo* (workerism) as the genuinely Italian form of reenacted Marxism, but it also continued to participate in the *terzomondismo* (third worldism) of the student movement.[19] According to the group's intellectual leader, Renato Curcio, his forces had been "less inspired by partisan actions and the traditional workers' movement, even the revolutionary one, than repeatedly claimed. We looked instead to the Black Panthers, the Tupamaros, to Cuba and to Che Guevara's work in Bolivia, to the Brazil of Marighella. It's for that reason that the stories of Feltrinelli, who traveled the entire world and had direct contact with the leaders of different guerillas, doubtless met with such great interest and held a fascination for us that should not be underestimated."[20]

While the early mentors of postcolonial thinking had given their disciples from the New Left many arguments for an all-encompassing critique of the Western system—including attractive role models that served as a screen onto which the young rebels projected their own self-empowerment fantasies—ultimately, specific resistance practices also found their way out of third-world countries and into those of the first world. The most popular role models were without a doubt the Tupamaros from Uruguay that had been mentioned by Curcio. Encouraged by the Cuban example, from 1965 on they fought to remove a philo-American and increasingly authoritarian oligarchic government by applying the guerilla-*foco* theory developed in rural areas to urban centers, and in particular to the capital city of Montevideo. In terms of both social background and ideological training the group had affinities with the rebelling students of the West.[21] Notably, a defense of the Tupamaros in the October 1969 issue of *Kursbuch*, the leading New Left journal in the FRG, had already explicitly stressed that it was less the "political theory" than "the praxis of the movement that has strategic importance for Europe, too, since it was developed in urban and highly industrialized settings and in a country that has long been seen as an exemplary democracy ('the Latin American Switzerland')."[22] Soon afterward the Red Army Faction made the five-pointed star of the Tupamaros—now

combined with a Heckler & Koch submachine gun—its official logo, and the Red Brigades soon followed suit.

In the course of this transcontinental reception process, patterns of political thought and behavior gave way to strictly military types of logic. This is perhaps nowhere more clear than in the intense reaction to the *Minimanual of the Urban Guerilla* by the Brazilian revolutionary Carlos Marighella, a practical guide to urban guerilla warfare that openly praised genuinely terrorist forms of action. Here, too, it was Feltrinelli who first made the work available in Europe.[23]

Just as every idea undergoes significant changes in the course of a transfer process, first becoming de- and then recontextualized, when Marighella's teachings were transferred to Europe they were adapted to fit the respective political cultures of individual countries. The Red Brigadists who gathered around Curcio were particularly interested in the section on the kidnapping of "enemies of the revolution" for propaganda or blackmail purposes.[24] This crime was all too familiar to Italians from the practices not only of Sardinian bandits but also of the Mafia, and by choosing their targets carefully the Red Brigades could adapt it easily to fit their own ideological premises.

In the context of this reinterpretation process they at the same time systematized and ritualized a propaganda tactic that had also been selectively tested by the South American *guerilleros*: the mass-media distribution of Polaroid photos showing the kidnapped victim in a so-called people's prison. In the Italian context, however, the Uruguayan images became noticeably brutalized and politicized. While the Tupamaros tended to photograph their victims in harmless everyday poses—reading, writing, and eating—in front of the organization's star-shaped logo, the Italian photos were more like demonstrations of total control over the victim and made visible the perpetrators' omnipotence and domination fantasies.[25] This is true of even the very first kidnapping by the as yet almost unknown Red Brigades in the spring of 1972, which became the paradigm for a long string of politically motivated hostage-taking incidents both in and outside of Italy. The victim was Idalgo Macchiarini, a manager of the Sit-Siemens Works in Milan; he was beaten and driven off in a van, only to be freed a short time later on the outskirts of the city. That evening the news agency ANSA received a photo showing Macchiarini in the power of his captors, a scene that demonstrated extraordinary brutality. Mario Moretti, one of the kidnappers, later recalled: "The photo was the point of the action, namely, to show a boss in our hands, with a large sign in the foreground where you could read the slogans about armed propaganda."[26] His accomplice Alberto Franceschini added: "We wanted to signal that Macchiarini was only the first on a long list. All of them, the big and little bosses, should feel threatened, should be afraid when they were alone on the street; in every worker they should see an enemy to be feared and respected."[27]

The "armed propaganda" tested on Macchiarini was thus addressed to two different groups that were supposed to receive separate but complementary messages from one and the same image. The photo, which contained an open threat to all "big and little bosses" as represented by Macchiarini, at the same time asked workers to identify with

the captors. The slogans on the sign, which filled more than half of the picture, were likewise directed at friend and foe alike. While the menacing but vague "Niente resterà impunito" (Nothing goes unpunished) was aimed at the *padroni* (bosses), quotes from Mao ("mordi e fuggi" [hit and run]) and Lenin ("colpiscine uno per educarne cento," [strike one to educate one hundred]) encouraged potential sympathizers to become actors rather than mere observers. The organizers of the operation also sought to assert their legitimacy and identity iconographically by linking themselves with authority figures from the past. Hence Franceschini not only proudly identifies the weapon in the photo as the "Browning of an old partisan," he also says that the Polaroid image was modeled on "photos from the partisan war" of "fascists with signs around their necks."[28] Indeed, in many respects the Macchiarini photo has more in common with images from the Italian civil war than it does with the unremarkable Polaroids of the Tupamaros.

The binary logic of the Red Brigades' class-warfare propaganda initially seemed to work. The "blitz kidnapping" met with approval not only in Milan factories but also among leaders of the extra-parliamentarian Left. But the opposite side also understood the signal sent by the camera and revolver. "The pistol to the temple of Idalgo Macchiarini changed the Red Brigades. Now, in the eyes of the police and *carabinieri*, we were no longer just a handful of young people who had no future, but instead a group that spread fear," writes Franceschini, noting that also those identified as the class enemy accepted this visual declaration of war. But that enemy drove them underground when it intensified efforts at repression.[29] Though it was only a picture that had been shot and not a firearm, this "picture act" effectively captured the potential for threat and violence that emanated from the would-be revolutionaries.[30] The abduction of Macchiarini for the purpose of its photographic documentation can be interpreted as the *Ur*-scene of Italian leftist terrorism—and not just because the ritual of the kidnapping, the hearing in the "people's prison" and snapping of obligatory photos later became *the* trademark of the Red Brigades.

The weapon, pointed in the name of a selectively adapted and trivialized ideology at an unarmed opponent who was now declared an enemy of the people, clearly symbolizes everything the Red Brigades stood for as a historical group. In this early picture-act, the escalation of left-wing terrorist violence is already present as a subtext, a real possibility, and ultimately as the symbolic self-imposed duty of the perpetrators, even though the Red Brigades did not commit their first assassination until years later. The imperative in these images was thus at least partially to blame when the 1974 kidnapping of the Genovese investigating judge Mario Sossi lasted a five full weeks. The Sossi abduction took place in connection with the group's announcement of an "attack on the heart of the state" and marked a decisive turning point in the history of the Red Brigades. Though the actual goal of the operation—exerting pressure to secure the release of imprisoned comrades—was not attained and the kidnapped judge ultimately freed unconditionally, the group had achieved a real publicity coup, and it spurred them on to even more spectacular actions. Not coincidentally, six years after the Macchiarini kidnapping, it was the

same Moretti who in March of 1978 photographed the abducted former prime minister Aldo Moro. This time he did not merely press the button on a camera: in order to capture the Christian Democrat the Red Brigades had already shot to death the five bodyguards in Moro's escort on March 16, 1978, and after being held hostage for over seven weeks Moro himself was shot multiple times and killed on May 9, 1978. Between the photos of 1972 and those of 1978 lay sixteen kidnappings, thirty-two murders, and sixty-seven wounded.[31]

Remarkably, Marighella's concept of the urban guerilla did not have many actual followers in those countries that—like Great Britain, Belgium, or France—had been deeply involved as former colonial powers in the sometimes extremely bloody process of decolonization during the postwar years. It was only the decolonization conflict in Vietnam, which the Americans inherited from the French and which was ideologically charged and perpetuated by the cold war, that returned to the city in the form of the Weathermen and their slogan, "Bring the war home!"[32] But although the Weather Underground looked to Latin American role models, the group never resorted to deliberately killing people.

The situation in France was similar: not until the 1980s and under completely different circumstances was Action Directe formed, a terrorist group that could be called "socio-revolutionary" in the broadest sense. Largely isolated in its own country, the group's bond with the German Red Army Faction and the Italian Red Brigades was all the closer.[33] This terrorism should hence be understood less as an adaptation of Latin American practices under the aegis of anti-imperialism than as an intra-European transfer. In the late 1960s there actually had been one group that recalled the Italian Red Brigades with its radical agitation in the country's large factories: the Maoist-oriented Proletarian Left (Gauche Proletarienne; GP) that grew out of the Paris May and was, not surprisingly, banned in 1970. But as a former GP member recalls, "In the country of the *Grande Révolution* where memories of the *terreurs* were still alive," no one could afford "to create smaller imitations of it. Here, people would never have accepted this playing with fire atop a powder keg."[34] In fact, the first and only operation of the GP modeled on South American urban guerilla tactics, the two-day kidnapping of a Renault office manager in Boulogne-Billancourt in March 1972, had absolutely no "positive" effect on the French scene for those responsible.

In contrast, the level of violence among urban guerillas in the FRG was high from the very start—higher also than south of the Alps, where the Red Brigades were initially slow to use violence against individuals.[35] After returning from basic military training in Lebanon, the Red Army Faction leadership quartet of Meinhof, Baader, Ensslin, and the former lawyer Horst Mahler first created some logistical room to maneuver with car thefts and bank robberies over the course of 1971. At the same time, individual members of the group had gained attention through bloody encounters with the police that claimed three lives on each side. In the spring of 1972 the Red Army Faction declared that it was finally prepared to "serve the people" by taking up arms in specific actions against the "exploiters."[36] During the so-called May offensive, eleven bombs were deto-

nated in six different attacks within the space of two weeks. Unlike in Italy, where random killing was seen as the mark of a neofascist mentality, in the FRG explosives had no such definite associations. All told, the attacks on the Frankfurt headquarters of the U.S. Fifth Corps, the Augsburg police headquarters, the Bavarian state criminal police agency in Munich, the federal judge Wolfgang Buddenberg, the Hamburg high-rise of the conservative Springer media company, and the Heidelberg headquarters of the U.S. military forces in Europe cost four people their lives and injured an additional seventy-four, some critically.[37] The attacks on U.S. targets were interpreted as a radicalized form of the 1968 protests, but unlike the time of the extraparliamentary opposition (Außerparlamentarische Opposition; APO), now the slogan "create two, three, many Vietnams" was routinely invoked to justify killing people.[38] The Hamburg bombs were likewise directed at a "classic" object of the student movement's hatred.

In operations carried out against the German police and the German legal system, however, the fate of the group members itself became the central focus of the armed struggle. This self-referentiality only increased in the years that followed, and it ultimately led to an almost complete "inversion of terrorist agent and revolutionary subject": the terrorist group and the revolutionary subject (in the Marxist sense) became identical.[39] It was soon clear in any case that the military "success" of the May offensive had been a pyrrhic victory. No positive response came from the Left as hoped, and almost all members of the first-generation Red Army Faction still at large were rounded up by the police. In the summer of 1972 the experiment of the urban guerilla in the FRG therefore appeared to have failed. In reality, however, it was just a turning point in the history of German leftist terrorism. The imprisonment of the group's charismatic leaders created an entirely new and volatile situation: on the one hand, the men and women whose public identity was that of highly stylized "No. 1 Enemies of the State" were now completely at the mercy of that state; but on the other, they were by no means prepared to give up their fight against the hated system.

Lost in Translation: Urban Guerillas in Italy and West Germany

"The context for terrorism does not consist entirely of objective historical factors. Equally important to understanding terrorism is its symbolic, or perceptual, context, based on what could be termed subjective conditions.…Government actions may trigger personal decisions to resort to terrorism. Radicals' perceptions of the role of the state seem to be deeply affected by the past."[40] According to this observation by Martha Crenshaw, the thin "blanket of legitimacy" in the postfascist democracies of the FRG and Italy actually provides a convincing if not comprehensive explanation of the escalation in leftist terrorist violence that was unique to Western Europe. Because of their

notable differences both in terms of history and the culture of remembrance, however, the dark past led to very different results in the two societies.

In Italy, the New Left's confrontation with the heirs of historical fascism was quite tangible and took the form of violent street battles. It was no coincidence that the first casualties of the Red Brigades were two members of the Movimento Sociale Italiano (Italian Social Movement), the parliamentarian arm of a neofascist subculture that had been represented in the Chamber of Deputies continuously since 1948.[41] Since the Piazza Fontana bombing at the latest, the critical Left viewed the Italian state—which had always been led by conservatives, though in shifting coalitions—as complicit in this right-wing violence. Research has proven this interpretation correct at least in part, though source material is not readily accessible.[42]

As for collective experiences further in the past: both the Italian 68ers and their violent descendants joined in the suppression of memories of fascism that typified society as a whole, because at that point the crimes of Benito Mussolini's fascist dictatorship had not yet become the topic of much public debate. Instead, remembrance consistently focused on antifascist triumphs during the last years of World War II and the early postwar period: as the Allies advanced, a resistance movement that gradually increased in size and potency from 1943 until the end of the war slowly but surely drove out the German occupiers and their collaborators, the Republic of Salò functionaries. The latter were at least in part brought to justice in "cleansing" operations that, as noted above, in their "wild" forms were later incorporated into the political symbolism of the Red Brigades.[43] Their political gestures drew on the heady experience of the so-called Hot Autumn of 1969, when hopes ran high that the Communist revolution, which in the eyes of leftist radicals had been blocked in 1944–1945 by Americans and indigenous reformers, would finally see completion.[44] The illusion that a Western-style democracy would have room for legitimate political violence modeled on Latin American guerilla warfare also found support in historicopolitical arguments. In the underground, however, police repression and militarization gradually pushed aside the primary goal of all *guerilleros*, namely to win broad popular support for their cause, until finally the immediate needs of the organization itself determined all its actions.

In the FRG the starting point was different. As one of the early, seminal strategy papers of the Red Army Faction put it with disarming candor, "The Red Army Faction's urban guerilla concept is not based on an optimistic view of the situation in the FRG and West Berlin."[45] Because the workforce in Germany had barely taken part in the revolt, the 68ers themselves had been unable to find positive starting points like those of the Italians. The view they took of their own state's power was even more negative. Given the unprecedented gravity of Nazi crimes before 1945 and the high degree of continuity in West German political elites, repeatedly criticized in public at least since the 1960s, the New Left's distrust of the establishment was profound. When a student named Benno Ohnesorg was killed by a policeman's bullet during a demonstration on June 2, 1967 against the shah of Iran on a visit to West Berlin, it almost looked like an early German

version of Piazza Fontana. Even the name of the most important terrorist organization after the Red Army Faction, the Movement June 2, was a reminder that the state "had shot first." No one could have guessed at the time that Karl-Heinz Kurras, who had fired the shot that killed Ohnesorg, was an undercover agent of the East German secret police.[46] Instead, his acquittal for the killing of an unarmed demonstrator reinforced the fundamental doubts some people already had about the "system." For some of them, those reservations lingered on even after the election of 1969 despite the fact that now, for the very first time, the FRG had a Social Democratic chancellor in the former exile Willy Brandt.

It was not just the New Left that tended to demonize the situation, but their political counterparts as well. Student provocateurs had a very strong impact on German politicians, especially—but not exclusively—on conservatives. With the failed Weimar Republic in mind, together with repeated warnings about the threat of Communist infiltration from the other German state, they felt far more threatened than their Italian counterparts.

The Red Army Faction ultimately used the negative legacy of National Socialism for the specific propaganda purpose of reversing the terms of the victim-perpetrator relationship. Beginning in 1973, Red Army Faction leaders began to use their own bodies as weapons while awaiting trial by going on potentially fatal hunger strikes.[47] Unlike Red Brigades prisoners, for instance, who tended to stoically accept jail time as a normal part of the revolutionary struggle, the Red Army Faction responded to what its leaders subjectively perceived as an intolerable situation with self-destructive practices that claimed Holger Meins as their first victim at the end of 1974.

While it is true that before the strikes some detainees endured extremely harsh conditions, the fact remains that the hunger strikers took this action not just in the hope of improving their living conditions in prison, but also as a way to write themselves into the posthistory of the Third Reich.[48] Lawyers for the defense also played their part: at the behest of their clients, they established so-called antitorture committees, where the vast majority of later second-generation Red Army Faction members served; it was these lawyers who brought the case to the European public. With the "Torture in the FRG" *Kursbuch* issue in hand, they made the public accusation that "political prisoners" were being subjected to "isolation torture" right in the middle of Western Europe.[49] In the very first declaration of a hunger strike in May 1973, Ulrike Meinhof had already put "jail and extermination camps, as the second last and last resort against resistance," on the same plane: "our isolation now and the concentration camp soon after…amounts to: extermination camp—Reform Treblinka—Reform Buchenwald—the 'Final Solution.' That's how it is."[50]

Group members continued to use this tactic after their transfer to Stammheim Prison in 1975, though in Stammheim they were actually granted unprecedented privileges.[51] In fact, it was the lawyers Groenewold and Croissant who acted inappropriately when they used a photo of Holger Meins's naked corpse to implicate and defame public officials as modern-day concentration camp henchmen. The photo, which flagrantly

violated acceptable visual codes of the time, was sometimes even placed right beside historical photographs from the Holocaust in order to underscore associations with the emaciated bodies of victims in Nazi extermination camps.[52] For many a future member of the second-generation Red Army Faction, the photograph became a milestone on the path to the underground. After leaving the terrorist scene, Hans-Joachim Klein went on record saying that for a long time he had carried one of the autopsy photos of Meins with him "to keep the hatred from waning."[53]

The fervent wish to free the Stammheimers from their supposed extermination custody finally led to blackmail attempts as bloody as they were futile. After the Movement June 2 had kidnapped the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) politician Peter Lorenz in early 1975 and successfully negotiated the televised release of eleven imprisoned comrades in exchange for their hostage, Baader and company exerted even greater pressure on their accomplices outside.[54] The result: the occupation of the German embassy in Stockholm on April 24, 1975, and the kidnapping of the president of the Employers' Association, Hanns-Martin Schleyer, in Cologne on September 5, 1977 that marked the beginning of the so-called German Autumn.

After the humiliating experience of the Lorenz kidnapping, the new chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, of the Social Democratic Party, was determined not to give in to the terrorists' demands in either case—not even when Palestinian comrades of the Red Army Faction dramatically increased the pressure by hijacking a fully booked Lufthansa flight. After a five-day ordeal, the plane was liberated at the Mogadishu airport by a German antiterrorism unit that killed three of the four hostage takers but none of the passengers. This was a clear defeat for the terrorists, and as a result, Baader, Ensslin, and Raspe took their lives that same night in their Stammheim prison cells. They staged the suicides to look like executions in order to gain one final macabre "victory" over the federal government.[55] Since they had used weapons smuggled into their "high-security prison" by their attorneys, and their suicides allegedly went unnoticed in a system of close observation, the details of their actions were deliberately suppressed not only in public but also inside the Red Army Faction. Belief in the "execution" of unarmed prisoners in Stammheim could thus become the foundation for a third-generation Red Army Faction that continued to commit murder in the 1980s and that even today can be identified only in very general terms: "Without the Stammheim myth, the RAF would probably have been unable to exist any longer."[56]

For a long time, the self-referential strategy that typified the Red Army Faction and ultimately led to its self-destruction was less pronounced in the Red Brigades. Since the revolutionary impatience of the *brigatisti* seemed to have many real-world reference points, their struggle took place on a generally less abstract level. When it became clear, though, that the Italian proletariat, like the German, could not be incited to armed rebellion, Toni Negri, a philosophy professor and one of the autonomous movement's most important leaders, expanded the traditional notion of *operaismo* (workerism) by claiming that special sites of class warfare no longer existed. Instead, members of any group represented in society—women, students, marginalized people, proletarians, prisoners—could become revolutionary subjects. But even in this expanded form, in

Italy social realities always won out over revolutionary fantasies. It therefore took some time to see "alignment tendencies" between the Red Brigades and the Red Army Faction that had long been underestimated in historical research because their practical and intellectual interaction had been ignored. In the end, for Italians, too, the state's repression of the urban guerilla itself had become crucial: this memory-prone German-style repression, which looked as though it was going to be imposed in the whole of Europe—first and foremost in a presumably Germanized Italy—provided not only proof of the criminal nature of the state but also justification for the fight. In Italy, outrage particularly over the ostensible state murders in Stammheim led directly to a wave of violence against German institutions on Italian soil; but, as will be shown later, it also directly affected Italian sympathizers of the Schmidt regime.

The escalation of leftist violence that began in 1977–78 in Italy was unique in Western Europe. It has been effectively described as the intertwining of the two distinct but in many ways connected cycles of protest of 1968 and 1977.[57] Since at least the mid-1970s, when the Communist party (PCI) was moving into the political center, hinting at a "government of national solidarity" with the Christian Democrats, the potential for protest had been growing among Italian students and underemployed young people with uncertain futures. Political observers failed to grasp the extent and the uncompromising nature of this discontent.[58] Many indicators suggest that it was not so much the young people's counterculture as it was the social conditions, now fundamentally different from those of 1968, that caused the spike in violence. Instead of protesting in the name of a fresh start and the hope of changing the world through revolution, a hope that had been nourished not least by the international character of the protests, the descendants of the 68ers ten years later marched against the backdrop of a general decline in revolutionary utopias and at a time of economic recession as well. Their lack of prospects and isolation made members of the movement vulnerable not only to the hard drugs that had flooded the Italian market since the mid-1970s,[59] but also to the temptation of terrorism, incorporated most of all by the Red Brigades.

It was not until the 1980s, when sympathies for the excessive violence that most people no longer even considered "leftist" completely dried up, that the "red decade" came to an end in Italy as well. A leniency notice also played a large part, since it was used quite effectively to exploit rifts and divisions in the many organizations now encompassed by the terrorist scene.

Beyond Borders: Transnational Spaces of Radicalization

In their efforts to explain the rise and the staying power of leftist terrorist violence in modern media societies, Donatella Della Porta and Sidney Tarrow have convincingly argued that in the Italian context, the violent degeneration of individual strands within

the protest movement resulted from competition between different factions in a shrinking market, which especially after 1977 is readily apparent.[60] Faced with a general decline in willingness to mobilize, groups were fighting for attention but also for material and moral support. In Della Porta's view, it was their dependence on media reporting as well as the desire to cultivate a revolutionary group identity that promised individual members a maximum of authentic ego experience in a highly politicized, violence-affirming context that led those involved to shed their inhibitions about terrorist tactics. Violence ultimately became an end in itself, a symbolic surrogate intended to compensate for the lack of practical results of the armed struggle.[61]

This type of cumulative radicalization, which was rooted in mutual support or peer reinforcement but at the same time drew on each group's desire to prove itself more militant than the others, played out on both the national level and beyond. Secure in the knowledge that they had the attention of the European public sphere, Italian and German leftist terrorists moved between solidarity and rivalry in a transnational interplay that increased the pace of activity in both their countries. Exactly how much this transnational radicalization dynamic contributed to the terrorist movement as a whole is hard to measure, and it should always be viewed as one factor among others, but one thing is clear: the tendency in research on terrorism to ignore this fundamental transnational link is in urgent need of correction.

Until now it has gone unnoticed that the only "successful" undertaking of the German urban guerillas, the kidnapping of Lorenz by the Movement June 2, was based on the transfer of a finely tuned Italian communication strategy to the West German context. The specific role model for the Lorenz coup was the Red Brigades' abduction of the investigative judge Mario Sossi, even if in retrospect the Berlin kidnappers so proud of this "milestone in the history of radical leftist militants in the FRG" no longer wished to acknowledge this fact and preferred to look to the heroic Tupamaros instead.[62] In terms of both logistics and propaganda, the Germans had copied the tactics of the Red Brigadists down to the smallest detail, but they had also learned important lessons from the Italians' mistakes.

Two years later, when the Schleyer kidnapping left the Red Brigadists feeling tat they had been outperformed in the very arena that had once been their own special terrain, they abandoned the plan to abduct the Employers' Association president, Leopoldo Pirelli, and instead proceeded with even greater determination to carry out their plan to capture Aldo Moro. If we look at the deep resonance the German Autumn had in the Italian media and how it prepared the way for the Red Brigades spring campaign (*campagna del primavera*) the following year, we realize the importance of keeping all three of its stages in mind: the kidnapping of Schleyer in Cologne and the murder of his four bodyguards; the capture of the hijackers in Mogadishu; and above all the "death night" in Stammheim. "On German streets, death was the order of the day just as it was on Italian streets," the former Red Brigadist Valerio Morucci writes in his autobiography. "So I cast aside my doubts and threw myself into what was happening.…It really should have happened differently, we wanted to kidnap Moro without firing a shot.…To add

humiliation to the damage. But it didn't happen that way. Perhaps because of Schleyer, perhaps because of everything else that had happened."[63] Though any attempt to explain the events using a simple cause-and-effect model is bound to fail, statements like Morucci's indicate that the Cologne incident was at least one factor that helped remove any remaining inhibitions the Italians might have had about a deadly confrontation with a multiple-person security detail in a kidnap operation.

This observation supports the underlying thesis in the transnational argument about left wing terrorism in the 1970s: historical back-projection and imagined solidarity across borders had a radicalizing momentum in national cultures of violence. Part of this momentum came from constructing an image of the enemy that went beyond national borders; it also involved the German-Italian cult of martyrdom and the desire for revenge that it fostered. When two Christian Democratic city councilmen were shot in the legs in Turin and Milan in late October 1977, for instance, the attacks were dedicated to "the honor and fame of the murdered comrades of the RAF."[64] The "death night" consequences were even graver for the deputy director of the daily newspaper *La Stampa*, Carlo Casalegno: his coverage of the Mogadishu hostage rescue and the Stammheim group suicide was the determining factor in his captors' decision to shoot the journalist not in the legs, as originally planned, but in the face; he died of his injuries two weeks later.[65]

Solidarity with the Red Army Faction was also evident in the comprehensive "strategic resolution" of November 1977, which devoted dozens of pages to the "massacre" of Baader, Ensslin, and Raspe.[66] "For raising revolutionary consciousness among the masses, some days are worth years. October 18 is one of them," the strategy paper declared.[67] While the two organizations were not yet working together in practical terms in this phase, there is no doubt that from their very inception they were intimately connected, observing each other intently and communicating in a variety of ways. In addition, the Italians offered the Germans logistical help in the form of safe houses, even though growing transnational networks now formed by the authorities searching for them made it increasingly dangerous. In the years that followed it was primarily France, with its large number of sympathizers and a government reluctant to turn over political violent offenders to neighboring countries, that served as an alternative for German and Italian terrorists on the run. The safe haven they found there was rooted in the transnational counterculture that had begun in 1967–68, where anticapitalist and anti-imperialist concepts and ideas circulated freely.

The unofficial center of this counterculture had initially been West Berlin, where the International Vietnam Congress served as the first important contact exchange for the most militant forces in the participating countries. With the ebbing of the protest movement in the FRG, the focal point of the confrontations shifted to southern Europe. Against the backdrop of increasing social tensions like those of the Hot Autumn and its bloody aftermath on the Piazza Fontana in Milan, Italy became the new "dream country of the revolution," where almost everyone who was later involved in terrorism in the FRG now came on a political pilgrimage. A better rapport with workers, the apparently

effortless bridging of the generation gap, the sympathy of both intellectuals and broader segments of the public, a less "Protestant" attitude toward life—the Italian student leaders appeared to have many resources at their disposal that their German comrades lacked. At the same time, their confrontation with Italian realities did not lead to a more modest estimate of their own possibilities, but instead fueled their revolutionary impatience even more. As a result, around 1970 Germans and Italians embarked at the same time and in transnational dialogue on the path toward sociorevolutionary terrorism.

Although they had little practical success, the Red Brigades did not abandon their search for the revolutionary subject on the factory floor. The Red Army Faction, in contrast, relied primarily on sympathy campaigns to mobilize their supporters. Against the background of the German past, these campaigns developed tremendous suggestive force, especially in other countries. In the face of the Mogadishu defeat, the Stammheimers were ultimately prepared to pay for their greatest publicity success in Europe—the implied murder of unarmed prisoners by West German security officers—with their very lives.

"For us it was dogma: our German comrades had been murdered by their wardens," recalls Alberto Franceschini.[68] It was only in 1983, when the imprisoned Red Brigadist underwent a personal crisis and in the process began to distance himself from the armed struggle, that he came to a deeply painful realization: "Our RAF comrades had taken their own lives because they had realized they had done everything wrong."[69]

Translated from the German by Elizabeth Bredeck.

Notes

1. The work of the Congress is documentated in SDS Westberlin and INFI, eds., *Der Kampf des vietnamesischen Volkes und die Globalstrategie des Imperialismus: Internationaler Vietnam-Kongress-Westberlin* (Berlin: INFI, 1968).
2. SDS and INFI, *Kampf*, 123.
3. Quoted in the Senator of the Interior's report,"International Vietnam Conference on February 17, 1968 in West-Berlin," Archiv des Hamburger Instituts für Sozialforschung, RUD 250,03, 11.
4. Petra Terhoeven, *Deutscher Herbst in Europa: Der Linksterrorismus der siebziger Jahre als transnationales Phänomen* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2014), 115ff.
5. For the numbers, see Donatella Della Porta, *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 128.
6. For the full argument, see Terhoeven, *Deutscher Herbst*.
7. Here I am following Peter Waldmann's famous definition of terrorism, which underlines that terrorism is "primarily a communications strategy": "Unter Terrorismus sind planmäßig vorbereitete, schockierende Gewaltanschläge gegen eine politische Ordnung aus dem Untergrund zu verstehen. Sie sollen vor allem Unsicherheit und Schrecken verbreiten, daneben aber auch Sympathie und Unterstützungsbereitschaft erzeugen.… Terrorismus, das gilt es festzuhalten, ist primär eine Kommunikationsstrategie." Waldmann, *Terrorismus: Provokation der Macht* (Hamburg: Murmann, 2005), 12, 15.

8. See Beatrice de Graaf, *Evaluating Counter-Terrorism Performance: A Comparative Study* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).
9. Terhoeven, *Deutscher Herbst*, 92ff.
10. Carlo Feltrinelli, *Senior Service: Das Leben meines Vaters* (Munich: Hanser, 2001), 293.
11. Quoted here from the German edition: Ernesto "Che" Guevara, *Guerilla-Theorie und Methode*, ed. Horst Kurnitzky (West Berlin: Wagenbach, 1968), 16.
12. Trisha Ziff, "Guerillero Heroico," in *Che Guevara: Revolutionary & Icon*, ed. Trisha Ziff (London: V&A, 2006), 15–22.
13. Quoted in Ulrich Chaussy, *Die drei Leben des Rudi Dutschke: Eine Biographie* (Berlin: Links, 1993), 188f.
14. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove, 1968).
15. For the effect of the attack among the radical Left, see Aribert Reimann, *Dieter Kunzelmann: Avantgardist, Protestler, Radikaler* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 190; Michaela Karl, *Rudi Dutschke: Revolutionär ohne Revolution* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Neue Kritik, 2003), 258f.
16. Terhoeven, *Deutscher Herbst*, chap. 2.
17. Ibid., 129–151.
18. Feltrinelli, *Senior Service*, 382.
19. The best overview is Marco Clementi, *Storia delle Brigate Rosse* (Rome: Odradek, 2007). Still the best analysis of leftist terrorism in Italy in general is Donatella Della Porta, *Il terrorismo di sinistra* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990).
20. Renato Curcio, *Mit offenem Blick: Ein Gespräch zur Geschichte der Roten Brigaden in Italien von Mario Sciajola* (Berlin: ID-Verlag, 1997), 48. Originally published in Italian as *A viso aperto* (Milan: Mondadori, 1993).
21. Thomas Fischer, "Die Tupamaros in Uruguay: Das Modell der Stadtguerilla," in *Die RAF und der linke Terrorismus*, ed. Wolfgang Kraushaar, vol. 2 (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006), 736–750.
22. K. B., "Die Tupamaros und die europäische Linke," Kursbogen, in *Kursbuch* 18, no. 5 (1969).
23. Contemporary editions: Robert Moss, *Urban Guerilla Warfare*, Adelphi Papers 79 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1971), appendix, 20–42; *Piccolo manuale del guerrigliero urbano* (Milan, 1969); *Mini-Handbuch des Stadtguerillero* (Berlin, 1970).
24. Marighella, "Minimanual," 34–35.
25. On photography as an instrument of self-empowerment among social-revolutionary terrorist groups, see Petra Terhoeven, "Opferbilder—Täterbilder: Die Fotografie als Medium linksterroristischer Selbstermächtigung in Deutschland und Italien während der 70er Jahre," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 58, no. 7–8 (2007): 380–399.
26. Mario Moretti, *Brigate Rosse: Eine italienische Geschichte* (Hamburg: Verlag Libertäre Assoziation/Verlag der Buchläden Schwarze Risse/Rote Straße, 1996), 49. Originally published in Italian as *Brigate rosse: Una storia italiana* (Milan: Anabasi, 1994).
27. Alberto Franceschini, *Das Herz des Staates treffen* (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1990), 54. Originally published in Italian as *Mara, Renato e io: Storia dei fondatori delle BR* (Milan: Mondadori, 1988).
28. Franceschini, *Herz des Staates*, 53.
29. Ibid., 57.
30. For the concept of the picture-act, see Horst Bredekamp, "Bildakte als Zeugnis und Urteil," in *Mythen der Nationen: 1945 Arena der Erinnerungen*, ed. Monika Flacke, vol. 1 (Mainz: von Zabern, 2004), 29–66.

31. Numbers taken from Della Porta, *Terrorismo di sinistra*, 237.
32. See Jeremy Varon, *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004).
33. Michael Y. Dartnell, *Action Directe: Ultra-Left Terrorism in France, 1979–1987* (London: Cass, 1995).
34. Quoted in Giorgio Bocca, *Il terrorismo italiano, 1970–1978* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1978), 19.
35. On the history of the Red Army Faction, see Wolfgang Kraushaar, ed., *Die RAF: Entmythologisierung einer terroristischen Organisation* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2008); Butz Peters, *Tödlicher Irrtum: Die Geschichte der RAF*, 3rd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2007).
36. "Dem Volk dienen: Stadtguerilla und Klassenkampf," in *Rote Armee Fraktion: Texte und Materialien zur Geschichte der RAF*, ed. ID-Verlag (Berlin: ID-Verlag, 1997), 112–244, at 142.
37. See Peters, *Tödlicher Irrtum*, 285–293.
38. Kommando Petra Schelm, "Erklärung zum Anschlag auf das Hauptquartier der US-Army in Frankfurt/Main vom 14. Mai 1972," in *Rote Armee Fraktion: Texte*, ed. ID-Verlag, 145.
39. Iring Fetscher, Herfried Münkler, and Hannelore Ludwig, "Ideologien der Terroristen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," in Iring Fetscher and Günter Rohrmoser, *Ideologien und Strategien*, Analysen zum Terrorismus 1 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1981), 16–273, at 134.
40. Martha Crenshaw, "Thoughts on Relating Terrorism to Historical Contexts," in *Terrorism in Context*, ed. Martha Crenshaw (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 3–26, at 7, 13.
41. Guido Panvini, *Ordine nero, guerriglia rossa: La violenza politica nell'Italia degli anni Sessanta e Settanta, 1966–1975* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 2009); Davide Conti, *L'anima nera della Repubblica: Storia del MSI* (Rome: GLF Editori Laterza, 2013). The two members of the Italian Social Movement (Movimento Sociale Italiano; MSI) were killed in June 1974.
42. On the Piazza Fontana attack and its effect on the Left, see Aldo Giannuli, "Stragismo, movimenti e sistema politico: Dalla strage di Piazza Fontana all'attentato alla stazione di Bologna," in *Il decennio rosso: Contestazione sociale e conflitto politico in Germania e in Italia negli anni Sessanta e Settanta*, eds. Christoph Cornelißen, Brunello Mantelli, and Petra Terhoeven (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2012), 249–266. Even before the devastating attack on the Bologna train station in 1980 that left 85 dead and over 200 injured, the victims of "black" violence considerably outnumbered those of "red" violence: between 1969 and 1984, 199 people died due to right-wing violence, and 179 due to left-wing actions. The political powers behind the so-called strategy of tension hoped to increase public tolerance for authoritarian solutions and to counteract the anticipated consequences of the 1969 shift toward the left. See Mimmo Franzinelli, *La sottile linea nera: Neofascismo e servizi segreti da Piazza Fontana e Piazza della Loggia* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2008).
43. On antifascist resistance in Italy, see Claudio Pavone, *Una guerra civile: Saggio storico sulla moralità nella Resistenza* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1991); on political "cleansing," see Hans Woller, *Die Abrechnung mit dem Faschismus in Italien, 1943–1948* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996). On the culture of remembrance after 1945, see Lutz Klinkhammer, "Der Resistenza-Mythos und Italiens faschistische Vergangenheit," in *Sieger und Besiegte: Materielle und ideelle Neuorientierungen nach 1945*, eds. Holger Afflerbach and Christoph Cornelißen (Tübingen: Francke, 1997), 119–139.

44. On the history of the Italian student movement from a comparatist perspective, see Marica Tolomelli, *"Repressiv getrennt" oder "organisch verbündet": Studenten und Arbeiter 1968 in der Bundesrepublik und in Italien* (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2001).
45. Red Army Faction, "Das Konzept Stadtguerilla," in *Rote Armee Fraktion: Texte*, ed. ID-Verlag, 27–48, at 33.
46. On the revelation of this fact, see Helmut Müller-Enbergs and Cornelia Jabs, "Der 2. Juni 1967 und die Staatssicherheit," in *Deutschland Archiv* 42, no. 3 (2009): 395–400.
47. Leith Passmore, "The Art of Hunger: Self-Starvation in the Red Army Faction," *German History* 27, no. 1 (2009): 32–59.
48. See Gerd Koenen, "Camera Silens: Das Phantasma der Vernichtungshaft," in *RAF und linker Terrorismus*, ed. Wolfgang Kraushaar (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006), 2:994–1010. On early prison conditions in the Cologne Toter Trakt (Dead Block), see Gisela Diewald-Kerkmann, *Frauen, Terrorismus und Justiz: Prozesse gegen weibliche Mitglieder der RAF und der Bewegung 2. Juni* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2009), 180–186.
49. "Folter in der BRD: Zur Situation der politischen Gefangenen," special issue, *Kursbuch* 32 (August 1973). The issue was translated into several European languages in subsequent years.
50. "Hungerstreik-Erklärung vom 8. Mai 1973," in *Rote Armee Fraktion: Texte und Materialien zur Geschichte der RAF*, ed. ID-Verlag (Berlin: ID-Verlag, 1997), 187–189, at 189.
51. On this problematic issue as a whole, see the balanced account of Martin Jander, "Isolation: Zu den Haftbedingungen der RAF-Gefangengen," in *RAF und linker Terrorismus*, ed. Wolfgang Kraushaar (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006), 1:973–993.
52. See Terhoeven, *Deutscher Herbst*, 268–272.
53. Hans-Joachim Klein, *Rückkehr in die Menschlichkeit: Appell eines ausgestiegenen Terroristen* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1979), 271–304, at 281.
54. Matthias Dahlke, "'Nur eingeschränkte Krisenbereitschaft'. Die staatliche Reaktion auf die Entführung des CDU-Politikers Peter Lorenz 1975," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 4 (2007): 641–678.
55. While Baader and Raspe killed themselves with execution-style pistol shots to the head, Ensslin used an electrical cord to hang herself from the bars of her prison cell window. A fourth comrade, Irmgard Möller, was discovered with stab wounds to the chest area that had been inflicted with the knife from her prison-issue silverware. Though Möller, who underwent emergency surgery the following day, still denies that she inflicted the stab wounds herself, all indications suggest that the inmates in Stammheim's maximum-security cellblock had decided long beforehand that if their comrades' attempts to gain their release should fail, they would take matters into their own hands. The weapons needed for what Brigitte Mohnhaupt called the "suicide action" had been smuggled piecemeal into the prison cells by the lawyers Arndt Müller and Armin Newerla in specially prepared ring binders. For detailed accounts, see Stefan Aust, *Der Baader-Meinhof Komplex*, 3rd rev. ed. (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 2008), 768–871; Tobias Wunschik, *Baader-Meinhofs Kinder: Die zweite Generation der RAF* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1997), 278–282. Aust raises the possibility that the prison cells had been bugged and provides solid supporting arguments, but to date it has not been possible to either prove or disprove the theory, since not all of the relevant archives have been opened.
56. Andreas Elter, *Propaganda der Tat: Die RAF und die Medien* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008), 182f.

57. Della Porta, *Terrorismo di sinistra*, 81.
58. On the history of the '77 movement, see Marco Grispigni, *1977* (Rome: Manifestolibri, 2006); Lucia Annunziata, *1977: L'ultima foto di famiglia* (Turin: Einaudi, 2007); Concetto Vecchio, *Ali di piombo* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2007). On the Italian movement in the Western European context, see George Katsiaficas, *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1997).
59. During these years Italy became the central hub for hard drugs in Europe; in 1977 alone there were forty heroin-related deaths. See Guido Crainz, *Il paese mancato: Dal miracolo economico agli anni ottanta*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Donzelli, 2003), 557.
60. Della Porta, *Terrorismo di sinistra*; Sidney G. Tarrow, *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965–1997* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).
61. Della Porta, *Terrorismo di sinistra*, 290–293.
62. Ralf Reinders and Ronald Fritzsch, *Die Bewegung 2. Juni: Gespräche über Haschrebellen, Lorenz-Entführung, Knast* (Berlin: Ed. ID-Archiv, 1995), 61.
63. Valerio Morucci, *La peggio gioventù: Una vita nella lotta armata* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2004), 135.
64. "A due giorni dall'attentato al milanese Arienti sei colpi di rivoltella a Torino contro un altro consigliere dc," *Corriere della Sera*, October 26, 1977.
65. For a detailed account of the background of the assassination, see Vecchio, *Ali di piombo*, 165–192, 233–257.
66. "Risoluzione della direzione strategica delle BR, novembre 1977," in Lorenzo Ruggiero, ed., *Dossier Brigate Rosse II 1976–1978: Le BR sanguinarie di Moretti; Documenti, comunicati e censure* (Milan: Kaos Edizioni, 2007), 130–161.
67. "Risoluzione," 157.
68. Franceschini, *Herz des Staates*, 161.
69. Ibid., 170.

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CHAPTER 29

WESTERN EUROPE, THE SECOND FRONT IN THE WAR OF ALGERIAN INDEPENDENCE

LINDA AMIRI

During the era of decolonization, most independence movements limited their field of action to the colonies. The mainland was generally relegated to the domain of diplomatic action and/or propaganda. Algerian nationalists were, however, an exception to the rule. If the African and Asian diasporas shared in the struggle for independence in their countries of origin, only Algerian immigrants pushed this support to the point of making the mainland into a zone of conflict in its own right. This decision was the result of a strategy developed by Abane Ramdane, one of the emblematic figures of the Algerian Revolution. In importing the war to metropolitan France and authorizing the French Federation of the National Liberation Front (Fédération de France du Front de libération nationale [FLN]) to carry out political work to influence French intellectuals, Ramdane wanted to draw on Algerian immigrants to act as a force among the enemy.

Not surprisingly, Ramdane's strategy provoked a violent response from the French government. On July 26, 1957, the special powers (*pouvoirs spéciaux*) that had been in place in Algeria since the year before were extended to metropolitan France,[1] which allowed the Minister of the Interior to reactivate the policy of imprisoning political "undesirables": thus, twenty-one years after the Spanish Retirada,[2] internment camps were opened throughout metropolitan France. The special powers stipulated that any Algerian suspected or convicted of undermining the external security of the state could be placed under house arrest. To this was added a set of measures that sought to restrict the movement of Algerian immigrants residing in France and to stifle all sympathy for independence, however vague. The defection from Algiers to Paris of public officials

familiar with or trained in the French army's methods of combating urban guerilla fighters was instrumental in importing methods to mainland France that had until then been reserved for the colonies: torture, psychological manipulation, and raids.

On the FLN side, in 1957 the management of the French Federation was reorganized, and hardened militants close to Ramdane were nominated to it. Moreover, the FLN levied a revolutionary tax on Algerians of the metropole, which proved indispensable to its financial survival. Finally, under the direction of Omar Boudaoud the decision was taken to organize attacks in Paris and other large cities on the night of August 25, 1958. From that moment on every Algerian immigrant, whether student or worker, became an interior enemy suspected of contributing tacit or active support to the FLN's struggle.

The violence and the simultaneous timing of the attacks surprised French intelligence agencies. Symbolically, these attacks opened what we are calling the second front of the Algerian War of Independence. For the first time since the beginning of the conflict, the French Federation of the FLN attacked almost 150 economic sites and police infrastructure in August and September 1958. In the following weeks, a vast system of security checks solely targeting immigrants was put in place. By the end of the summer of 1958, metropolitan France had truly entered the Algerian War.

Background to the War of Algerian Independence

The War of Algerian Independence had its origins in the violence of the colonial system established during the nineteenth century. Conquered in 1830, Algeria became a settler colony divided into three departments, which were integrated into France in 1848. If the long nineteenth century was marked by several revolts by the Algerian people, the beginning of the twentieth saw the emergence of an "indigenous" political class that chose legal channels to advance the demands of the people. These demands were inscribed within an assimilationist project striving to obtain from the French government equal rights for Algerians.

After the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the end of World War I in Europe, however, the creation of the French Communist Party in 1920 contributed to a current for independence within the salaried Algerians residing in metropolitan France. Indeed, in 1922, a militant core of communists originating from the French colonies created the Intercolonial Union (*l'Union intercoloniale*) in Paris and disseminated, through their journal *Le Paria (The Pariah)*, an anticolonial political program. Among these militants were the future Ho Chi Minh, but also the Algerian Aldelkader Hadj Ali, a committed communist who would emerge as the key leader of the first North African Star (Étoile nord-africaine [ENA]). Created in Paris in 1926 under the auspices of the Communist Party—French Section of the Communist International (Parti communiste—Section française de l'Internationale communiste [PC-SFIC]), the ENA was at that time an

embryonic organization drawn together more as a political association than as a political party. Under the watchful eye of Moscow, French communists sought to make the colonial question a major point of their political program; thus, ENA called for the independence of North Africa in general and Algeria in particular.

Among the ENA's leaders, a young militant from the west of Algeria, Messali Hadj, ascended to power through his charisma and oratory skills. During this period the organization recruited principally from among Algerian immigrants. In 1922 and 1924, 48,000 Algerian workers emigrated annually to France; in 1929 there were 108,000.[3] They were seasonal workers, the majority from the mountainous Kabylia region, near Algiers, in eastern Algeria. Coming into contact with the French proletariat, they were initiated into political life while at the same time holding on to their Algerian identity. Messali Hadj, although close to French workers, was in fact not a committed communist himself. Deeply influenced by Arab nationalism, he sought to make the ENA into a nationalist political party independent of exterior tutelage. It was this political project that led to the extremely tense relations that pitted him against the PC-SFIC right up to the moment when the conservative government, under French Prime Minister André Tardieu, proclaimed the dissolution of the ENA on November 20, 1929. A few months later, however, Hadj managed to put his organization back together and to make his voice heard even in the hushed corridors of the League of Nations.[4]

In Algeria, the French government's refusal to proceed with political reforms there along with the impoverishment of rural Algerians and their systematic reduction to vagrancy (*clochardisation*, to use Germaine Tillion's term)[5] contributed to the success of the ENA and the parties that succeeded it between 1937 and 1954. But if Hadj's party kept to legal channels throughout the interwar period, the massacres in Sétif and Guelma on May 8, 1945, created a new generation of militants that began to envisage a new path of armed resistance.[6] In 1946 the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (Mouvement pour le Triomphe des libertés démocratiques [MTLD]), heir to the ENA, and the politically independent Party of the Algerian People (Parti du peuple algérien [PPA], 1937) became the legal front of a party that was covertly preparing to take up arms. The PPA-MTLD's clandestine wing was called the Special Organization (Organisation Spéciale [OS]), and it recruited mainly from among young, hardened militants. Up until that point Hadj had been the uncontested leader, but after 1945 he was confronted by an increasingly strong opposition emanating from the young guard of the PPA-MTLD and students rallying to its cause.

In 1948 a crisis was born from this conflict that paved the way for violence. The so-called Berber crisis had its roots in the contested definition of the Algerian nation put forth by Hadj. In opposition to Hadj's concept of an Arab-Muslim Algeria, the "Berberists," who were supported by Algerian immigrants within the powerful French Federation of the PPA-MTLD, advanced the idea of an "Algerian Algeria" made up of Arabs, Turks, and Berbers. But in April 1949 the leaders of the PPA-MTLD dissolved the French Federation and barred its "Berberist" chief organizers. The crisis was deep: it lasted until the end of that year, and the reining in of the immigrant population marked a fissure in the cohesiveness of the party.

In 1951 Hadj's authority once again came under fire, this time from the Central Committee of the PPA-MTLD. This second crisis evolved from a latent conflict between those supporting the Central Committee and those backing Hadj, and it ended in a schism. Situated between these two camps, a minority sought to carve out a third way, that of armed struggle. Marginalized, this group of militants created a Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action (Comité révolutionnaire d'unité et d'action [CRUA]) on March 23, 1954. A few months later they organized covertly to put their plan for armed struggle into action, whereas the "Centralists" and the "Messalists" continued to splinter from within until the PPA-MTLD was officially dissolved on July 14–15, 1954. On October 10, 1954, the CRUA took the name National Liberation Front (Front de Libération nationale [FLN]). On November 1, 1954, they organized attacks in the east of Algeria that marked the beginning of the Algerian War of Independence. The revolutionary spark then took hold of the country as the FLN sought to unite Algerian parties of all persuasions around the fight for independence.

The French Federation of the FLN (1954–1962)

In 1954 almost 250,000 Algerians, including 6,000 women and 14,000, children were living in metropolitan France. Won over by the argument for independence, they became the object of close attention on the part of both Algerian nationalists and the French government. Indeed, Algerian immigrants in France had played a key role in the genesis of the nationalist movement. Throughout the interwar period, they constituted "the Revolutionary avant-garde," while the majority of the Algerian bourgeoisie rallied to the assimilationist cause.[7] As highlighted above, the French Federation of the PPA-MTLD, because its leaders were implicated in the first serious political crisis of the party, was muzzled in 1949 and placed under the strict control of party leaders. As a result, they lost many sympathizers and militant supporters. Once the revolutionary avant-garde, the Federation was now reduced to playing a strictly financial role, though it did manage to maintain a certain degree of activity (organizing protests, publishing the party newspaper, etc.). The black sheep of the PPA-MTLD, the French Federation had from then on to prove its loyalty to Hadj, who could thus count on its support in the internal struggle against the "Centralists" and then again, in the autumn of 1954, against the newly created FLN in Algeria. When the first emissaries of the FLN arrived on the mainland at the beginning of 1955, they thus had to face virulent hostility from the majority of the immigrant population.

In the fall of 1954 the FLN was still only an embryonic organization struggling to prove its legitimacy. For Hadj, taking the helm of the Algerian War was his only chance to maintain his leadership. Although launching the war was the initiative of the militants breaking with the PPA-MTLD, he claimed to be its author and in December created the

Algerian National Movement (Mouvement national algérien [MNA]). But the reality on the ground very quickly put his strategy into question: the FLN managed to emerge from anonymity and to prove its ability to lead the War of Independence. In this context, the former French Federation of the PPA-MTLD represented a true treasure trove for the war, given its financial potential and its influential network.

In his political history of Algerian immigration, Benjamin Stora delineates three decisive phases between July 1954 and the end of 1955. The first corresponds to the preparation of the November 1 attacks, which marked the beginning of the Algerian War of Independence—preparations led both by the Messalists and by the members of CRUA. The second is that of the aftermath of November 1, marked by general political confusion, disorientation of the militants not engaged in the preparations, and attempts at reconciling those who had sparked the revolution (the men of the CRUA who in turn took the name FLN) and the followers of Hadj, who had formed a block around him since the schism in the summer of 1954. However, on November 5, 1954, the French government dissolved the MTLD and proceeded to arrest its leaders and supporters en masse, thereby clearing the way for the FLN. At this time the still embryonic FLN had nonetheless managed progressively to embed itself more broadly, though only in Algeria. The third and final phase took root in April 1955, when Ramdane set out to make the FLN into a revolutionary organization with enough clout to bring its struggle into prominence on the military battlefield as well as in the halls of diplomacy, all the while imposing itself on all preexisting political inclinations. It was during this period that the FLN could count among its recruits the communist Amar Ouzegane, the former general secretary of the Algerian Communist Party. At that time, the Kabylie region played a decisive role in strengthening and consolidating the FLN *maquis* over supporters of Hadj.[8] It was also in 1955 that the FLN decided to put together a clandestine organization in France.[9]

The organization of the FLN in France evolved according to the same three-phase rhythm but also under the tutelage of Ramdane and Mohamed Boudiaf, who had been appointed leader of the exterior delegation of the FLN in Algiers. In 1955 Boudiaf commanded Mourad Tarbouche, a militant in the former French Federation of the PPA-MTLD, to put together a high-command staff whose mission was to collect contributions from émigré Algerian workers as a way to rally support for the FLN. The decision to organize the immigrant population on the model of the former French Federation of the PPA-MTLD was one made by civil authorities (initiated by Boudiaf and supported by Ramdane) and went against the advice of the military authorities.[10] It contributed to a more global political strategy seeking to construct an organization that could finance itself and spread the war to mainland France while simultaneously doing the work of explanation and propaganda among Algerian immigrants and French public opinion. By this logic, the "surplus" of contributions would come directly to the leadership of the FLN, which would in turn distribute the sum according to its own needs. The creation of the French Federation of the FLN thus highlighted the primacy of the political over the military, the principle on which Ramdane based the unification of the FLN at the Soummam Summit in August 1956.

Taking authority over the émigrés away from the *maquisards* on the one hand allowed the FLN to avoid any regionalism that might have created tensions in Algeria and in France.[11] And on the other, unifying FLN cells allowed it to establish a strategy that specifically addressed the interests of both French and international public opinion. Algerian emigration thus contributed to the general strategy of the FLN, which sought to control the whole body of Algerians, including those living outside national territory.

As early as 1955 the French Federation of the FLN was conceived as an "efficient operating and supporting force for the armed section of the FLN" (*force d'appui et de manoeuvre efficace du Front Armé*). For practical reasons and under the influence of Ramdane, the FLN chose to make this force autonomous in order to avoid "the reign of paperwork" (*règne de la paperasserie*)[12] and to cultivate an "enterprising spirit within the framework of vigilant control" (*l'esprit d'initiative dans le cadre d'un contrôle vigilant*).[13] This control took the form of nominations of federal leaders and the obligation to follow collegial leadership, but also the obligatory application of a certain model of politico-administrative organization (*nidham*) and a certain political line. The federal leaders answered to the institutions of the FLN, particularly the Conseil national de la Révolution algérienne (CNRA), the Comité de Coordination et d'exécution (CCE), and, starting in September 1958, the Gouvernement provisoire de la République Algérienne (GPRA).

Within the FLN there were three federations: the Federation of the FLN in Morocco, the Federation of the FLN in Tunisia, and—the one that interests us here—the French Federation of the FLN. Of the three, the French Federation was "the most solid,"[14] and the only one to have risen to the rank of *wilaya*,[15] which the CNRA declared on August 27, 1961. It thus became, within the organization, a recognized and respected organization in its own right. As of this date, it officially took the name "seventh *wilaya*." Unlike the MNA, the French Federation of the FLN was barred from organizing any political activities, with the exception of the demonstrations of October 17, 1961, but it was authorized to have recourse to strikes when it deemed necessary. Its politico-administrative organization was based on political quartering-off or *quadrillage*: each geographical zone with Algerians living in it had to be controlled and quartered off by militants of the FLN.

This geographical partition was accompanied by a politico-policing supervision that classified émigrés according to their degree of participation in the organization. This system of classification, termed "SAM" (*sympathisants, adhérents, militants* [sympathizers, adherents, militants]), depersonalized members of the French Federation. Within the FLN, the terms "brother" and "sister" certainly designated the members of its political community and as such could be considered analogous to the term "comrade" used by communists. However, in the jargon of FLN leaders, including those of the French Federation, the militant was an "element" (*élément*), a disincarnated being called on to respect and follow instructions and directives, not to discuss them. The right to speak up (*droit à la parole*) was reserved solely for the leaders, and the Federal Committee could only consult those who were high up in the hierarchy.[16] For those in

charge of the French Federation of the FLN, the militants were its key operatives; they were the avant-garde of the organization and carried out the widest variety of tasks, and the most dangerous. They had to make monthly monetary contributions, as did adherents and sympathizers.[17]

In its general report dated March 1961, the Federal Committee assessed that its "militant revolutionaries" were "in the great majority disciplined, devoted to the Cause and full of good will."[18] Adherents were those who were invested in the cause for independence—without, however, having the qualities necessary for militant action (taking initiative, being willing to sacrifice, and taking on responsibility). The Federal Committee did nonetheless pay particular attention to the adherents, since they constituted a breeding ground for potential militants. Kaddour Ladlani, who was appointed to the Federal Committee in 1957, judged that they would need "an extensive and guided education in order to forge them, to cultivate the revolutionary spirit [*esprit révolutionnaire*], and to liberate them from their insufficiencies and faults."[19] The sympathizers, on the other hand, were, according to Ali Haroun, those who "asked or accepted to join the FLN,"[20] that is, the great majority of émigrés who were included, whether through coercion or not, in the organization. As the name indicates, sympathizers were those "who demonstrate sympathy for the cause, some of whom pay—sometimes late—their dues but who remain passive in the face of struggle."[21]

Particular categories were added to this system of classification such as merchants, women, and "the Special" (*les Spéciaux*). Women, who did not make up a large proportion of the Federation, were rarely counted and did not have a specific function in it unless they were integrated into its branches (the Organisation spéciale, AGEMA, or the University Section). When they were counted, they had a status equivalent to that of sympathizer and paid dues.

The merchants however, like "the Special," made up a rather specific category. The merchants constituted,[22] among the Algerian immigration, what we could call the middle class. Within the French Federation they were organized only in the large urban centers.[23] Their role was limited to paying dues. The general report of the French Federation dated March 1961 reveals the contempt that the Federal Committee in general, and Ladlani in particular, had for them:

> This category of compatriots is more a category of unscrupulous opportunists [*affairistes*] than militant revolutionaries. Their patriotism is commensurate with the sacrifices we demand of them. Their reticence every time we ask them to make a greater material effort demonstrates their degree of combativity as well as the way they see the struggle. They are organized separately but connected to the Organization in the large cities or to financial commissions in the smaller centers.[24]

Algerian merchants were in fact those most exposed to the violence of the war. They were subjected to financial and political pressure by the two organizations fighting for independence because of the strategic importance of their business, especially when this was a café, the place of politicization and assembly par excellence for émigrés.

As for the category of "the Special," they made up a separate category within the *nidham*. Among their ranks were cabaret artists and those of the Algerian underworld. They lived outside of the organization but were monitored by the FLN. The SAM and the merchants made up the core of the politico-administrative organization of the French Federation of the FLN. They were essentially the ones financing it.

The *nidham* was built on a highly compartmentalized pyramidal structure that we can schematize as follows:

Table 29.1 Structure and Average Number of Sympathizers and Adherents

Grade	Composition	Average number[25]
Wilaya	2 *amalas* or superzones	36,000
Amala or superzone	2 or 3 zones	18,000
Zone	2–4 regions	9,000
Region	3 sectors	3,000
Sector	3 *kasmas*	900
Kasma	3 sections	250–300
Section	3 groups	60–100
Group	3 or 4 cells	15–20
Cell	4 elements + 1	5

Between 1954 and 1962 the number of Algerians present in metropolitan France doubled; just before independence almost 400,000 people had chosen to go into exile.[26] This figure, taken from the archives of the French Federation, allows us to relativize the scope of the French Federation of the FLN. Nonetheless, it also indicates the pressure that this organization exerted on Algerian immigrants.

Just as with the administrative division, the structure of the *nidham* was not fixed; it could be modified by federal decision if certain bodies of the Federation deemed it necessary. In the pyramidal structure, the cell was the base unit. Its mission was to propagate ideas and executive orders of the FLN, in addition to collecting dues from its base. For the Federal Committee, it "allowed the organization to remain connected to the masses."[27] The fundamental principles of the politico-administrative organization of the Federation were compartmentalization and secrecy. In a note of caution to its cadres, the Federal Committee declared:

> No indiscretion is permitted; neither is any confession to one's parents or friends. […] Silence is the general rule of the militant revolutionary. […] Going out in broad daylight is not courageous; it is either reckless or fruitless boasting. To be in one's position and to act according to necessity, saying only what is necessary, passing unnoticed: such have to be the permanent rules of conduct for the militant revolutionary.[28]

However, despite these precautions, the Paris police did manage regularly to identify and arrest those in charge, making the average length of service for a *wilaya* leader no more than eight months.[29] The strength of the Federation saw a notable regression after 1958 as a result of the repression. In 1958 the number was 145,000 people, whereas in March 1961 there were 136,345. The Federation estimated that the police arrested a thousand of its members per month.[30]

Such police repression managed to disrupt the financial circuits of the FLN and its politico-administrative organization, which explains why states bordering France became zones of retreat. Because they welcomed a more or less large number of Algerian immigrants, depending on the case, Belgium, West Germany, the Saar region, and Switzerland were integrated as "regions" into the politico-administrative organization of the French Federation of the FLN. In these countries, as in France, its actions were founded on a four-point agenda: combating the MNA (Mouvement national algérien), supervising the immigrant population, collecting dues, and spreading propaganda. As for Spain and Italy, they too served as rearguard bases for the FLN support network.

After September 1958 the activity of the Federation was coupled with that of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Gouvernement Provisoire, whose mission was to convince governments of the legitimacy of its cause. If Switzerland, West Germany, Spain, Italy, or Belgium offered a haven of relative peace to Algerian independence fighters, these same countries could not avoid having violence exported to their territories. The Federation estimated that police arrested 878 members per month in Belgium and 265 in the Saar region. Such numbers, contained in a report directed to the leaders of the FLN's directive bodies (the CNRA, etc.), seem plausible, first, in light of the cross-checking work done by the French police and, second, because they were exclusively made for internal circulation.

Officially and in FLN propaganda, the organization included as members the entirety of Algerian immigrants without exception—more than 300,000 people for metropolitan France alone. We have to approach the capacity of the French Federation to control the immigrant population with nuance, however. Faced with competition from the MNA and police repression, in March 1961 it controlled barely 30 percent of northern and eastern France, 52 percent in central and southwest France, and 90 percent of the Paris region—57 percent of the total Algerian immigrant population.[31] Repression drove the French Federation of the FLN to modify regularly the geographical division of the *wilayas*. In 1957 there were three, which expanded to six and then to seven in September 1961. It was also because of the repression that the French Federation had to move toward decentralization. In Belgium as in the Saar region, where a community of Algerians resided, the same organic principles were applied; Switzerland, for its part, was not truly organized even if the French Federation was highly influential there.

The true backbone of the French Federation, the *nidham*, was conceived as a "State within the State." In addition to organizing immigrants according to the SAM classification, each of the succeeding federal committees between 1955 and 1962 created or perfected organizing bodies to monitor and control immigrants. If the surveillance of neighborhoods was assured by "steering groups of militants or stable groups," the struggle against interior enemies was the responsibility of the shock groups, also called armed groups (*groupes de chocs*; *groupes armés*).

The armed groups were in charge of "warning of police raids or attacks from antirevolutionaries or terrorist *ultras*" but also saw to "the security of transporting funds and their routes" as well as "the security of the cadres."[32] The shock groups, meanwhile, had existed since as far back as 1956. They were first under the control of regional, then *wilaya* leaders. In 1961 there were two shock groups for each *wilaya*. The first was in charge of "internal protection of the Organization (defensive groups)" and was joined to the base. The second was in charge of the struggle against all (offensive) enemies and was controlled by the *wilaya* leader. Contrary to members of the Organisation Spéciale (a body independent of the *nidham*), both the shock and the armed groups were rarely taught to handle arms and seldomly trained—a fact that was not without consequence for their actions.

Other institutions performing statelike functions were the commissions of justice and hygiene. These commissions came into being to reinforce the police apparatus of the French Federation of the FLN. The commissions of justice were created in 1959 with the goal of resolving differences between Algerians and, in the process, pulling them away from the French judicial system. The commissions of hygiene were also created in 1959 with the goal of disrupting the police service in charge of surveillance of accommodations and housing.

Prison space came under particular attention by the Federal Committee. As of the end of 1958, it created Support Committees for the Detained (Comités de soutien aux détenus [CSD]), which were in charge of "bringing material and moral aid to all [the] detained and those assigned to camps."[33] Indeed the FLN—well before Carlos Marighella—conceived of prison space as "a wholly separate arena of the conflict,"[34] because from its point of view arrest did not mean the end of combat. In prison and in the camps (*camps d'assignation à résidence surveillée* [CARS]), it continued to apply the principle of Mao Zedong, according to whom "the guerilla must be among the people as a fish in water." In this way—and thanks to the committees that were an integral part of the politico-administrative organization—the French Federation of the FLN succeeded in transforming prison life into "schools for cadres" (*écoles de cadres*)" as a continuation of the war against the colonial system.

The French Federation of the FLN was a clandestine organization. If it espoused the pyramidal form of the former PPA, it rejected its agitprop as far too dangerous for its survival: all collective demonstrations were forbidden because they were likely to lead to arrests. As for the Press and Information Commission, its goal was to coordinate propaganda for public opinion by drafting press releases and disseminating a brochure entitled *FLN Documents*, which gathered together the principal texts from the FLN press (the Soummam platform, speeches by the GPRA, FLN statutes, etc.) as well as a newspaper, *Résistance algérienne*, later replaced by *El Moudjahid*. This propaganda work sought to make the FLN's cause known in public opinion as well as to garner support in anticolonial milieux. The very year of its creation, the French Federation of the FLN could also count on the help and logistic support of French citizens who had fought in the Resistance during World War II. The Federation thus benefited from their rich experience in clandestine activity and armed struggle in an urban environment.

Bringing the War to France and Europe

Having grown sufficiently strong, the "seventh wilaya" decided in 1958 to bring the war to France, in accordance with the orders of the Committee of Coordination and Execution (Comité de coordination et d'exécution [CCE]), the leading body of the FLN. Shortly before, in the spring of 1958, the Federal Committee of the French Federation, led by Boudaoud, had established itself in the Federal Republic of Germany. From its position there and from then on, it controlled the émigré population and clandestinely organized attacks with the goal of forcing the French government to mobilize troops on metropolitan soil, which in turn would take military pressure off the FLN *maquis* in Algeria and further strengthen opposition to the War of Independence. On August 25, 1958, the French Federation of the FLN organized a series of attacks throughout mainland France that targeted strategic objectives, mainly public buildings, industrial plants, military and police buildings, and forests.[35] The objective was not to unleash blind terrorism against civilians; such an act would signal the end of French and European support of the FLN. Rather, the attacks were intended to raise the consciousness of the average French citizen and reveal the reality of what the French government called "operations to maintain order" in Algeria.[36] Moreover, in opening a second front the FLN sought to prove to partisans of French Algeria that it could rise up from the ashes despite the violent repression that militants in Algeria had suffered. It also sought to use these attacks to galvanize its own troops.

The strategy to bring the war to France was not undisputed, however. A few months before the start of the August 1958 attacks, a communication signed "Ahmed Ben Bella and his fellow detainees" announced their reservations to the CCE:

> We have learned that for some time the Federation has received orders to launch terrorism in this country.[37] Although this decision was much discussed in the past by those responsible for France who considered it inapplicable here, you seem to reiterate it without taking into account the authorized opinions of certain brothers, or the economic, moral, and human conditions in which Algerian émigrés live. These already precarious conditions have grown particularly grave given the chauvinistic hostility of the whole nation [*de toute nation*]. […] We have taken it upon ourselves to ask of the French Federation to postpone execution of your directive on terrorism until you have reexamined this serious matter.[38]

According to the historian Mohammed Harbi, Aït-Ahmed, Ben Bella, Boudiaf, and Mohamed Khider used the example of Vietnamese émigrés during the First Indochina War to draw the CCE's attention to the "danger involved in underestimating political tasks in France, without, however, excluding the possibility of sabotaging military installments."[39] For these militants, the activity of the Viet Minh was the example to

follow, which is why they had taken up arms, but also why they judged the decision of the CCE dangerous.

Such interference in the interior affairs of the French Federation was not in fact appreciated: Boudaoud disregarded the advice and applied Ramdane's orders. With the strategy of the second front having been applied, Boudaoud continued to direct the Federation without ever appealing to Bella; at the very most, he would give accounts to his superiors. Under his direction the Federation functioned as a *wilaya*, even though it did not have that official title until August 27, 1961. The Committee of Five had truly sought to be the sole directing body of the French Federation of the FLN, authorizing the application of exterior orders and directives on the sole condition that they emanated from its deputy minister or from the directing bodies of the FLN (the CCE, GPRA, and CNRA).

The attacks of August 25, 1958, were meticulously organized by the armed branch of the French Federation of the FLN, that is, the Organisation Spéciale, directed by Rabah Bouaziz, also known as Saïd. The men who joined the OS were volunteers, free from any familial or sentimental attachment. Highly influenced by military strategy that predated the beginning of the war in 1954, the French Federation of the FLN strove to forge the militants of the OS into new men, incarnations of the revolutionary ideal. In this manner, according to FLN literature, the men of the OS had to follow a strict, ironclad discipline (practicing martial arts as well as great physical and mental resilience) and were kept in a state of permanent alert.[40] Before being integrated into the organization, they had to take an oath on the Koran. Once integrated, they were expected to respect the rules of clandestinity and were exempt from paying dues so that they could dedicate themselves solely to the tasks that the FLN set for them: attacks, sabotage, and executions. The military structure also respected the rules of clandestinity: whenever possible, the members of the OS were to know each other only by their pseudonyms.[41] In practice, these men were initially given only limited military training; later they would be trained in the military bases of the Armée de libération nationale (ALN) in Morocco.

The groups of the OS were put on alert beginning in May 1958 and led reconnaissance missions on oil plants in Mourepiane, military barracks, the radio antennae of the Eiffel Tower, and various strategic or symbolic sites such as the Prefecture of Marseille. In July 1958 Bouaziz prepared a plan of action, which was to go into effect at midnight August 25, 1958. The timeline was respected, and in the middle of the night OS groups launched a wave of attacks throughout metropolitan territory. In Paris, the night of August 25, 1958, culminated in attacks on the garage of the prefecture of police and attempts to set fire to an ammunition depot and a military assembly line in Ivry (firefighters quickly got the latter under control). Damages were more extensive in the south of France, where Operation Orage (Storm), which targeted oil refineries, killed one and wounded nineteen. On the FLN side, six *fidayîn* (soldiers) were killed and nine others wounded; among French security forces, one policeman died while another was seriously wounded. The attacks drove on into September 1958. In total, 149 attacks of a variety of natures were recorded throughout the mainland; 107 of those failed. The opening of the second front was considered by the FLN a military victory after the great repression of Algiers (1957), which had destabilized the organization.

The psychological impact of the attacks on public opinion in Algeria, as in France, was quite powerful. In consequence, the French government reinforced its system of repression in France, taking as its example the system that had prevailed in Algeria. The Organisation Spéciale, whose members had been trained at the military bases of the ALN in Morocco, led attacks in the summer of 1958, including attacks on French security forces. According to an FLN guide, the OS were to take up "the revolutionary strategy to combat the enemy everywhere and by every means […] its groups of urban *fidayîn—moudjahiddines* without uniforms—fuel insecurity in the cities and punish traitors and torturers."[42] Its commander, Bouaziz, took his inspiration from the Irish Republican Army and the Organisation Spéciale of the French Communist Party (1940–1944) to form and structure its shock groups.

The French Federation of the FLN bought its arms from European arms dealers, who in turn became targets for the French counterespionage unit. This unit initiated the assassination in Paris on May 24, 1959, of the Algerian lawyer Amokrane Ould Aoudia. In addition, it organized an attack in Hamburg on September 28, 1956, targeting the arms dealer Otto Schlütter, who was supplying the FLN, but in the end they killed his employee. In Geneva on September 9, 1957, it assassinated Georges Geitser, who had been manufacturing detonators for the FLN. And on September 19, 1957, also in Geneva, Marcel Léopold, another arms dealer, was assassinated by a poisoned dart delivered through a blowpipe. On November 5, 1958, Mohamed Aït Ahcène, a delegate of the GPRA, came under pistol fire in the center of Bonn, the capital of West Germany.

The European intelligentsia sympathetic to the Algerian cause played a key role after 1958 in the internationalization of the conflict. Nils Andersson, a Swiss editor, published all the works censored in France, in particular those published by Éditions de Minuit and Éditions Maspero. At the same time the FLN was able to launder through Swiss banks money collected from immigrants. In Belgium a group of lawyers was formed under the leadership of the French Federation of the FLN and worked in close connection with the group of lawyers led by Mourad Oussedik. And in West Germany the French Federation of the FLN succeeded in putting together a support network within German society. But its European supporters also had to face the terror of the Red Hand (la Main Rouge, French counterespionage services): on March 9, 1960, the Algerian student Akli Aïssou, an FLN militant close to the Belgium support networks, was assassinated in Brussels. A few days later, on March 25, 1960, Georges Laperche, a professor in Liège and supporter of Algerian independence, was blown to pieces when he opened a package containing a bomb in the form of a book addressed to him by French counterespionage services.

It is still difficult to establish the death tolls of the second front in this war because historical research remains limited. However, the Paris region can give us an idea of the violence in the war in France. It is estimated that, between 1958 and 1962, one hundred to two hundred Algerians were killed by police forces of the Paris region. This approximation does not include those who died from the violent repression of the Algerian demonstrations of October 17, 1961, whose victims number over a hundred. The prefecture of police in Paris estimates the death toll on its side for the same period at thirty-four policemen and twenty-seven *harkis* killed in the struggle against the FLN. Another four

thousand Algerian victims of the fratricidal war between the FLN and MNA should also be added.

The participation of foreign citizens in the war, along with the French government's difficulties in imposing tight police collaboration with bordering countries, were the root of much diplomatic tension, particularly between Switzerland and France. The Algerian War of Independence thus interfered with Franco-European relations and was the object of much debate among politicians, on both the left and the right, because supporters of French Algeria could count on support from certain European parties on the right. For the states involved, the difficulty was to remain neutral while carefully dealing with their French ally and at the same time not hindering future economic and political relations with a country rich in oil and natural gas that was bound inevitably to gain independence.

Translated from the French by Cory Browning.

Notes

1. On March 16, 1956, the National Assembly granted "exceptional powers" (*pouvoirs spéciaux*) to the government of Guy Mollet. The executive could then govern in Algeria by decree. Notably, this law further strengthened the prerogatives of the French Army in Algeria.
2. La Retirada, from the Spanish word for "retreat," refers to the exodus of Spanish refugees in 1939 during the Spanish Civil War.
3. See Benjamin Stora, *Aide-mémoire de l'immigration* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992), 39.
4. He in fact addressed his *Mémoire de l'Étoile nord-africaine* to the League of Nations to protest against the celebration of the French colonization of Algeria.
5. "La clochardisation, c'est le passage sans armure de la condition paysanne (c'est-à-dire naturelle) à la condition citadine (c'est-à-dire moderne)." Germaine Tillion, *La traversée du mal: Entretien avec Jean Lacouture* (Paris: Arléa, 1997), 97.
6. On this day, in eastern Algeria, a peaceful demonstration celebrated victory over Nazism while simultaneously calling for equal rights and the liberation of the nationalist leader Messali Hadj. In the middle of the crowd a young protestor brandished the Algerian flag, the emblem of the independence movement. This gesture provoked the wrath of colonists on hand, and a skirmish broke out. Police fired on the Algerian protestors, killing the young man carrying the flag. In response, several Europeans were assassinated by Algerians; historians estimate that there were about a hundred victims. The repression that then followed was extremely violent, the army and the air force coming to the support of the police. The massacre went on for several days and claimed several thousand Algerian lives.
7. Mahfoud Kaddache, *Histoire du nationalisme* algérien, vol. 1, *1919–1939* (Paris: Éditions Paris Méditerranée, 2003), 159.
8. [Translator's note: *Le maquis*, literally "bush" or "shrub," came to refer to the Resistance in France during German occupation. During the Algerian War it referred to the armed Algerian underground movement fighting for independence. *Maquisards* thus referred to the fighters themselves.]
9. Benjamin Stora. *Les immigrés algériens en France: Une histoire politique, 1912–1962* (Paris: Éditions Hachette Plurielle, 2009), 121–122.

10. [Translator's note: One of the central tensions among the leaders of the Algerian Revolution was the relationship between the military authorities and the civil authorities. The Soummam platform, largely the work of Ramdane, asserted the primacy of the political, civil authorities over the military authorities. Ramdane would later be purged and the military would gain ascendancy, notably after independence, when in 1965 Houari Boumediene ousted Ahmed Ben Bella in a military coup.]
11. [Translator's note: As noted above, *maquisard* refers to an underground resistance or revolutionary fighter.]
12. Algerian National Archives (ANA), microfilm collection of the CNRA, Session in Tripoli from December 12, 1959 to January 18, 1960, Summary Report of the Ministry of the Interior of the GPRA (no date) on the Federations of France, Morocco, and Tunisia.
13. Algerian National Archives (ANA), microfilm collection of the CNRA, Session in Tripoli from December 12, 1959 to January 18, 1960, Summary Report of the Ministry of the Interior of the GPRA (no date) on the Federations of France, Morocco, and Tunisia.
14. Ibid.
15. [Translator's note: *Wilaya* refers to the geographically defined region governed. It may be translated as "province."]
16. In 1960 the Federal Committee launched a consultation campaign among its most important cadres in preparation for the meeting of the CNRA, where it was represented.
17. See the third section of this chapter, "Bringing the War to France and Europe," on the finances of the French Federation.
18. ANA, Ali Haroun Collection, B/101, Box 77, General Report, March 1961, 8.
19. Ibid., 10.
20. Ali Haroun, *La 7e wilaya: La guerre du FLN en France, 1954–1962* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2012), 48.
21. ANA, Ali Haroun Collection, B/102, Folder 102-1-10, Undated Report on the general organization of the FLN in France.
22. Dalila Berbagui's thesis (in progress at Lyon University 2), "Commerçants et artisans nord-africains dans le département du Rhône (1945–1980)," will no doubt shed some light on this professional category, which is at the heart of the political history of Algerian immigration.
23. ANA, Ali Haroun Collection, B/101, Box 77, General Report, March 1961, 6.
24. Ibid.
25. The numbers retranscribed here are those put forth in Haroun, *La 7e wilaya*.
26. On this subject, see Lionel Kesztenbaum and Patrick Simon, "Des français musulmans aux Algeriens: Migration en métropole, 1946–1962," in *Algériens en France (1954–1962): La guerre, l'exil, la vie*, ed. Benjamin Stora and Linda Amiri (Paris: Autrement, 2012), 16–20.
27. ANA, Ali Haroun Collection, B-102/1/10, Report on the General Organization of the FLN in France, undated, 2.
28. Ibid.
29. Haroun, *La 7e wilaya*, 57 n. 2.
30. ANA, Ali Haroun Collection. General Report. March, 1961.
31. Ibid. See also Haroun, *La 7e wilaya*, 1.
32. ANA, Ali Haroun Collection, B/101, Box 77, General Report, March 1961, 4.
33. Ibid., 5.
34. Expression borrowed from Dominique Linhardt, "Réclusion révolutionnaire: La confrontation en prison entre des organisations clandestines révolutionnaires et un Etat; Le cas de

l'Allemagne dans les années 70," *Cultures et conflits* 55 (Fall 2004): 113–148, http://www.conflits.org/index1588.html#ftn29.

35. In setting fire to the forests, the FLN intended to draw media attention to the fires set by the French Army in Algeria and to the use of napalm.
36. [Translator's note: The French government never accepted the term "war" to describe what was happening in Algeria. Rather, they maintained throughout the war that they were engaged in "operations to maintain order."]
37. [Translator's note: Ben Bella was writing from France, where he was imprisoned.]
38. Quoted in Mohammed Harbi, *Une vie debout*, vol. 1 (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2001), 220.
39. Ibid.
40. Haroun, *La 7e wilaya*, 88.
41. Ibid., 88.
42. *Guide du Fidaï: Clandestine text*, edited by the French Federation of the FLN during the Algerian War of Independence.

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CHAPTER 30

RELIGIOUS TERRORISM AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

MARK JUERGENSMEYER

What is religious about religious terrorism? Many of the most brutal nonstate acts of public violence that have occurred around the world in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have been associated with religion. Christian militias, Muslim terrorist movements, Jewish extremists, angry Buddhists, militant Sikhs and Hindus—all have given the impression that religion has gone bad. But is this the case?

Karen Armstrong, a popular author of comparative religious history, argues in her book on the history of religion and violence, *Fields of Blood*, that religion—by which she means religious traditions, ideas, rituals, symbols, and the like—has had little to do with acts of public violence that are usually perpetrated for political and other material gain.[1] She bases her argument in part on the work of William Cavanaugh, a Catholic theologian, who has raged against the perception that religion causes violence, as if the conceptual construct of religion had the power to do anything on its own, much less perpetrate violent acts.[2]

They are right. The way we think of religion is a conceptual construct invented during the European Enlightenment, pitting religion against secularism as alternate ways of thinking about the world. But for most of the world, and for most of world history even in the West, what we think of as religion was seamlessly part of the public culture of a region. When a culture became violent, its religious images joined the fight; when it was peaceful, they were calm. Most scholars are aware of this, and though angry public voices often accuse "religion" of being violent, virtually no scholar of religion thinks of religious violence that way. An interesting exception is Hector Avalos, a professor of religious studies at Iowa State University, who makes the argument in his book, *Fighting Words: The Origin of Religious Violence*, that the structure of religious thinking is conducive to violence.[3] The idea is that divine blessings are a scarce resource over which

those who seek it are apt to fight, a notion that he describes as a "scarcity theory" of the origins of religion and violence.[4]

His is an interesting argument about how cultural concepts shape our sense of reality, but Avalos aside, most scholars do not attribute violence to religion per se. Rather, they puzzle over the connection of religious things to violence. They acknowledge the indisputable fact that religious language, history, images, ideology, and leadership have been associated with acts of terrorism and other forms of extreme violence in recent decades. When a terrorist regime calls itself "the Islamic State" and is led by a Qur'anic studies scholar, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the public naturally thinks that religion has something to do with it. Scholars also muse over this conjunction of religion with violent movements. They want to know why this is the case, and they try to explain the resurgence of religion in public life and the role of religion-related things to public violence at this moment of late modernity.[5]

My own conclusion is that religion may not be the *problem*—it does not cause violence—but it is *problematic*.[6] It is problematic in two ways. One is the way that religious identities and ideologies have become aspects of a global rebellion against the European Enlightenment notion of a secular state, beginning in the last decades of the twentieth century. The other is the way that certain features of religious actions and images—such as the performance of religious ritual and the awesome notion of cosmic war—are appropriated by violent actors seeking to justify their savage attempts at power and cloak them in religious garb. Let me elaborate on each of these points.

The Global Rise of Antisecularism

There has been considerable discussion in American and European scholarly circles about the concepts of religion and secularism and how they emerged in modern history as opposing social ideologies. In 2005 a task force of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in New York convened a multiyear project on "rethinking secularism" involving theorists of secularism such as Talal Asad and Charles Taylor, as well as the president of the SSRC, Craig Calhoun, and me.[7] It concluded that secularism is itself *something*—not just the absence of religion, but also a worldview laden with value assumptions about the nature of the self and its relationship to society. This means that the idea of secular society itself can be a challenge to traditional religious worldviews. The two are sometimes seen as competitive.

In fact, the competition between secularism and religion was integral to the creation of these concepts. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, when the terms came into common use, secularism was thought to be an ideology of order that would replace religion as the central force in organizing society. No longer would religion inform public values and ideals; rational thought would be the only true measure of the worth of social goals. For this reason, in France, England, the United States, and elsewhere in the Western world, the role of religion was restricted to the rites and beliefs

of churches, which were consequently relegated to the margins of public life. They were to be enjoyed on Sunday and forgotten for the rest of the week.

This marginalization of religion never worked perfectly in the West. Religious societies embracing religious values in public life led to the formation of small communities such as the New Harmony colony in nineteenth-century Indiana and the Mormon community, which expanded in Utah and spread throughout the western United States and now overseas. Elsewhere in the world, the secularization that came with European colonialization was never completely integrated. In these regions, communities of people have increasingly turned toward traditional religion to find a resource for thinking about the moral basis for social and political order when secular politics seems to have lost its moral bearings. This appears to be a global phenomenon: religion enters politics when the old secular politics seems corrupt or insufficient, and there is what I have described elsewhere as "a loss of faith in secular nationalism."[8]

When the secular nation-state has been weakened through challenges over who (or what group) should control or dominate it or been made obsolete through the transnational forces of globalization, it is not surprising that religious identities and ideologies should rise up to be challenge to the status quo. This global rebellion is not caused by religion.[9] But because the Western framework of secular nationalism is what is being contested, the attacks against it take on a religious hue.

Extreme secularization can in fact provoke violence in the name of religion. Many activist groups related to religion—from the Christian militia in the United States to al-Qaeda in the Middle East—claim that they are simply trying to defend religion from the forces of secularization. In these cases, secularism is imagined to be an ideology bent on the destruction of religion. It is thought to be not a neutral thing, but rather the hostile enemy of religious communities. Inadvertently, then, the promotion of secularism as a tolerant and moderating element in multicultural societies is sometimes perceived as an attempt to destroy religious faith.[10] The controversies in Denmark and France over the publication of cartoons of the Prophet Mohammad have pitted the secular principle of free speech against religious sensitivities. This clash of cultures is a contemporary inheritance of the dichotomy between secularism and religion that has been a pattern of thinking since the time of the European Enlightenment, and that has led to the politicization of religion in recent challenges to the secular state.

Religious Justifications for Violence

At the same time that religion has been a part of the vehicle for challenging secular authority, certain aspects of religious tradition and practice make it useful for political activists. Certain elements of religious language, ideas, ritual, and symbols are ripe for adoption by those eager to challenge the authority of the state. One of the reasons for this is that religious traditions often embrace positions of absolutism: they contain a repository of symbols of "ultimate concern," as the theologian Paul Tillich put it.[11] This

means that religiously inspired law can trump secular law, since it refers to a higher order of morality. Martin Luther King, Jr., famously challenged the unjust racist laws of the United States in his "Letter from Birmingham Jail." Religious ideas also have the ability to sanction the taking of human life—though usually in rare cases, such as the defense of the culture or society of a religious community. In these cases, religious codes challenge the monopoly on morally sanctioned violence that is, according to Max Weber, the basis of state power. Without the state's ability to threaten to kill, for reasons of military protection, policing, and punishment, anarchy would ensue. Thus any act of religion-related violence is revolutionary in that it challenges the state's monopoly on the use of force.

But in addition to the ideas that sanction violence in religious texts and sacred law, violent actors are excited by the powerful and enduring images of religion-related warfare that exist in virtually every religious tradition. This is the notion that I have called "cosmic war." Though every violent conflict and every military encounter entails a certain moral hubris about who is right and who is wrong (and such clashes tend to absolutize the evil of the opponent), cosmic war is an imagined contest of virtually metaphysical proportions. It is the idea or image of an ultimate encounter that is found in every religious tradition: a grand struggle between opposing elements of the human condition, between good and evil, right and wrong, order and disorder, religion and irreligion.

The idea of cosmic war is different from the idea of holy war, which usually refers to a battle between worldly forces—two nations, perhaps—in which one side or the other thinks that religious values are at stake and that God is on their side. Cosmic war is a grander notion, one that need not be realized on a mortal plane; it is the metaphysical battle that occurs on a transcendental level. And yet, it can be imagined to be taking place in an actual conflict on the mundane level of the real world. What is striking about the positions taken by violent activists who justify their actions through religion is that they invariably see themselves as soldiers in a dramatic, cosmic war. In my own interviews with activists in every religious tradition, as well as in case studies undertaken by other scholars, the image of cosmic warfare is pervasive.[12] Though they are perceived by the broader world to be terrorists, they do not think of themselves this way. They regard themselves as soldiers who have taken defensive actions in a great struggle. When questioned about the nature of the struggle, they usually deny that it is only about political power and social control; rather, they elevate the conflict to the cosmic level, a battle between good and evil, and right and wrong, but *not* one about competing political forces—even when, from the observer's perspective, the combat appears to be all about earthly power and social dominance.

Seeing a worldly struggle as part of a cosmic war can in several ways benefit those activists engaged in it. First of all, it allows them to see the enemy not just as a political opponent, but also as an agent of evil, an arm of the devil. During the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Ayatollah Khomeini described President Jimmy Carter as a "great Satan"; and during the "troubles" in Northern Ireland, Reverend Ian Paisley, a Unionist protestant leader, talked about the pope as an antichrist, using images of evil from the

book of Revelation. Imagining one's enemy in satanic terms allows one to dismiss anything that they say as devious or irrelevant. There is no point, after all, of negotiating with an agent of Satan. The only thing one can do is to fight it and destroy it. Moreover, one has the moral license to carry out acts of unspeakable violence because the enemies are, after all, subhuman. They are not really human because they are part of the cosmic satanic army. Thus the image of cosmic war provides the ethical basis for extreme violence.

The image of cosmic war can also enable an activist to persist in the struggle against seemingly insurmountable odds, and for what may seem to be a hopelessly long time. A cosmic war is, after all, waged on a metaphysical plane as well as on an earthly one, where the usual odds and ordinary time are transcended. In a discussion about the strategy of using suicide terrorist attacks against an overwhelming Israeli military that was impervious to such a strategy, the Hamas leader Abdul Azis Rantisi appeared undeterred. He acknowledged that the Palestinian movement could not win with such methods, and that they might not prevail in his lifetime or even his children's lifetime. Ultimately, however, he said, they *would* succeed, since the struggle in which they were engaged was God's war, not theirs alone.[13] If one believes that the struggle in which one is involved is a cosmic war, then it can persist beyond mortal timelines or earthly limitations.

When acts of violence are conducted as a part of an imagined cosmic war, they may appear to someone outside the movement as terrorism. To those within the movement, however, they are salvos in a cosmic war. In most cases, the perpetrators use these acts of violence not to achieve territory or conquer their opponents, but to realize their imagined war, to act out the imagined war so that all can see it. Hence they are performances of warfare, symbolic acts of violence meant to jar all who view them—even at a distance through television or the Internet—into an acceptance of the reality of their imagined cosmic war.

For this reason, religion-related acts of violence are calculated performances. Often the violence is exaggerated, done for dramatic effect. Suicide attacks, car bombs, public beheadings, and other extreme acts are carried out in such a manner as to be both vivid and horrifying. Targets are often chosen because they are familiar and secure—such as shopping malls, marketplaces, and centers of mass transit. On many occasions the events are timed to ensure that the maximum number of people are gathered at the target sites—such as New York City's World Trade Center, U.S. embassies in Africa, the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, the Tokyo subway system, Tel Aviv shopping centers. The explosive devices used are often aimed at wounding people rather than damaging buildings. Nails have been embedded in the bombs of Hamas suicide bombers, for instance, to increase their ability to maim. The Buddhist perpetrators of Tokyo's sarin gas attack considered adding a floral scent to the deadly substance they were about to unleash to encourage more people to inhale it.

Such instances of exaggerated violence are constructed events: they are mind-numbing, mesmerizing theater. At center stage are the acts themselves—stunning, abnormal, and outrageous murders carried out in a way that graphically displays the

awful power of violence—set within grand scenarios of conflict and proclamation. The attacks of September 11, 2001, were not only tragic acts of violence; they were also spectacular theater. Speaking of terrorism as "performance," however, does not suggest that such acts are undertaken lightly or capriciously. Rather, like religious ritual or street theater, they are dramas designed to have an impact on the several audiences that they affect. Those who witness the violence—even at a distance, via the news media—are therefore a part of what occurs. Moreover, like other forms of public ritual, the symbolic significance of such events is multifaceted; they mean different things to different observers. This suggests that it is possible to analyze comparatively the performance of acts of religious terrorism. There is already a growing literature of studies based on the notion that civic acts and cultural performances are closely related.[14] The controversial parades undertaken each year by the Protestant Orangemen in Catholic neighborhoods of Northern Ireland, for instance, have been studied not only as political statements but also as cultural performances.[15] They are a form of public ritual.

Public ritual has traditionally been the province of religion, and this is one of the reasons that performance violence comes so naturally to activists from a religious background. In a collection of essays on the connection between religion and terrorism published some years ago, one of the editors, David C. Rapoport, observed that the two topics fit together not only because there is a violent streak in the history of religion, but also because terrorist acts have a symbolic side and in that sense mimic religious rites.[16] The victims of terrorism are targeted not because they are threatening to the perpetrators, he said, but because they are "symbols, tools, animals or corrupt beings" that tie into "a special picture of the world, a specific consciousness" that the activist possesses. The street theater of performance violence forces those who witness it directly or indirectly into that "consciousness," the alternative view of the world that the perpetrators possess.[17] When we who observe these acts take them seriously—when we are disgusted and repelled by them and begin to distrust the peacefulness of the world around us—this theater achieves its purposes.

Violence in All Religious Traditions

Acts of violence related to religion have appeared through the centuries and in every religious tradition. Such acts have been seen with increasing frequency in the last decades of the twentieth century and the first decades of the twenty-first. The reasons for this increase are matters of scholarly and public discussion. Samuel Huntington has posited that a "clash of civilizations" might be replacing the ideological confrontation of the cold war as the new form of geopolitical struggle.[18] Benjamin Barber regards globalization as a primary factor leading to the centrifugal forces of tribalism and the centripetal spread of superficial consumer culture, two trends characterized as "jihad versus McWorld."[19] The forces of globalization are critical: they undermine the worldwide supremacy of the idea of the secular nation-state and the notion of secular

nationalism as its ideological basis and offer religious nationalism and transnational politics as an alternative.[20]

Radical political movements that include religion as part of their identity and ideology have emerged to challenge the secular state in every part of the world and every major religious tradition. There are some areas of greater intensity, however. In Latin America, for instance, there have been relatively few instances of religion-related extremist movements in recent decades. The Middle East and South Asia tend to have more instances of religion-related violence than elsewhere. Why this is the case is the subject of debate. Some critics of religion have identified Islam as a more violent religious tradition than Christianity, though other observers point out that the violence is specific to those geographic regions where American and European culture and political power is being rejected, and hence point to political rather than religious reasons. Within the United States there have been far more acts of terrorism and extreme violence related to Christianity than Islam, though the impact of the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, overshadows most other acts of terrorism within the United States in recent years and gives the appearance that Muslim groups present a greater threat in the United States than do Christian groups. An overview of extreme violence related to different religious traditions demonstrates that religion-related terrorism is a global phenomenon.

Christianity

Christianity has had an ambivalent relationship with violence. The proclamations of the New Testament affirm nonviolence, and the early Christians were pacifists. But after Christianity became associated with Roman imperial rule in the fourth century, its religious authority was used to buttress political power—and also to challenge it, by giving religious legitimacy to the protests of political rebels.[21]

In the second half of the twentieth century, violence became a method of defending Christian communities, sometimes in internecine warfare. During the decades of the "troubles" of Northern Ireland, Roman Catholic activists identifying with the Irish state were pitted against Protestants who wanted to continue the region's relationship with the United Kingdom. Though the struggle was essentially a political contest between ethnic groups, religious leaders and images were involved on both sides of the dispute.[22]

In the United States, a number of groups protesting against multiculturalism and the secular state arose in the 1990s and have continued into the twenty-first century. Some of these were related to the Calvinist Christian Reconstruction movement and others to the racist Christian Identity movement.[23] Members of the movement were involved in bombing abortion clinics and in shootouts with the U.S. government, including the standoff at Ruby Ridge in 1992. Timothy McVeigh, who was convicted and executed for his role in bombing the Oklahoma City federal building in 1995—the largest act of terrorism on American soil prior to the September 2001 attack—was motivated by a religious ideology designed by the white-supremacist novelist William Pierce,

an ideology he called "cosmotheism." Like many Christian Identity activists, McVeigh expected that his act of terrorism would initiate a widespread racial struggle and spark a guerilla war that he hoped would liberate the United States from what he regarded as its anti-Christian secular despotism. Another militant who had ties to the Christian Identity movement, Eric Robert Rudolph, was convicted of a bomb attack on the Olympic Village in Atlanta in 1996. Rudolph hid out in the Appalachian Mountains for years until his arrest in 2003. The election of Barack Obama as president of the United States in 2008 occasioned a new burst of Christian militancy. In 2010 the FBI uncovered preparations for a full-scale military assault on the U.S. government by the Michigan-based Hutaree group. Though their name was invented, its followers claimed that it meant "Christian warriors."

In Europe, Christian activists opposed to multiculturalism and the acceptance of Muslim immigrants have been involved in a series of violent acts. One of the most dramatic was the mass killing by Anders Breivik in Norway in July 2011. After exploding a bomb in downtown Oslo, he went to an island in a nearby lake where young people associated with a liberal political party were encamped and systematically shot them with automatic weapons. Over seventy were killed. Breivik's manifesto proclaimed his intentions to deter Norwegian politicians from following a path of multiculturalism that would, in his mind, allow Islamic civilization to dominate Northern Europe.[24] And in Africa, a movement called "The Lord's Resistance Army," led by Joseph Kony, terrorized villagers in Uganda while claiming to protect Christian culture.[25]

Judaism

Since they constitute a minority religious community in most parts of the world, Jews have traditionally shied away from political activism. In Israel, however, an extreme form of Jewish nationalism has developed that has a violent side. One of the leading exponents of this kind of violent Judaism was Rabbi Meir Kahane, who immigrated to Israel from the United States in 1971 and founded the Kach (Thus) Party, dedicated to the creation of an Israeli nation based on the Torah (biblical law) rather than on secular principles. Kahane advocated a catastrophic form of Messianic Zionism that urged confrontation with Arabs, secular Jews, and others perceived to be enemies of a Jewish religious state. Although Kahane was assassinated in New York City in 1990 by Muslims associated with the Egyptian al-Gama'a al-Islamiya, his movement continued to advocate violent encounters.[26]

One of his followers, Baruch Goldstein, overcome with shame that Jews had been humiliated by Muslim hecklers near the settlement of Kiryat Arba at the edge of the West Bank city of Hebron, in a savage incident in 1994 entered a mosque at that city's Shrine of the Cave of the Patriarchs, where he massacred Muslims during their prayers. Yigal Amir, propelled by ideas similar to Kahane's and angered by the peace accords that brought Israel close to a concession with the Palestinian authority that would cede much of the West Bank to Palestine, assassinated Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995.

Supporters of this extreme Israeli Messianic nationalism resist any concession of territory to Palestinians and continue to be at the forefront of support for expanding Israeli settlements in Palestinian territory on the West Bank.

Islam

Like most religious traditions, the teachings of Islam praise nonviolence, and the very name of the tradition means "peace." Again, like most religious traditions, the teachings of Islam justify the use of military force in limited cases, primarily for defensive purposes. Terrorism or any killing of noncombatants is not approved by the Qur'an or by any mainstream Muslim authority. Despite this prohibition, however, some activist groups at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first have regarded terrorism as an instrument of protest and a tool in seizing political power that they assert is legitimized by Muslim teachings.[27]

Some of these activists refer to the political writings of Pakistan's Maulana Abu al-Ala Mawdudi, who founded the Jamaat-i-Islami (Islamic Association) in 1941, and Egypt's Hassan al-Banna, who established the Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood) in 1928. These thinkers regarded Western imperialism as the enemy of Islamic society and called for an overthrow of Western influences, by force if necessary, in order to establish a political order based on Islamic law. They have fathered a host of radical Muslim-related movements in North Africa, the Middle East, and South and Southeast Asia.

In Egypt, radical groups have exploited these Muslim political ideologies for political purposes. Extreme factions related to the Muslim Brotherhood have led to acts of violence within Egypt, including attacks on tourist boats on the Nile River and tourist groups at Luxor as well as targeted political leaders. Egypt's President Anwar Sadat was assassinated by members of a Muslim Brotherhood offshoot, al-Gama'a al-Islamiya, in 1981. In nearby Gaza and the West Bank of Palestine, these Egyptian groups influenced a growing Muslim movement of Palestinian nationalism that eventually rivaled the secular Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). This Muslim movement was founded by Sheik Ahmed Yassin and other religious activists in 1987 and was named Hamas, an acronym for the phrase "Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya" (Islamic Resistance Movement); the word *hamas* means "zeal."

In the 1980s Muslim activists from around the world joined the Mujahidin struggle against the Soviet-supported government in Afghanistan. There activists from Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and elsewhere intermingled and created alliances. The Afghan struggle became a crucible in which a transnational jihadi collaboration was forged. From it emerged the al-Qaeda movement, led by Osama bin Ladin. The global jihadi movement was, however, a complex network of groups and leaders that allowed it to spread widely and adopt a variety of tactics. Its targets were usually secular political leaders and centers of American and European economic and military power, indicating that the primary concern of its leaders was Western political domination. An expatriate Pakistani activist, Khalid Shaikh Mohammad, and his nephew Ramsi Youssef plotted a

series of terrorist attacks, including the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center and the more successful September 11, 2001, attack on the Pentagon and the Twin Towers, which reduced the tallest buildings in New York City to a cloud of dust and killed over three thousand people.[28]

In Afghanistan a conservative political regime, the Taliban, allowed bin Ladin to base his operations there. As a result, the Afghan regime became a target of the U.S. military following the 9/11 attacks. After it was toppled, the occupation of the country by the U.S. military created an extreme backlash both in Afghanistan and in neighboring Pakistan, where its own version of the Taliban attacked the Pakistani government as well as U.S. military and political entities.[29]

A similar anti-American extremist movement emerged in Iraq after the U.S.-led ouster of Saddam Hussein in 2003, where religion became a factor in resurgent nationalist movements among both Shi'a and Sunni activists. Some of them, including the Jordanian-born militant Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, had ties to al-Qaeda. Zarqawi was notorious for his savage anti-Shiite attacks and for decapitating Western and indigenous victims in gruesome displays aired on video over the Internet. After he was killed by U.S. forces, one of his successors was Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who led a new movement in 2014 that solidified extremist groups in eastern Syria and western Iraq. In a remarkable blitzkrieg, it occupied major sections of territory, including Iraq's second largest city, Mosul, and several strategic oil fields. He named his newly seized territory "the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham" ("al-Sham" refers to greater Syria, also called the Levant, so the acronym is variously ISIS or ISIL). Later he changed the name simply to "the Islamic State." Like Zarqawi before him, al-Baghdadi essentially ruled by terror, using public decapitations and burning his captives alive as a way of intimidating his followers and threatening his rivals and enemies.[30]

In South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Central Asia—home of the largest Muslim countries in the world—relatively few acts of violence are related to Islam. Among the exceptions have been attacks in Delhi, Mumbai, and Jakarta by small militant cells. The virulence associated with a large movement of Muslim separatism in the southern islands of the Philippines was muted by a peace agreement signed in 2014. In Africa acts of violence have been associated with a group known as Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Mahgreb, and with a Nigerian group, Boko Haram, whose name implies that Western-style book learning is forbidden. The group has savagely attacked Christian villages and schools, killing male students and abducting young women. Though the group claims to be defending Islam, it also lays claim to tribal-based power in the northern region of the country.[31]

Hinduism and Sikhism

The Indic traditions, including Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism, have a reputation for honoring nonviolence and subscribing to peace. Yet images of warfare are part of their legendary past. The Hindu epics *Mahabharta* and *Ramayana* are all about

battle, and Sikh history celebrates the struggles against Moghul rulers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the martyrdom of several of its founding gurus. These legendary and historical battles of the past have been inspirations for militant Hindu and Sikh activists in recent years.[32]

In 1992 a Hindu mob assaulted an old mosque in the North Indian town of Ayodhya on the site of what was reputed to be the birthplace of the Hindu god Rama, smashing it to dust. In the riots between Muslims and Hindus that followed this event, over two thousand people were killed. The momentum of this Hindu activism brought the Hindu-leaning political party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), to a series of successful victories in state level elections, and in 1998 it was able to establish a coalition national government that ruled India until 2004, when the Congress Party again regained control. In the 2014 elections, the BJP, led by Narendra Modi, returned to power. Behind many of the clashes between religious communities in India, the central issue has been the very idea of a multicultural state—whether India will be dominated by one tradition or incorporate a diversity of cultures. In other cases the very unity of India has been challenged: in these incidents religion has been fused with political separatism. The independence struggle in Kashmir is one example of religious separatism in India in which terrorism has played a role. The militant campaign to create a separate nation, Khalistan, for Sikhs in the Punjab region of northern India is another where terrorism was an instrument of war craft.

Though Sikhism is related to Hindu culture, Sikhs have emerged as a separate religious community in the five hundred years since the sect was founded by Guru Nanak and a series of nine other gurus who followed in his lineage in northern India. When Pakistan was created out of British India as a separate country for Muslims, many Sikhs thought that there should be a similar state in the Punjab for them. In the 1980s a movement for Sikh separatism led by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale was aimed at creating a new nation that would privilege the Sikh community and honor its principles and tradition. Members of the movement engaged in acts of terrorism, including hijacking airplanes and attacking busloads of Hindu pilgrims. Bhindranwale was killed in the Indian army's assault on the Sikhs' Golden Temple in 1984, and thousands of Sikhs perished in the ensuing riots against their community.[33]

Buddhism

Like Hinduism, the Buddhist tradition is regarded as nonviolent and not political. Yet Buddhist societies have had their share of religious violence, and in some cases Buddhism has been a vehicle for political power and rebellion.[34] Buddhist monks were at the forefront of Sri Lanka's independence movement in 1948, and in 1953 an influential pamphlet, *The Revolt in the Temple*, began a religious critique of secular nationalism and the claim that "Buddhism had been betrayed." The demand for a Buddhist state resurfaced in the 1980s in part as a response to the government's attempts to appease the Tamil separatist movement of Hindus and Christians in the northern region of the

island nation.[35] In a series of assaults, scores of secular political leaders were killed or injured, and one of Sri Lanka's prime ministers was assassinated by a Buddhist monk. In the twenty-first century cadres of radical Buddhist monks continued their protests against the secular government. A Buddhist group called Bodu Bala Sena singled out the small Muslim community in Sri Lanka as somehow threatening to Sinhalese Buddhism. In 2013 activist Buddhist monks led Sinhalese mobs in attacks on Muslim shops and mosques.

In Myanmar the small Muslim minority is also the target of the wrath of angry Buddhists. The fiery monk Wirathu is said to have stirred up crowds of Buddhists in 2012, inciting them to attack Muslim shops, mosques, and individuals in Mandalay and elsewhere in the country. More than two hundred people were killed and thousands displaced. He was also instrumental in founding the "969 Movement"—a number referring to the precepts of the Buddha—aimed at purifying the country of alien cultural elements, primarily Muslim ones.

In Japan the Buddhist-related Aum Shinrikyo movement was implicated in a nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subways in 1995. Aum Shinrikyo was one of Japan's new religious movements and based its teachings on an eclectic pastiche of ideas from Buddhism to Hinduism and millenarian Christianity.[36] The prophetic teachings of the movement warned its followers about what was imagined to be an impending apocalyptical war, a third world war, in which poison gas and other weapons of mass destruction would be unleashed. The leader of the movement, Shoko Asahara, was tried and sentenced to death in 2004 for encouraging an elite corps of his own religious movement to use sarin gas in an attack on the Tokyo subways in an effort to show that Asahara's dark prophecies were being fulfilled. He was executed on July 6, 2018.

Conclusion

So what is religious about these incidents of religious terrorism? These cases of extreme violence conducted in recent decades by activists in the name of religion show a mixture of themes, motives, and expectations. Most of them are related to political power and the defense of religious communities perceived to be in danger. Yet in virtually all of these cases ideas, images, practices, social identities, and organizational networks related to religion have played a role, in some of them a significant role, even though religion does not cause violence—few activists are motivated by religious beliefs alone. Yet when religious ideas, images, and identities are embraced in a conflict situation, they often make matters worse. The practice of ritual performance when applied to violent encounter can turn killing into a dramatic and gruesome spectacle. The notion of cosmic war can provide an exhilarating image of the world as caught up in cosmic struggle, elevating ordinary competition into the high proscenium of sacred drama. And the transcendent timelines of a cosmic struggle can permit fighters to soldier on despite rational calculations about the futility of their efforts. Thus religion may not be

the problem that causes people to turn to violence in social struggles, but its role in such encounters can often be deeply problematic.

Notes

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5. Monica Toft, Daniel Philpott, and Timothy Shah survey the political aspects of religious extremism in *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics* (New York: Norton, 2011); Jeffrey Haynes examines the emergence of transnational religious activists in *Religious Transnational Actors and Soft Power* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012); Isak Svensson has confronted the challenge of how to bring religiously-involved violent struggles to a close in *Ending Holy Wars: Religion and Conflict Resolution in Civil Wars* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2013).
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7. Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen, eds., *Rethinking Secularism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
8. Juergensmeyer, *Global Rebellion*, 10.
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10. See Talal Asad, *On Suicide Bombing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).
11. Paul Tillich, *Dynamics of Faith* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), 4
12. Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*.
13. My interview with Abdul Aziz Rantisi, a leader of Hamas, in Khan Yunis, Gaza, on March 1, 1998, quoted in Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*, 165.
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25. Lawrence E. Cline, *The Lord's Resistance Army* (New York: Praeger, 2013).
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CHAPTER 31

THE ISLAMIST TERRORIST AS THE NEW UNIVERSAL ENEMY

Discourses on Terror at the United Nations

PINAR KEMERLI

Charles Tilly has used the expression "double-edged" to characterize "some vivid terms that serve political and normative ends despite hindering description and explanation of the social phenomena at which they point."[1] While "politically powerful," these terms are "analytically elusive."[2] Terror, terrorism, and terrorist are such "double-edged terms." As Tilly puts it, they do not describe categorically clear socio-political phenomena, but refer to "a variety of strategies that recur across a wide array of actors and political situations."[3] The apparent difficulty of coming up with a commonly accepted definition of terrorism has much to do with this analytical indeterminacy. Indeed, since its original use during the French Revolution to denote the actions of revolutionaries, the word "terror" has come to be associated with diverse political phenomena including attacks at governments, governmental repression of civilians, secessionist political violence, civil war, and so on. Today, as the critical terrorism studies scholar Richard Jackson has pointed out, "there are over two hundred definitions of terrorism in existence within broader terrorism studies literature and many terrorism scholars have given up on the definitional debate, and use the term unreflexively."[4]

However, the descriptive dilemmas surrounding terrorism derive also from the concrete normative and political commitments of researchers. Several thorny issues preclude consensus. These include (a) the status of groups fighting for national self-determination, (b) the predominant reluctance to label state violence as terrorism, (c) theoretical and institutional dependence of a substantial amount of terrorism research on counterinsurgency studies, (d) "problem-solving orientation" dominating the field,

etc.[5] Controversies such as these divide researchers and policymakers, lead to frequent and unsystematic transformations in referents of the term, and render a common understanding with respect to terrorism perpetually elusive.

Despite this indeterminacy, terrorism has nonetheless remained a prominent concern of modern politics, influencing domestic and international national security measures and foreign policy. Precisely because this analytically and normatively ambiguous notion holds such political prominence, its discursive structure, historical lineage, and political effects have to be subjected to critical scrutiny. In this chapter, my goal is to trace the historical transformations in terrorism discourse at a prominent international institution, the United Nations (U.N.), between the early 1960s and late 2000s. Specifically, the chapter looks at two major historical events occurring in this time period, which have crucially influenced the perception and framing of terrorism, namely, the end of the Cold War and the September 11 attacks against the United States. Analyzing the transformations in the framing of terrorism at the General Assembly (GA) and Security Council (SC) in response to these events, the chapter highlights two prominent changes. The first, as we shall see, is the de-legitimatization of illegal political violence, irrespective of its aims, in the early 1990s. The virtual disappearance of the ideology of Third Worldism and the subsequent changes in international terrorism legislation attended this transformation. The second is the emergent discursive tendency to conflate terrorism with a specific religious tradition, namely Islam, after September 11. The increasing recourse by political actors to a sacrificial modality of violence during this period, and the association of sacrificial violence with political Islam, was determinative in this latter development.

The following discussion unfolds in four parts. The first section outlines the theoretical context and implications of the two historical events the chapter focuses on. The second and the third part document the above-described transformations through the analysis of a case study: Palestinian political violence. The U.N. debate on Palestinian terrorism in the chosen time frame provides ample data for depicting the impact of both the end of the Cold War and September 11 on terrorism legislation and discourse. The last section will bring into focus some of the broader normative and political consequences of these historical developments for the evaluation of political violence and the political actors engaged in it.

The Theoretical Context: Terrorism Controversies (1960s–2000s)

In *Inside Terrorism*, authoritative terrorism studies scholar Bruce Hoffman notes that after World War II, the term "terrorism" gradually regained the revolutionary connotations deriving from its original usage during the French Revolution. During the 1960s

and 1970s the term was primarily used with reference to armed struggles against colonial rule in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Hoffman observed that the distinction between terrorists and freedom fighters came into fashion in this period as a result of the political legitimacy the international community accorded to struggles for national liberation.[6]

The international legitimacy of emancipatory political violence during this period is vouched for by the GA's decolonization declaration in 1960. In this declaration, national self-determination is described as an inalienable right of all peoples.[7] As international law scholar Martti Koskenniemi has pointed out, by the 1970s, legal textbooks began to address self-determination in terms of a legal principle or a right of positive international law.[8] While this was an ambiguous right because it simultaneously affirmed statehood as the basis of international order and a revolutionary challenge to existing nation-states,[9] the principle of self-determination was nonetheless widely used in the legitimization of emancipatory political violence.

The ideological movement underpinning the legitimacy of armed struggles for self-determination was Third Worldism. As Robert Malley has put it, Third Worldism was an "all-encompassing ideology that professed a belief in revolutionary aspirations of the Third World's masses, in the inevitability of their fulfillment, and the role of strong, centralized states in this undertaking."[10] It assigned an important role to political violence in the awakening of the masses to their true will.[11] This position was most emphatically articulated by Franz Fanon's political valuation of violence in his 1966 book *The Wretched of the Earth.* For Fanon, anticolonial violence was an empowering act, eliminating the concrete and psychic divisions between the colonized and colonizer, and making them equal. In the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was the prominent voice of this anti-imperialist ideology. It staunchly advocated the exemption of emancipatory political violence from the definition of terrorism in international conventions. The fact that such stance had wide reception at the United Nations was vouched for by the following resolution that the GA passed first in 1970, and repeatedly until 1994. The resolution affirmed: "the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under colonial and alien domination recognized as being entitled to the right of self-determination to restore to themselves that right by any means at their disposal."[12]

With the turn to the 1990s, the legitimacy that the international community previously accorded to founding political violence began to fade. A new world order was ushered in by the transformations following the end of the Cold War and the weakening of Third Worldism. The emergent normative ideal in this new period of liberal and capitalist triumphalism was the termination of conflict. In the United Nations, shifting dynamics fostered an important transformation in the legislation on political violence. In a 1994 Resolution, the GA added the following article to its previous resolutions against terrorism:

> Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any

> circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.[13]

As criminal law scholar Thomas Weigand has noted, the remarkable feature of this Resolution was that it made no reference, for the first time, to peoples' legitimate struggle for freedom and independence."[14] Effectively overruling its previous practice of exempting national liberation struggles from codification under terrorism, the GA opened the door to the disavowal of all illegal political violence—including armed struggles for self-determination—as terrorism. This precept was reaffirmed in the GA Resolution (51/210) "Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism" of December 17, 1996, in "The International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism" in 1997, and "The International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism" in 2005.[15] This change in the position of the United Nations reversed the political and normative tendencies of the previous decades. The concern with the historical and political causes of terrorism and terrorists' motives, which had dominated the terrorism discourse between the 1960s and the early 1990s, was gradually abandoned. Irrespective of its underlying historical and political grounds, terrorism has thus become an utterly illegitimate and serious threat to the international community and global peace.

Less than a decade later, in 2001, terrorism legislation and discourse underwent another substantive transformation. After the September 11 attacks against the United States, terrorism has arguably become, as Richard Jackson puts it, "the single most important security issue, quickly engendering an impressive array of new anti-terrorism laws, agencies, doctrines, programmes, initiatives and measures."[16] Constitutional law scholar Kim Leane Scheppele described the post–September 11 period as an "international state of emergency," which led the SC to pass resolutions "far more legislative" in nature than its previous resolutions.[17] This emergency paradigm requested of all states to cooperate in the global struggle against terrorism, "making noncompliance at least theoretically subject to sanctions."[18] However, as political scientist Matt Evangelista has pointed out, the global security regime provoked by September 11 also "witnessed a reassertion of state prerogatives and a strengthening of executive authority in many countries."[19] In the name of fighting terrorism, a majority of nation-states have thus mandated new laws that infringe on civil liberties, and in some cases, human rights with regards to the treatment of terror suspects and detainees.[20]

A more tacit but equally important transformation in the international security framework following September 11 has been the association of a specific religious tradition, Islam, and by extension Islamic religiosity, with terrorism. In effect, the notion of "Islamic terrorism" is not a strictly post–September 11 development. As Jackson has noted, it appears to have emerged from studies on "religious terrorism," a distinct field of study inaugurated partly by Professor David Rapoport's seminal article from 1984."[21] Moreover, the principle presuppositions and sensibilities sustaining Islam's association with terrorism can also be traced, as Edward Said's work has famously documented, to a long tradition of Orientalist and colonial scholarship, cultural stereotyping, literary and

visual representations of Muslims—especially Arabs—and the problematic history of economical and political strategizing on the Middle East.[22] Nevertheless, the current Islamic terrorism discourse embodies assumptions and characteristics that are largely associated with the post–September 11 political and social ethos.

The sacrificial modality of political violence, and in particular suicide missions, that marked the September 11 terrorist attacks is an important factor in the discursive conflation of terrorism with political Islam.[23] Although politics scientists such as Robert Pape and Mia Bloom have shown that contrary to prevalent presumptions, the majority of suicide missions have been performed by secular rather than religious groups, this technique of political violence is widely associated with Islamic political formations and military notions such as jihad and martyrdom.[24] As sociologist Diego Gambetta has noted, the September 11 attacks "sealed the reputation of suicide missions as a signature trait of radical Islamic groups."[25] This association has important political consequences. Perhaps the most poignant is the unhelpful broadening of the category of "Islamic terrorism" to include most armed groups in Muslim-majority countries, irrespective of their political ideology and goals. Moreover, this categorization helps disavow the historical specificity and context of political violence, and distracts from the material and political bases of political conflicts. This may result in the formulation of ineffective solutions for troubled regions such as Afghanistan, Chechnya, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, and so on.

Finally, linking terrorism to political Islam has unwittingly facilitated the discursive creation of a universal enemy in the figure of the "Islamist terrorist." Associated primarily with the "suicide bomber," this figure is often depicted as the dehumanized other of our shared political values. Indeed, as political theorist Banu Bargu has noted, sacrificial political violence challenges "our common political imaginary shaped largely by the sanctity of human life and the primacy of the value of life over one's politics."[26] In overturning the widely upheld assumptions about individual life and political practice, sacrificial political violence unsettles the governing norms in domestic and international political life. However, the construing of this challenge as the absolute negation of our humanity is untenable and dangerous. In effect, the disavowal of the terrorists' humanity often works to escalate the intensity of the enmity underpinning historical conflicts, and broadens the scope of counterterrorism measures into the civilian sphere.

Palestinian Armed Struggle from the 1960s to 1990s: Terrorism or Emancipatory Political Violence?

In a comprehensive study of the Palestinian national movement, Middle East Studies scholar Yezid Sayigh documents the centrality of armed struggle and revolutionary

violence in the shaping of Palestinian national identity.[27] Although the emergence of Palestinian guerilla organizations dedicated to the formation of an independent state dates back to 1965, Sayigh identifies the defeat of the Arab states in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War as the formative moment in the Palestinian national consciousness. As he puts it, the military defeat triggered the appropriation of the Palestinian cause by the Palestinian people themselves.[28] At the end of the 1967 War—also known as the Six Day War—Israel captured the West Bank, East Jerusalem, Golan Heights, and the Gaza Strip that had been controlled by Egypt and Jordan since 1948. On November 22, 1967, the SC unanimously passed Resolution 242, which premised the peace between the Arab states and Israel upon the withdrawal of Israel from the lands it occupied at the end of the war and the acknowledgement by each party of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the nation-states in the region.[29] In the succeeding months, the provisions of the resolution were not fulfilled. Portraying themselves as revolutionary freedom fighters, Palestinian guerilla organizations thenceforth drew the legitimacy of their armed struggle from the internationally salient emancipation discourse.[30]

During the 1960s and 1970s, guerilla action was an important catalyst in the symbolic unification of the Palestinians as a people seeking their autonomous state.[31] Borrowing Benedict Anderson's famous notion, Sayigh noted that the heroic imagery of armed struggle gave new substance to "the imagined community" of the Palestinian people.[32] The incident that decisively solidified this self-perception was Palestinian guerillas' successful engagement of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in the Jordanian town of Karamah on March 21, 1968.[33] Guerilla activity doubled within the first three months of the incident, "totaling 90 attacks in June and then rising to monthly average of 203 during 1969 and 231 in 1970."[34] By 1969, the guerillas took control of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), an organization originally founded by Gamal A. Nasser in 1964 to survey and contain Palestinian militarism. Yasser Arafat became the chairman of the PLO in 1969, and the Palestine centered worldview of his organization Fatah, rather than the Arab Nationalism and Marxist-Leninism of the two rival organizations, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP), became the dominant ideology in the Palestinian national movement.

In addition to escalating guerilla militarism, the Karamah confrontation brought the Palestinian cause into international public attention. The SC met on March 21, 1968 to discuss the violation of the ceasefire regulations established at the end of the 1967 War. In this period, the NAM was the staunchest supporter of Palestinian guerilla activity at the United Nations. Romanticizing Palestinian political violence as the glorious awakening of a people to its historical destiny, its spokesperson dismissed the labeling of Palestinian armed struggle as "terrorism":

> In the face of the daily intensification of what some call "terrorism" but what is, in fact, the strengthening of Arab resistance movements against the enemy occupation, the Israeli troops in addition to using fascist methods denounced by every

> human conscience against the resistance, have launched a new aggression. Are the examples not conclusive enough to prove to them that neither reprisals nor massacres will suffice to overcome a people fighting for their freedom against foreign occupation? In the usurped land of Palestine, an entire nation is proudly and courageously preparing itself to forge and fulfill its destiny. The Palestine liberation movement, notwithstanding the traditionally colonialist epithets with which it has been labeled this morning, is leading its people towards their destiny, as in Vietnam and Rhodesia.[35]

From this perspective, the labeling of Palestinian political violence as terrorism was an imperialist strategy, aimed at obscuring the historical and political roots of Palestinian armed movement. Indeed, it was not only the supporters of Third Worldism who endorsed such a position. Commenting on Israel's reprisal against guerilla attacks, the French Ambassador made the following argument:

> The fact that this operation has been termed an act of reprisal does not diminish the responsibility of the Government, which ordered it. We cannot allow a State to reserve the right violently to take the law into its own hands, as the representative of Israel would have it.…On many a previous occasion, my Government has pointed out that acts of so-called terrorism are the almost inevitable consequence of military occupation.[36]

The French Ambassador's ambivalence about calling Palestinian attacks terrorism, against which sovereign states theoretically have the right to defend themselves, clearly reflects the absence of consensus even among Western countries about what constituted terrorism, and which counterterrorism measures states could legitimately deploy.

Four years after this debate, however, the need for a widely accepted definition of terrorism was reinforced as a result of a series of international terrorist attacks. As political scientist Jörg Friedrichs has noted, it was particularly the 1972 Munich attack that fostered an effort at the United Nations to define terrorism and to determine strategies for its containment and prevention.[37] On September 5, 1972, a Palestinian guerilla organization called the Black September kidnapped and eventually murdered eleven Israeli athletes and a West German police officer in the Olympic village in Munich. Five days later, the SC met to discuss the problem of international terrorism. In his address to the council, the Ambassador of India made a tacit but clear distinction between illegitimate acts of violence such as the Munich massacre, and other potentially legitimate uses of violence in the pursuit of political ends:

> We condemn terrorism, but one has to recognize also the frustration and desperation that lie behind such terrorism and has to take action to remove their causes. Besides, the Arab terrorists do not perhaps forget the terrorism, which has bedevilled the history of the Holy Land, particularly in the second quarter of the twentieth century.[38]

While the Indian Ambassador stressed the historical and political reasons that may justify the recourse to political violence, the Somalian Ambassador disputed the analytical value of the notion of terrorism altogether:

> There has been considerable talk about terror and terrorism. Yet the term lends itself so easily to all kinds of interpretation that it would be difficult for my delegation at this stage to attempt to say what each delegation means by the word "terror." I would prefer the term "violence." My delegation is indeed against all acts of violence for the sake of violence. Now, situations do arise where violence, however regrettable it might be, perhaps becomes justifiable in pursuit of a legitimate cause or in pursuit of legitimate defense.…Now, I am not saying that what has happened in Munich is to be applauded. By no means; it was violence.[39]

More passionate supporters of the Palestinians went even further and claimed that the international community's use of the label of terrorism reflected cultural prejudice. Drawing parallels between Palestinian terrorism, pre-state Jewish terrorism in Israel, and the European Resistance during World War II, the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia argued:

> You know what the Haganah was. It used terrorism in order to gain its ends. So did the Stern Gang. And the Tzeva's Leumi group too used terror. And the Palestinian Arabs finally had no recourse but to use some of the same methods; but they do not know how to use them like the Europeans, who are experts. But, frustrated as they are, they sometimes use terror. So did the Maquis. The Maquisards are heroes because they are French. But if the Palestinian wants to exercise his right to self-determination, he is a terrorist, a thug.[40]

Such rhetorical enthusiasm in the U.N. chambers during the 1970s was not unusual. It expressed the concern, especially prominent amongst non-aligned countries, for carving a space in international jurisdiction for illegal but possibly legitimate political violence. Failing to produce a common understanding, the United Nations abandoned its efforts to come up with a common definition of terrorism toward the end of the 1970s. But this failure was perhaps less important than the crucial political problem that it had brought into focus. The vexing issue at the center of the international terrorism controversy was the perennial tension in politics between legality and legitimacy. In effect, the inability to come up with a widely accepted understanding of terrorism reflected the political disagreements attending this knotty problem.

In the absence of a common definition, the United Nations adopted a rather pragmatic approach toward the problem of international terrorism during the 1980s.[41] As Jörg Friedrichs has shown, this pragmatic approach resulted in multiple conventions and responses against particular acts of international terrorism, rather than provide an overarching legal framework to deal with the threat.[42] But toward the end of the decade, the Palestinian problem resurfaced to put pressure on this pragmatism and case-by-case basis approach. In December 1987, the first Palestinian Intifada ("resistance," "shaking off" in Arabic) began. As opposed to the guerilla action and airline hijackings of the

earlier decades, the first Intifada was characterized by a wave of spontaneous demonstrations and strikes all over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The disturbances grew and turned more violent with Israel's forceful response to the civilian uprising. In accounting for its use of force against the Palestinian protestors, Israel argued that the Intifada was incited by terrorist organizations outside of the territories and the situation on the ground amounted to "anarchy."[43] This argument was criticized through invocations of the earlier decades' emphasis on the legitimacy of emancipatory political violence. In the SC meeting of December 16, 1987, the Chinese Ambassador argued, for example, that incitation to resistance was not necessary within the context of occupation: "It is common knowledge that where there is occupation, there is resistance."[44] In a more pointed response, the Arab League asked:

> Must they [the Palestinians] guarantee not to resort to resistance in order to rid their homeland of occupation, even though resistance was *the* only legitimate way of liberating the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America? Was it not through such resistance that George Washington achieved the independence of the United States? Were George Washington, Simon Bolivar and General De Gaulle not called terrorists at one stage of their struggles?[45]

Stressing that constitutive violence lies at the origins of most existing nation-states, such comments brought to the surface the inherent ambiguity in the self-determination principle. While considered the only legitimate ground for state formation, self-determination is also a challenge to existing states that came into being necessarily through founding violence and the exclusion of rival groups. The U.N. debates on terrorism during the Intifada thus brought into focus broader political problems concerning nation-state sovereignty and its normative grounds including sovereign state's disavowal of its own violent origins, romanticized reframing of constitutive violence that gives birth to a people, and de facto necessity of brute force in creating and maintaining systems of legitimacy.

By the end of the Cold War, political dilemmas evoked by the national self-determination principle and the use of violence as a political means reached new levels. The PLO responded to changing international dynamics that largely worked against its interests by formally renouncing terrorism, accepting the previous SC Resolutions, and opening dialogue with the United States.[46] As a result of these developments and U.S. President Bill Clinton's peace initiative, the Middle East Peace Conference gathered in Madrid in 1991. Two years of bureaucratic efforts resulted in the signing of the Declaration of Principles (Oslo Accords) as the framework for further negotiations and agreements between Israel and the PLO in the White House on September 13, 1993.

In the meantime, the United Nations renewed its efforts to produce an international consensus on what constitutes terrorism. Shortly after the Oslo Accords, on December 9, 1994, the GA passed the Resolution "Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism." As mentioned above, with this resolution, the use of illegal violence as a political means, even in struggles for national self-determination, was delegitimized. But, these changing

norms in international legislation on terrorism did not stop the deployment of political violence by opponents of the Middle East peace process. It was during this period that Palestinian political organizations Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad began to deploy suicide missions.[47]

As opposed to the earlier ambivalence about the potential legitimacy of Palestinian political violence, in the post-1994 period, terrorism was unequivocally condemned as illegitimate and unacceptable at the United Nations. In response to a Jerusalem bus bombing on March 3, 1996, for example, U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali denounced the attack as "heinous act of cowardice" and "senseless carnage," leaving no room for any justification of terrorism on account of its possibly legitimate causes or aims.[48] "The civilized world will not, must not, tolerate these acts of terrorism which have no goal except the undermining of the Middle East peace process," the Secretary General added.

The Sharm el-Sheikh Antiterrorism summit of March 13, 1996, co-chaired by then Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and U.S. President Bill Clinton, further reflected the transformations in international response to terrorism. President Clinton emphasized the need for clarity in condemnations of "those who resort to terror" in Palestine and the broader Middle East: "Violence has no place in the future we all seek for the Middle East."[49] The U.N. Secretary General described their new resolve in the face of terrorism as a relentless war. "A war is taking place," he argued, "terror and terrorism have declared war against peace and security." Drawing attention to the GA's 1994 resolution, he stressed that terrorism had been condemned by all nations of the world, and the United Nations was now "ready to serve as a mechanism for mobilization" against terrorism "on a global scale."[50]

As these comments make clear, arguments for the legitimacy of the political use of violent methods in national emancipation struggles, which dominated the debates on terrorism during the 1960s and 1970s, effectively disappeared by early 1990s. After 1994, terrorism legislation and discourse at the United Nations largely became unequivocal with regards to the unacceptability of the use of illegal violence, no matter what its causes or goals may be.

Palestinian Political Violence after September 11: Islamic Terrorism

In a comprehensive study of the cyclical patterns followed by suicide missions in the Arab-Israeli conflict from 1981 to 2003, sociologist Luca Ricolfi observes that Palestinian recourse to suicide missions peaked first with the implementation of the Oslo agreement (1994–96) and again during the central years of the second Intifada (2001–02), also known as the al-Aqsa Intifada.[51] During the Oslo wave, terrorists aimed, Ricolfi argues, for the undermining of the peace process. The al-Aqsa wave, on the other hand,

was the response to the failure of the peace process by 2000. The al-Aqsa Intifada broke out soon after the failure of Camp David negotiations between Yasser Arafat, Ehud Barak, and Bill Clinton.[52]

Suicide missions emerged as the predominant method of political violence deployed by Palestinian groups during the al-Aqsa Intifada. According to the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, between the first Palestinian suicide mission on April 6, 1994 and the outbreak of the al-Aqsa Intifada in September 2000, there had been sixteen suicide missions within the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Israel.[53] The same archives show a skyrocketing in the number of suicide missions between 2000 and 2007: a hundred and forty suicide missions occurred during these seven years. Despite its wide reputation as "Islamic terrorism," suicide missions had also been committed by secular Palestinian groups including Fatah and the leftist PFLP.[54]

A comparison between U.N. debates on Palestinian suicide missions in these two time frames (1994–96 and 2000–2007) presents an important contrast. During the first wave (1994–96), sacrificial terrorism deployed by Palestinian groups was not described as Islamic. While Palestinian suicide missions were condemned as "profoundly horrific and outrageous,"[55] a form of "senseless carnage,"[56] and utterly intolerable in a civilized world,[57] they were not branded as a religious form of terrorism. At the U.N. Sharm el-Sheikh Antiterrorism summit of 1996, for example, sacrificial terrorism was framed as "alien to the moral and spiritual values shared by all the peoples of the region," not as Islamic terrorism.[58] This attitude is in marked contrast with the post–September 11 responses to sacrificial acts of political violence. Less than three months after September 11, the Ambassador of Norway linked Palestinian suicide missions to the growing threat of Islamist international terrorism. Drawing parallels between the "tragic and appalling events of 11 September,"[59] and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Ambassador urged the international community to contain the conflict before it entirely gets "out of hand."[60] In more passionate articulations of this worry, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was emptied of its historical and political context, and was reframed as the effect of rising Islamic extremism. Israeli Ambassador Mr. Carmon argued:

> Although some previously embraced the misleading narrative that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the cause of instability in our region, the facts on the ground show precisely the opposite: that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the consequence of instability caused by the rising extremism which is sweeping through our region.[61]

A similar equivocation shaped President Bush's discourse. Especially after the electoral victory of Hamas in the Palestinian Legislative Council election of January 2006, he began to frame Hamas's electoral rise to power as a global problem, related to the War on Terror. Following the elections, the international community imposed economic sanctions on the Palestinian Authority. To ease the pressure, Hamas and Fatah formed a national unity government in March 2007. But the power-sharing arrangements did not lead to the lifting of economic sanctions or to an international acknowledgement of Hamas's involvement in the Palestinian Authority. The ensuing tension between Hamas

and Fatah burst into violent clashes, bordering on a civil war. On June 15, 2007, Hamas took over the Gaza Strip.[62] Commenting on the tumultuous series of events on July 17, 2007, President Bush argued:

> The conflict in Gaza and the West Bank today is a struggle between extremists and moderates. And these are not the only places where the forces of radicalism and violence threaten freedom and peace. The struggle between extremists and moderates is also playing out in Lebanon—where Hezbollah and Syria and Iran are trying to destabilize the popularly elected government. The struggle is playing out in Afghanistan—where the Taliban and al Qaeda are trying to roll back democratic gains. And the struggle is playing out in Iraq.[63]

This framing disavows the important differences in the political context of each conflict that the president evokes. Lumped together with all other regional conflicts under the umbrella of a universal Islamic threat, Palestinian terrorism has thus become another manifestation of ahistorical Islamic extremism.

Moreover, September 11 changed the moral tone of the debate in important ways. Sacrificial terrorism in Palestine began to be presented, in the words of the Canadian Ambassador, as "an offense against humanity, and a tactic that is never acceptable, including in resistance to occupation."[64] With suicide missions, Mr. Tafrov of Bulgaria similarly argued, "an element that is irrational and inhuman from every perspective"[65] was introduced to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Mr. Levitte of France went further in emphasizing the inhumanity of this terroristic technique, and expressed his "feeling of disgust" over Palestinian suicide missions.[66]

In support of the claim that the sacrificial modality of violence is more inhumane and unacceptable than other forms of warfare, representatives at the United Nations often point out that suicide missions are not simply illegitimate acts of violence, but symbolic violations of liberal and democratic values such as liberty, individuality, and tolerance. For example, with reference to a suicide mission occurring in Jerusalem on September 22, 2004, the Deputy Prime Minister of Israel described sacrificial terrorism as an "enemy of the individual freedoms and human rights—including the right to life itself—which define our humanity."[67] Comparing this modality of violence to tyranny, he further argued that our "collective goal" in the face of "the pictures of human flesh torn apart by the terrorists" is "securing freedom and democracy for all the peoples of the world." In the SC meeting of September 14, 2005, President Bush similarly highlighted that it is intolerance and disdain of individual freedoms that characterize the radical ideology behind suicide missions.[68] Only through "promoting an ideology of freedom and tolerance," the President added, could we "refute the dark vision of the terrorists."

Insofar as suicide missions are widely considered a "signature trait of radical Islamic groups,"[69] as Gambetta has noted, such arguments help disseminate prejudice against Islamic political formations and traditions, commonly described as incompatible with liberalism and democracy.[70] But perhaps more importantly, through such discursive moves, political terrorism in Palestine—as elsewhere in the broader Middle East—

evolves from a historical problem confined to a particular geography to an alleged universal threat to the security of liberal democracy and freedoms of the world's nations.

Conclusion

The preceding analysis of terrorism legislation and discourse at the United Nations between the 1960s and late 2000s has brought into focus two important developments: the disavowal of the legitimacy of non-sovereign political violence within the post–Cold War context and the association of political Islam with terrorism following September 11. These developments, it has been argued, have facilitated the discursive construction of a universal enemy in the image of the Islamist terrorist. This discursive image is laden with particular normative assumptions that concern sacrificial violence—the "signature trait" of political Islam today. These include the idea that Islamist terrorists are particularly disdainful of liberal democratic values such as liberty, tolerance, and individualism, and are exceptionally prone to morally inferior and inhumane forms of enmity and violence.

The political consequences of disavowing the enemy's humanity in warfare have recently become the subject of scholarly debate.[71] Some critics of the post–September 11 terrorism discourse have turned to a controversial figure, Carl Schmitt, to discuss the emergent structures of enmity in the new world order that September 11 inaugurated.[72] While Schmitt's legacy is highly problematic—not least of all due to his involvement in National Socialism, his support for commissarial dictatorship, and his approval of the imperialist appropriations undergirding the European state system—some of his post–World War II reflections indeed speak to our current political context.[73] In his late work, *Nomos of the Earth* (1950), Schmitt traces the consequences of the collapse of the Eurocentric world order by the end of World War I that had dominated the world since the seventeenth century. The "sea-based" and economically driven Anglo-American universalism replaced the old Eurocentric order and began to "do away with earlier spatial distinctions and the centrality of sovereignty."[74] Schmitt suggests that in the emergent new world order, a dangerous tendency to moralize war replaced an important achievement of the *ius publicum Eurapaeum*: the limitation of European warfare. As Martti Koskenniemi has noted, while in the old Eurocentric world order wars were characterized as "duels" between formally equal sovereign states and the enemy was considered to be *justus hostis* (lawful enemy), in the new order "the enemy was no longer depicted as a public law opponent but as an enemy of 'humanity' *tout court* against which no measures were excessive."[75] With this transformation in the depiction of the enemy, war has come to be perceived as a confrontation between a just side and its unjust, dehumanized opponent.

The consequences of the dehumanization of the enemy that Schmitt traces in *Nomos of the Earth* may sound an important warning with respect to today's framing of the Islamist terrorist. Disavowing the enemy's humanity opens the door to the unleashing of

unrestrained violence against it. Absolute impunity shapes the struggle against dehumanized enemies—the "tyrants" and "pirates" of old. The highly moralistic tone widely deployed in descriptions of the global war on terror not only in popular media and politics but in venues of international jurisdiction such as the United Nations is not, therefore, a mere rhetorical gesture. It should be understood, rather, as an implicit mandating of the use of unlimited power as a legitimate counterterrorism measure against today's common enemies, the Islamist terrorists.

Notes

1. Charles Tilly, "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists," *Sociological Theory* 22 (2004): 5.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Richard Jackson, "An Argument for Terrorism," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 2 (2008): 25.
5. Cf. R. G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris, eds., *Violence, Terrorism, and Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Richard Jackson, Marie Breen Smyth, Jeroen Gunning, and Lee Jarvis, *Terrorism: A Critical Introduction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan: 2011); Andrew Silke, ed., *Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements and Failures* (London: Frank Cass, 2004); Virginia Held, "Terrorism and War," *Journal of Ethics* 8 (2004): 59–75; Jeremy Waldron, "Terrorism and the Uses of Terror," *Journal of Ethics* 8 (2004): 5–35; Robert Goodin, *What's Wrong with Terrorism?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006); Richard Jackson, "The Core Commitment of Critical Terrorism Studies," *European Consortium for Political Research* (2007): 1–8; Jeroen Gunning, "A Case for Critical Terrorism Studies?" *Government and Opposition* 42 (2007): 363–393.
6. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 16.
7. U.N. G.A. Res. 1514 (XV), "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," December 14, 1960.
8. Cf. Martti Koskenniemi, "National Self-Determination Today: Problems of Legal Theory and Practice," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 43 (1994): 242–269; Ian Brownlie, *Principles of Public International Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).
9. Koskenniemi, "National," 248.
10. Robert Malley, *The Call from Algeria: Third Worldism, Revolution, and the Turn to Islam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 2.
11. Ibid., 107.
12. U.N. G.A. Res. 26/49, November 30, 1970. The importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights.
13. U.N. G.A. Res. 49/60, "Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism," December 9, 1994. See also Matthew Evangelista, *Law, Ethics, and the War on Terror* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 23–55. U.N. G. Res. 1514 (XV), December 14, 1960.
14. Thomas Weigend, "The Universal Terrorist: The International Community Grappling with a Definition," *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 4 (2006): 920.
15. Cf. Antonio Cassese, "The Multifaceted Criminal Notion of Terrorism in International Law," *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 4 (2006): 933–958. Cassese quotes the UN

Secretary General's Report to the General Assembly, of April 27, 2006: "In order to constrict the pool of those who may resort to terrorism, we must make absolutely clear that no cause, no matter how just, can excuse terrorism. This includes the legitimate struggle of peoples for self-determination. Even this fundamental right defined in the Charter of the United Nations does not excuse deliberately killing or maiming civilians and non-combatants" (Cassese, "The Multifaceted," 955).

16. Richard Jackson, "Constructing Enemies: 'Islamic Terrorism' in Political and Academic Discourse," *Government and Opposition* 42 (2007): 394.
17. Kim Leane Scheppele, "The International State of Emergency: Challenges to Constitutionalism after September 11," *Digital Commons @UM Carey Law*, December 2006, [http://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1048&context=schmooze_papers].
18. Ibid., 3.
19. Evangelista, *Law*, 1.
20. Cf. "The Legal Prohibition against Torture," *Human Rights Watch*, March 11, 2003, [http://www.hrw.org/legacy/press/2001/11/TortureQandA.htm]; "Summary of International and U.S. Law Prohibiting Torture and Other Ill-treatment of Persons in Custody," *Human Rights Watch*, May 24, 2004, [http://www.hrw.org/legacy/english/docs/2004/05/24/usint8614.htm]; "Getting Away with Torture?" *Human Rights Watch*, April 23, 2005, [http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2005/04/23/getting-away-torture-0].
21. Jackson, "Constructing Enemies," 398. Cf. David Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions," *American Political Science Review* 78 (1984): 658–677.
22. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).
23. I borrow the expression "suicide missions" from Diego Gambetta. For an account of the theoretical concerns undergirding this terminology, see Diego Gambetta's "Foreword" in Diego Gambetta, ed., *Making Sense of Suicide Missions* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), viii.
24. Cf. Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Robert A. Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005).
25. Diego Gambetta, "Can We Make Sense of Suicide Missions," in *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*, ed. Diego Gambetta (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 299.
26. Ayse Banu Bargu, "The Weaponization of Life," *Constellations* 16 (2009): 634.
27. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for the State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949–1993* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies; Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 107–108.
28. Ibid., 668.
29. Resolution 242 is perhaps the most commonly cited resolution in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. It has been the basis of the peace negotiations first between Israel and its neighbors, and later between Israel and the PLO. The primary preamble of the Resolution, which is referred to also as the "Land for Peace Formula," is the following: "The SC affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following

principles: (i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict; (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force." U.N. S/RES/242, November 22, 1967.

30. Cf. Rosemary Sayigh, *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries—A People's History* (London: Zed Press, 1979).
31. Cf. Leila S. Kadi, ed., *Basic Political Documents of the Armed Palestinian Resistance Movement* (Beirut: Palestine Research Centre, 1969).
32. Sayigh, *Armed Struggle*, 668.
33. Ibid., 195.
34. Ibid., 202.
35. Mr. Bouattoura (Algeria), U.N. S/PV.1402, March 21, 1968.
36. Mr. Berard (France), U.N. S/PV.1402, March 21, 1968.
37. Jörg Friedrichs, "Defining the International Public Enemy: The Political Struggle behind the Legal Debate on International Terrorism," *Leiden Journal of International Law* 19 (2006): 70–71.
38. U.N. S/PV.1662, September 10, 1972.
39. Ibid.
40. Mr. Baroody (Saudi Arabia), U.N. A/PV.2391, November 3, 1975. Haganah, Stern Gang, and Leumi were the paramilitary Jewish organizations in the British Mandate of Palestine. Haganah was active between 1920s and 1948, and after the founding of Israel, its cadre and forces constituted the core of the IDF. Stern Gang, also known as the Stern Group or Lehi was known for its more radical ideology and methods. The group assassinated the UN mediator Count Folke Bernadotte in 1948. Leumi, better known as the Irgun, was operative between 1931 and 1948, and is known especially for the 1946 bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. Menachem Begin served as the head of Irgun after 1944, and later told its story in his *The Revolt*. Cf. Ami Pedahzur and Arie Perliger, *Jewish Terrorism in Israel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Menachem Begin, *The Revolt* (London: W. H. Allen, 1983).
41. Friedrichs, "Defining," 71.
42. Ibid., 71–72.
43. In the SC meeting of January 28, 1988, Israeli Ambassador Mr. Netanyahu made the following statement: "Having failed in war, having failed in terrorism and having failed in all the violent means at their disposal, the Arab rejectionists now seek a new strategy, a strategy that can be called the strategy of anarchy. If you produce anarchy and if you produce this cascade of one-sided criticism, maybe, just maybe, that will force a stampede against Israel so that it would evacuate the area on a unilateral basis. But of course it will not do that, and we are not about to do that because it would be a prescription not for peace, but for catastrophe." U.N. S/PV.2787, January 28, 1988.
44. Li Luye (China), U.N. S/PV.2774, December 16, 1987. A more pointed argument was made by Libyan Arab Jamahiriya: "The perpetuation of occupation can only lead to increased violence. I hold that such violence is legitimate. The uprising by the Palestinian people, with stones in their hands, is a legitimate revolution." U.N. S/PV.2787, January 28, 1988.
45. The League of Arab States, U.N. A/43/PV.8215, December 1989. Arafat made a similar argument in his second address to the GA in 1989.

46. In fact, the PLO had already abandoned its originary proposal for a single democratic Palestinian state in favor of a two-state solution in the twelfth session of the Palestine National Council in 1974. Yet the two-state solution was not formally endorsed until 1988 when the Palestinian Declaration of Independence was adopted by the PNC.
47. Cf. Khaled Hroub, *Hamas: Political Thought and Practice* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2000); Bernard Rougier, *Everyday Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam among Palestinians in Lebanon* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).
48. U.N. SG/SM/5909, March 4, 1996.
49. Bill Clinton, "Statement by President Clinton at the Sharm el-Sheikh Conference," *Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, March 13, 1996, [http://tinyurl.com/ct2sqx5].
50. U.N. SG/SM/5921, March 13, 1996.
51. Luca Ricolfi, "Palestinians, 1981–2003," in *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*, ed. Diego Gambetta (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 84. The uprising is known as the al-Aqsa because violence began in the Old City in East Jerusalem, housing the al-Aqsa mosque, the third holiest site in Sunni Islam. Known to Muslims as the Haram al-Sharif, and to Jews as the Temple Mount, the site is at the heart of both side's historical claims to East Jerusalem. Ariel Sharon, who was at the time an opposition leader, paid a controversial visit to the site on September 28. Against the backdrop of the failed peace negotiations and deep frustration among the Palestinian population, the event is credited for sparking the ensuing violence.
52. Ricolfi, "Palestinians," 92–97.
53. Cf. "Suicide and Other Bombing Attacks in Israel since the Declaration of Principles," Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, [http://tinyurl.com/64h8y].
54. Ricolfi, "Palestinians," 96.
55. "Statement by the Presidency on Behalf of the European Union on Recent Terrorist Violence in Israel," October 20, 1994, U.N. A/49/574, October 26, 1994.
56. Spokesman for the Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, U.N. SG/SM/5909, March 4, 1996.
57. Ibid.
58. "Final Statement Summit of Peacemakers," Sharm el-Sheikh, March 13, 1996 (Issued by Co-Chairmen, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and US President Bill Clinton), Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Peace/Guide/Pages/Summit%20of%20Peacemakers%20-%20Sharm%20el-Sheikh-%20March%2013-.aspx
59. Mr. Kolby (Norway), U.N., December 14, 2001. UN S/PV.4438
60. Mr. Kolby (Norway), U.N. S/PV.4438, December 14, 2001.
61. Mr. Carmon (Israel), U.N. A/62/PV.60, November 30, 2007.
62. Graham Usher, "Hamas Risen," *Middle East Report Online*, [http://www.merip.org/mer/mer238/usher.html].
63. Cf. "George W. Bush Discusses the Middle East," July 16, 2007, [http://www.whitehouse.govt]. http://www.bitterlemons.net/docs/bush.pdf
64. Mr. Heinbecker (Canada), U.N. S/PV.4506 (Resumption 1), April 3, 2002.
65. Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria), U.N. S/PV.4506 (Resumption 1), April 3, 2002.
66. Mr. Levitte (France), U.N. S/PV.4506 (Resumption 1), April 3, 2002.
67. Mr. Silvan Shalom (Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel), U.N. A/59/PV.7, September 23, 2004.
68. President Bush (US), U.N. S/PV.5261, September 14, 2005.

69. Gambetta, "Can We Make Sense of Suicide Missions," 299.
70. For a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between Islam and democracy, see John L. Esposito and John O. Voll, *Islam and Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). For good critics of recent theorization on Islam's incompatibility with democracy, see Saba Mahmood, "Secularism, Hermeneutics, and Empire: The Politics of Islamic Reformation," *Public Culture* 18 (2006): 328–347; Asser Bayat, *Islam and Democracy: What is the Real Question?* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007); and Talal Asad, "Thinking about Religion, Belief, and Politics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Religious Studies*, ed. Robert A. Orsi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
71. Cf. Jody Greene, "Hostis Humani Generis," *Critical Inquiry* 34 (Summer 2008): 683–705; Jon Beasley-Murray, "The Common Enemy: Tyrants and Pirates," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 104 (Spring 2005): 217–225; Gil Anidjar, "Terror Right," *The New Centennial Review* 4 (2004): 35–69; Talal Asad, *On Suicide Bombing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); and Friedrichs, "Defining."
72. Cf. Stephen Legg and Alexander Vasudevan, "Introduction: Geographies of the Nomos," in *Spatiality, Sovereignty and Carl Schmitt: Geographies of the Nomos*, ed. Stephen Legg (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2011), 1–25.
73. Carl Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of the Jus Publicum Europeaum* (New York: Telos Press, 2003). Cf. Timothy W. Luke, "Appropriating, Distributing, and Producing Space after 9/11: The Newest Nomos of the Earth?" in *Spatiality, Sovereignty and Carl Schmitt*, 57–74; Gerry Kearns, "Echoes of Carl Schmitt among the Ideologists of the New American Empire," in *Spatiality, Sovereignty and Carl Schmitt*, 74–91; Matthew Coleman, "Colonial War: Carl Schmitt's deterritorialization of enmity," in *Spatiality, Sovereignty and Carl Schmitt*, 127–143.
74. Martti Koskenniemi, *The Gentle Civilizer of Nations: The Rise and Fall of International Law 1870–1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 416.
75. Ibid., 416.

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CHAPTER 32

WOMEN REBELS/ TERRORISTS IN POSTCOLONIAL CONFLICTS

V. G. JULIE RAJAN

In the postcolonial era, women have participated in numerous domestic and international conflicts globally, from ones taking place in North and South America to those of Europe, Asia, and MENA (Middle East and North Africa). In some cases women are executing acts of resistance/terrorism that challenge the security of the nation-states in which they live.[1] For example, the sisters Delours Price and Marian Price executed a series of bombings in London in March 1973 that killed one and injured over two hundred for the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA or "Provisionals"), a rebel/terrorist group fighting British imperialism in Northern Ireland.[2] On October 13, 2005, twenty-two-year-old Yasmeena Akhter became the first Kashmiri woman bomber in Avantipura, Kashmir, for the Banaat-e-Ayesha (Daughters of Ayesha), the female wing of the Jaish-e-Mohammed (Army of Mohammed [JeM]), the Pakistani-backed Islamist group that bombed the Indian Parliament in December 2001.[3] On October 4, 2003, the twenty-nine-year-old Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) operative Hanadi Tayseer Jaradat killed nineteen and injured fifty in the restaurant Maxim in Haifa, Israel.[4]

Despite the people they have injured and killed, the fear they effect, and the degree to which they have contributed to often men-led resistance/terrorist movements, women rebels/terrorists are nevertheless portrayed by international media and by cultural, academic, and governmental venues through simplistic patriarchal images of femininity—mothers, daughters, virgin brides. Projections of women rebels/terrorists through those familiar representations tend to assuage social anxieties about women rebels/terrorists by reminding society that, despite their excessively violent potential, women terrorists are, after all, 'only women' who can be managed in patriarchy and 'put back in their place' through gender-based violence, which informs their everyday experience in patriarchy.

Women in Rebel/Terrorist Movements

Women rebels/terrorists do not fit any one profile but instead exist under a wide range of socioeconomic variables, including age, class, religion, educational and professional status, and marital and parental status, among others. Regarding parental status, some women rebels/terrorists have been mothers and others grandmothers, thereby challenging female gender norms of maternal figures as passive and non-violent. For example, sixty-four-year-old Palestinian Fatima Omar Mahumud al-Najar was a mother of nine and a grandmother of forty-one when she executed a suicide mission for HAMAS (Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-Islāmiyyah, or 'Islamic Resistance Movement') on November 23, 2006, in Erlanger, Gaza, which killed three. Ulrike Meinhoff was a mother of two daughters while a fully active member of the Red Army Faction (Rote Armee Fraktion [RAF]), a leftist, antifascist group formed in West Germany in 1970.[5]

Some women terrorists are from lower socio-economic classes while others emerge from more privileged backgrounds, and still others present a complex interplay of multiple class contexts—this complexity challenges mainly Western imperial stereotypes that regard only human beings of lower socio-economic classes and those of color as 'naturally violent' and, hence, as terrorists. While some women suicide bombers residing in the Gaza Strip emerged from trying socioeconomic circumstances that undermined their access to education, others were well educated, such as the Uzbek suicide bomber Dilnoza Holmuradova, who spoke five languages, was a computer programmer, and was enrolled in the Tashkent police academy.[6] Although women of the leftist Italian Red Brigades (Brigatisti/Brigate Rosse [RB]) demonstrated against the exploitation of working-class Italians, they themselves came from privileged families.[7]

In some cases men-led rebel/terrorist groups initially prohibited their women constituents from rising to key positions within the group's infrastructure and assuming pivotal combative roles in rebel/terrorist missions. In those contexts, women were forced to support men's rebel/terrorist activities by acting as propagandists and recruiters for the movement or by executing other low-visibility activities, such as those of couriers. Yet, as resistance struggles continued, most men-dominated rebel/terrorist groups changed their views about the role of women in their movements either for practical and, hence, tactical reasons or because the women themselves vehemently lobbied for changes. As to the former, low recruitment numbers forced some rebel/terrorist groups to permit their women cadres to carry out activities otherwise reserved for men. This may be have been the case with Chechen rebel/terrorist movements against Russia, which have deployed a disproportionately large number of women as suicide bombers relative to the number of men.[8] In line with the latter, Irish women affiliated with the PIRA were initially relegated to supportive roles, including hiding weapons and offering first aid. Yet during the 1960s, amid increasing tensions in the conflict, women were able to assume combat positions within the PIRA because of their continuous lobbying demands.[9] The significant rise of women members in the LTTE

(the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, aka Tamil Tigers), which is a rebel group comprised of members of the ethnic Tamil minority community fighting against the Singhalese- and Buddhist-dominated nation of Sri Lanka for a separate Tamil homeland in Sri Lanka since the 1980s, came only after the significant loss of men's lives in 1997. Despite the prominence they have gained in prominent attacks, some scholars contend that LTTE women cadres are generally relegated to "supplementary and secondary" roles to men in the organization.[10]

Women have made up a significant numerical portion of rebel/terrorist movements internationally; for example, they have comprised 50 percent of the RAF and an estimated 80 percent of its supporters.[11] Women have also gained prominence in rebel/terrorist groups despite the conservative cultural values imposed on them by the men leading those groups or by the cultures supporting the activities of those groups. This is evidenced in statistics concerning the Communist Peruvian Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso [SL]), the agenda of which is to replace the Peruvian government with communist peasants; and of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia [FARC]), a Marxist group warring with the Colombian government until 2016. By 1987 one-half the members of SL arrested for terrorism by the Peruvian government were women, and 40 percent of its cadres were made up of women.[12] Thirty percent of FARC's twelve thousand members were women.[13]

Women have also held significant leadership positions in rebel/terrorist groups involved in primarily domestic conflicts.[14] Women commanded several of FARC's units in Colombia, and during the 1970s and 1980s seven of the nineteen leaders of the Italian RB were women.[15] Women have also acted as leaders of rebel/terrorist movements. In the early 1970s Fusako Shigenobu founded and led the Japanese Red Army (Nippon Sekigun [JRA]), a leftist group seeking to overthrow the Japanese government. Maria Soledad Iparraguirre Guenechea and Dolores González Cataráin held senior positions in the movement Freedom for the Basque Homeland (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna [ETA]), which struggled for a separate homeland for the Basques in Spain from 1959 until it disbanded in 2018..[16] Scholars contend that the Peruvian SL was originated by Torre Guzman (a.k.a. Comrade Norah) instead of her husband, Abimael Guzman, as has been alleged. Furthermore, experts surmise that since Abimael Guzman's arrest in 1993, the SL has been sporadically overseen by several women, including Edith Lagos, Laura Zambrano, and Elena Iparraguire.[17] Women have also founded rebel/terrorist groups. Both the ETA and the RB were (co-)founded by women: Genoveve Forest Tarat, who participated in the assassination of Spanish Premier Admiral Carrero Blanco in December 1973; and Margherita Cagol, who cofounded the Italian RB, respectively.[18]

Many rebel/terrorist groups have created women-only units that have proven critical to the success of their rebel/terrorist organizations as a whole. This is seen in the objectives of the Kurdistan [Kurdish] Worker's Party (Partiya Karkeran Kurdistan [PKK]), a rebel group that has been fighting for a separate Kurdish state in Turkey since 1974. During the 1990s the PKK developed special all-women units, of which the Free Women's Union of Kurdistan was reserved for women-initiated missions.[19]

Women cadres have been involved in extremely violent rebel/terrorist activities, from assisting in plane hijackings to committing murder, kidnappings, and bombings. This is evidenced in the activities of Jane Alpert, an affiliate of the U.S. Weather Underground Organization (WUO, or Weathermen) group, a student-based, leftist movement stemming from the anti-Vietnam war protests and the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s in the United States, but which eventually shifted its priorities toward dismantling the U.S. government. Alpert assisted members of the Front Liberation de Quebec (FLQ), who were fighting for the secession of Quebec from Canada, to hijack a plane to Cuba, where they could seek asylum. In September 1974 the female operative Fusako Shigenobu of the JRA participated in the kidnapping of the French Ambassador in The Hague in return for $300,000. Women operatives have executed consistent violent attacks for the LTTE. For example, in one operation, twenty LTTE women operatives led an attack in which they are described as having "stabbed, shot, hacked to death, and slit the throats of 57 sleeping Singhalese [the majority ethnic group in Sri Lanka] villagers."[20]

Women have also executed successful, numerous, and high-profile suicide attacks globally. From 2000 to 2006 Chechen women rebels effected 70 percent of the total number of Chechen suicide missions deployed against Russia and, moreover, managed 50 percent of those attacks without men companions.[21] Since the 1990s PKK women have executed at least eleven of the PKK's more than twenty suicide attacks against Turkey, including an attack in October 2011 that killed two in Bingol, Turkey.[22]

A Matter of Agency: Women, Patriarchy, and Politics

Although in some cases women have been abducted and forced to join rebel/terrorist groups, a number have joined rebel/terrorist movements of their own accord and for many different reasons. Whether these reasons are more heavily aligned with general activism or nationalist efforts, or associated with personal issues, all motivations are ultimately guided by the politics of the space in which the women live. It is inconceivable that a woman rebel/terrorist has executed an act of violence that is entirely divorced from the political context in which they live. For example, the sixty-four-year-old Palestinian al-Najar, mentioned earlier, executed a suicide mission against Israel to avenge the death of her grandchild, who had been killed in an Israeli military operation. While Najar's actions may be interpreted as a direct response to the political situation in Gaza, so are the actions of women who join rebel/terrorist groups to cope with the dire living conditions created by war, the political dynamic of their home space. Miranda Alison notes that some LTTE women cadres joined the group to gain its protection from sexual violence by other men engaged in the conflict.[23] The LTTE woman cadre Barathy states: "Particularly in the Jaffna peninsula, Tamil girls are raped by the Sri Lankan Army; I am a female: I have to liberate the Tamil women from the occupation. So I, we are also, fighting for the women's liberation."[24]

Women have also enlisted in rebel/terrorist groups to escape the poverty and social exclusion endemic to all conflicts. This is evidenced in the case of a Sri Lankan woman named Thangachi, whose older sister was an LTTE cadre who died in the war. Their father had cancer, and their mother had a skin disease that prevented her from going out into the sun or near a fire. Miranda Alison observes: "Thangachi reported being so poor as a child that after the long hot walk to school each day she always arrived dirty and smelly, for which she was punished by the teachers and teased by the other children. The shame she experienced because of this contributed to her wanting to leave and join the LTTE [at age thirteen]." The family's extreme poverty, guided by the politics of the civil war, affected Thangachi's quality of life, which motivated her to join the LTTE.[25]

Despite these and numerous other factors motivating women to join rebel/terrorist groups, representations of these women produced by media, cultural, academic, and governmental venues around the world, as well as by men of their own men-led rebel groups, overwhelmingly portray women rebels/terrorists in problematic ways. Few narratives about women rebels/terrorists recognize or even approach them as complex beings—*both* as women in accordance with patriarchal gender norms of their societies *and* as human beings affected by the politics of their space. This is because when women rebels/terrorists engage in political violence, they challenge behaviors traditionally associated with patriarchal feminine behaviors and characteristics that are non-violent, such as being passive, nurturing, and sacrificial, as well as social roles conventionally relegated to women, including those of mother and wife, which are traditionally coded as non-violent. Furthermore, in defiance of the patriarchal norms that link women's social value to the space of the home and to the domestic labor associated with that space, women rebels/terrorists draw attention to their capability of maneuvering in public spaces, the value they may assume in public spaces, the significance of their support and actions to the success and advancement of their political movements, and the impact they have on the politics of their space—behaviors and merits traditionally permitted only to men. These transgressions challenge the *status quo* of the patriarchal hierarchy, which privileges heterosexual men; it is for this reason that the agency of women rebel/terrorists is interpreted as threatening to the patriarchal gender dynamics that stabilize patriarchy and, hence, their words and activities are treated by patriarchy as suspicious. That approach is discerned in how women rebels'/terrorists' activities are represented in ways that distinguish them as deviant, alien, and monstrous in comparison to comparable activities engaged in by men. The motivations of women rebels/terrorists are also always questioned, even when they verbalize their motivations in executing, for example, an act of violence.

When men rebels/terrorists are motivated to join rebel/terrorist groups for comparable reasons—due to unemployment, for example—their motivations are rarely questioned, such circumstances do not figure as primary in exploring the violence they have committed, and their commitment to the rebel movement or its ultimate cause is rarely questioned; rather, men's actions are taken as serious, logical, and aligned with principles of their nation. The opposite is true for women. Because the place of women in patriarchy is not in the public space, any actions they affect in that space deemed successful in fulfillment of the agenda of their rebel/terrorist movements are subject to

scrutiny primarily because they are women assuming a degree and level of agency that should be off-limits to them. The motivations of women engaging in rebel/terrorism are always, therefore, suspect and, hence, in need of an explanation from more 'authoritative' perspectives—either men within their own cultures or women/men from more 'advanced' cultures—to decipher why these women can assume an agency that women who are themselves marginalized within developing nations should not have.

Such explanations surface in worldwide, media, cultural, academic, and governmental venues. These narratives respond to what they perceive as rebel/terrorist women's transgressive agencies by consistently representing them through more familiar patriarchal images of femininity. Their representations mediate the deviant aspect of women terrorists to assuage fears about them and about the potential threats that all women in general may pose to society by reminding and assuring society that despite their deviance, women rebels/terrorists are, after all, only women who can be managed and put back into place (read: through violence).

By mediating the agency of women bombers, these narratives themselves enact a form of violence against the women to manage their agency and that of women in general. These manipulations, hence, are problematic, in that they dissuade investigations into women rebels/terrorists as political actors and into the violence they execute as political responses to the geopolitics of their space. Instead, these representations are meant to distract from such interpretations by stressing that women rebels/terrorists are first and foremost "merely women" who, because of their natural behaviors and characteristics as women, must have somehow been driven to execute violence in the political arena for a variety of reasons that are 'apolitical' and, rather, simply rooted in their life problems as women—which are also somehow presented as entirely divorced from the politics of their home space. For example, some narratives suggest that women become rebels/terrorists to escape the unhappy circumstances of their personal lives, such as unwanted engagements, because they were coerced into acts of violence by the barbaric men of their rebel/terrorist organizations or their communities, like all women in developing spaces who are in need of saving by the Western narrative lens reading them, or because they were simply women who were unable to control the random emotional outbursts to which women everywhere are naturally prone. The following sections review some of these narrative manipulations of agencies of women rebels/terrorists.

Case 1: Western Men's Imaginaries of the Veiled Femme Fatale

Historically, the Western imperial eroticization of Muslim women has resonated with Western Christian imperial (hence, heterosexual masculine) anxieties. Those anxieties were exposed by Western fears of being unable to maintain control over the native, non-Western, non-Christian cultures they were attempting to colonize or the Muslim

empires against which they were competing globally, including the Moghul and Ottoman Empires. Tensions between predominantly Christian empires and Islamic empires resulted from several battles between the two as far back as the Crusades (eleventh–thirteenth centuries) and the "Reconquista" (eighth–fifteenth centuries). During those conflicts, Christian and Muslim empires fought for control over the Abrahamic holy lands, which now comprise Israel and Palestine, and the Iberian Peninsula, respectively. Ever since, Islam in Western culture has assumed representations, as Edward Said notes, of "terror, devastation, the demonic, [filled with] hordes of hated barbarians…a lasting trauma,"[26] which must be challenged by marking it as morally inferior and evil.

Western projections of the veiled Muslim woman as sexually dangerous to Western men in fact signified Western anxieties about Islamic masculinity. Cynthia Enloe observes that in the French Algerian colonial context, "the image of the tantalizingly veiled Muslim woman was a cornerstone of this [Algerian] ideology and of the imperial structure it supported."[27] Because under patriarchy women are seen as the bearers of culture, Western imperial projections of veiled Muslim women as sexual temptresses who could sexually dominate Christian men ultimately reflected Western colonial fears about the subversive agency of Islam as a whole. Moreover, as Ann McClintock observes, the inability of Western imperialism to visually consume and physically penetrate the veil of the Muslim woman in colonized Muslim societies corroborated Western imperial frustrations at being unable to penetrate and, therefore, to dominate, Muslim women, who, in turn, signified Islam as a whole.[28] Such frustration were magnified, as Frantz Fanon observes, that to "destroy the structure of Algerian society" required conquering the women: "we must go and find them behind the veil where they hide themselves and in the houses where the men keep them out of sight."[29] Ania Loomba takes this further by stressing the veil as to European men as "a symbol of colonial frustration for it lets the woman gaze upon the world while shielding her from their prying eyes."[30]

Hence, whereas the veiled Muslim woman could "gaze" upon the Western man and hence visually consume and objectify him, he could not respond in kind.[31] Those men's frustrations guided Western imperial assumptions of veiled Muslim women as harboring the incalculably violent potential of Islam—one that could subvert Western masculinity. In the Western colonial imaginary that subversive potential could be tempered only by an equally violent response directed specifically against the veiled Muslim woman herself. Frantz Fanon observes that in the French imaginary that response was affected through rape: "The rape of the Algerian woman in the dream of the European is always preceded by the rending of the veil."[32]

Accordingly, veiled women are desirable because they offer Western men a much easier, symbolic means of managing Islam when it is difficult to physically do so. Hence, to tear the veil from and to rape Muslim women is tantamount to symbolically conquering them; to conquer Muslim women is tantamount to symbolically conquering the Muslim culture to which she is tied, and the heterosexual men who are privileged within it. Conquering the Muslim culture symbolizes emasculating Muslim men, which, in turn, would bolster the masculinity of European men colonizers.

A comparable dynamic surfaces in present-day Western narratives that project Muslim women terrorists as femmes fatales: women who are both highly sexual and highly violent toward heterosexual men in often fatal ways. Most critically, the violence of these women, however, is mediated by their high sexual appeal. That appeal renders femmes fatales so highly desirable to men that men are willing to risk 'being' with these women despite the potential violence they may experience at the hands of these women. The ultimate patriarchal logic: femmes fatales, after all, are not real women but imaginary women whose violence can be managed through violence executed by men, as can women in reality. It is for this reason that femmes fatales remain a desirable symbolic in the patriarchal imaginary,

The 'exciting' tensions posed by femmes fatales emerge in an article written by Samuel Katz in the summer 2003 issue of the Australian magazine *New Idea.* Katz's treatment of women suicide bombers can be surmised in the title of his piece, "Dressed to Kill." It reflects a metonymic link between highly sexual and violent women that was echoed in a series of Western movies of the same title released in 1941, 1946, and 1980. These films catered to masculine desires and anxieties about femmes fatales—in these movies, in the figure of the Western white woman. Katz's interpretation into Palestinian women bombers is puzzling because it is derived from patriarchal projections of and interpretations into imaginary of femmes fatales. Hence, Katz chooses to read the suicide mission of Palestinian woman bomber Dareen Abu Aisheh through the predictable, one-dimensional characteristics of a femme fatale rather than reading her and her mission as part of an ongoing series of political rebellions/terrorist acts in a serious context that has impacted global politics and challenged the manifestation of human rights in the Israeli-Palestinian context. Moreover, Katz's interpretation is rife with Western biases against Muslim women rebels/terrorists, stressing Western anxieties about Islam in general.[33]

Aisheh's suicide mission, carried out on February 27, 2002, wounded four Israeli policemen.[34] Yet despite the violence Aisheh effected and the serious nature of the context in which she executed her attack, Katz's narrative focuses on Aisheh's sexual appeal—an even more strange approach given that he did not know her personally. This approach is first discerned in the subtitle of his piece: "They're beautiful, highly trained and deadly: They are the female suicide bombers." The article is accompanied by the image of a beautiful veiled (Muslim) woman with large, almond-shaped eyes.[35] That image is neither of Aisheh nor of any woman terrorist; rather, it is a generic image of a non-Western woman that reflects the common Western imperial exoticization and eroticization of non-Western, in this case, Muslim, women.

These components corroborate Katz's eroticization of Aisheh in the opening lines of his article: "Dareen Abu Aisheh was dressed to kill on a cold February night last year. Wearing an open-necked blouse and leggings, her face delicately shaded with mascara and rouge." Collectively, these aspects guide readers to treat Aisheh not as a political actor who has intellectually chosen to participate in an ongoing civil war that is affecting global politics and as a woman rebel/terrorist who has taken the time to plan an attack that would kill people. Instead, Katz reduces Aisheh's agency to a patriarchal view of a

woman who, like all other women in patriarchy, should be valued more for her body than for her intellect and political actions. Hence, despite what she has done, Katz seeks to remind us that Aisheh is, after all, just a woman who, as any other sexy woman might, dons an "open-necked blouse and leggings" for a special night out, as Katz puts it "the most important night of her life"—only in reality, Aisheh had dressed to execute a bombing to kill people rather than to enjoy a night out on the town.[36]

Katz continues to eroticize Aisheh even after her death. He writes that when she detonated her bomb, "[the] explosion killed her instantly, with her body parts flying across the desert," and he further remarks on the "buzzards that were gnawing at her body parts." The images engender a consumptive reading of Aisheh's body, resonant with the Western men's gaze that seeks to consume, and, therefore to conquer, visually the body of the Other woman.[37] Katz concludes his piece in the intimate space of Aisheh's bedroom. He focuses on a poster on Aisheh's wall in which she wears a HAMAS headband and a "shawl embroidered with the Palestinian flag." That final scene concretizes Katz's overall reading of Aisheh: her draw lies in how she resonates with other excessively sexy and violent women who dress to kill. Her violence, however, has been minimalized. The audience who, by reading Katz's interpretation of Aisheh, are guided to understand her violence as not serious, not real because she is, after all, a Third World woman who should be, in fact, the recipient of violence.[38]

Case 2: Western Women Saving Brown Women from Brown Men

Even as they are also women, Western women's narratives about Muslim women bombers also focus on the veil as crucial to understanding those women bomber's agencies as a means of mediating the agency of those bombers.[39] Yet unlike the Western men's tendency to sexualize the veiled Muslim women, Western women's reflections on the agency of Muslim women resonate with common Western assumptions that women in the Global South are victims of backward men and backward cultures. They are, therefore, in need of saving by the West rather than capable of exerting violence against the West.[40]

Those assumptions are rooted in general Western beliefs that the Global South is constituted of less civilized, less evolved cultures than those dominating the Global North. Those prejudices have been guided by Western imperial approaches to the native women they previously colonized and who now reside in the global south. Historically, Western colonialism related the status of native women to their understanding of the moral "condition" of the native cultures they sought to dominate. Western colonizers surmised that the less agency native women could assume in their own native cultures, the more backward the moral condition of the men in those cultures as barbaric rather than civilized men. Such a dynamic would create an urgency for Western men colonizers

to intervene into and manage native people for their own moral good, particularly to justify violence against native men and the Western dominance over native culture as a way of 'saving' native women from harm.[41]

The trope of saving native women was created by Western (European) empires to justify the morality of what was otherwise clearly the unjust dehumanization of native people in their own homelands; this in turn satisfied the imperial desires of various Western empires to control and exploit highly valuable resources in native geographies for the purposes of growing their particular empire to expand financially at the global level so that they could compete with other Western empires. The more certainly Western colonizers could prove that native women were indeed being victimized by their cultures, the better they could justify their intervention into and control over native peoples and cultures, and by extension, their resources. That dynamic is particularly evident in Western projections of the veiled Muslim woman.

Earlier this chapter argued that veiled Muslim women were often eroticized in Western men's cultural registers, imbued with an imaginary agency that suggested that Muslim women sought to sexually entice men in the West. Interestingly, veiled Muslim women were also projected as victims of Islam when it was politically expedient for Western imperialism. The Western imaginary therefore also related the same veil to violence against Muslim women—their oppression by Muslim men and cultures. Through this particular representation of the veil, Western empires could continue to reinforce their assumptions of Islam and Muslim men as threatening and evil, ultimately to mediate their historic anxieties of Islam. Thus, Western empires could justify more righteously enacting excessive violence against Muslims in their own native lands under the pretense of raising the moral condition of Muslims but with the true agenda of securing the precious resources indigenous to Muslim-dominated geographies. Ultimately, the pretense with which the West purported to have concern for oppressed Muslim women was only a ploy to dominate Islam.

A comparable tactic has surfaced in legislation banning Muslim women from veiling in public spaces in France, Belgium, Australia, Holland, Bulgaria, and Italy after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York, U.S.A.[42] For example, the French politician Bernard Accoyer described the veil as "[a] symbol of the repression of women, and…of extremist fundamentalism" and as a "denial of the equality between men and women and a rejection of co-existence side-by-side, without which our republic is nothing."[43] European women politicians presented comparable sentiments, as evidenced in a statement made by the Italian Equal Opportunities Minister Mara Carfagna: "I completely agree with the French initiative [to ban the veil in public spaces], which I think will push other European countries and hence, also Italy, to enact laws on this issue. This is about a sacrosanct battle to defend the dignity and rights of [Muslim] immigrant women."[44]

Like Western views of women, these statements reflect Western anxieties about the rising visibility of Islam in Western geographies more than a concern for Muslim women's human rights. This is seen in French initiatives in 2010 that, ironically, also pushed to criminalize veiled Muslim women—the very women for whose human rights

Europeans had initially purported to lobby. In October 2006 the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, described the veil as "a mark of separation," and went on to state, "that is why it makes other people from outside the community [non-Muslims] feel uncomfortable."[45]

Comparable prejudices against Islam emerge in Western women's narratives about Muslim women suicide bombers. A number of those narratives assume that the women bombers must have been coerced into executing their missions or simply took advantage of the tactic of "suicide" missions to "escape" their horrible oppression by Islam in their personal lives that has nothing to do with the political context in which they reside. For example, in her book *Army of Roses*, the journalist Barbara Victor asserts that a "Palestinian woman's choice to commit suicide, or participate in an act of martyrdom, or send off a son to die in the name of God/country/honor is a misguided and pitiful attempt at [women's] liberation."[46] Victor implies that Palestinian women's access to women's rights is limited and that, here quite specifically, they may assume some feminist rights by either becoming suicide bombers or by encouraging their sons to become suicide bombers. Victor's argument, hence, implies that it is Islam—not the trying sociopolitical circumstances of war in which Palestinian women have been living for over half a century—that must be the root cause of the oppression that drives them to violence. Victor further surmises that when Palestinian women blow themselves up, they are making a feminist move and, second, that their decisions have less to do with the political context in which they live and more to do with their need to escape Islam, to find a way of liberating themselves from it. Islam becomes the challenging context in their lives, not the political situation in which these women reside.

Victor's analyses of Palestinian women bombers draw parallels among what she sees as Palestinian women's desires for "freedom" from Islam, their rejection of the veil, and their decision to become suicide bombers. Victor reveals that dynamic in her narrative of a nineteen-year-old Palestinian woman bomber named Hiba Daraghmah, an operative for the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). Daraghmah killed three and injured more than fifty-two near the Amakim Shopping Mall in Afula on May 19, 2002.[47] For this mission, Daraghmah did not wear the veil as was her custom prior to the mission. Victor reads Daraghmah's decision not to veil for the mission as indicative of a momentous shift in her agency as a woman looking to free herself from an oppressive life as a Muslim. Victor formulates her argument through a series of interviews she conducted with Daraghmah's mother, Fatmah, and with some of Daraghmah's friends at the university that Daraghmah had attended. During one of these interviews, Fatmah noted that her daughter had been an "outgoing, beautiful, charming, girl who dressed in modern clothes and had aspirations to marry and have children."[48] Fatmah went on to observe that that it was only after Daraghmah had been raped at the age of fourteen years by a mentally retarded uncle that she had begun to cover herself completely.[49] Victor highlights this alteration in Daraghmah's clothing as central to Daraghmah's loss of agency in her personal life and, eventually, to her motivation to become a woman suicide bomber. This is evidenced in Victor's statements directly relating Daraghmah's experiences of violence in her everyday life with her decision to veil: "Hiba didn't just

cover her head with a *hijab* and wear a *jilbab*, she covered her entire body in black, including her hands, which she covered in black gloves. All that showed of Hiba were her eyes," and "according to one of her friends, no one had seen the young woman without her gown and head covering." Victor draws attention to Fatmah's and Daraghmah's friends' observations that Daraghmah would not even eat in the presence of others because she would have to lift her veil to do so.[50]

That groundwork is critical to Victor's overall argument in which she distinguishes between what she perceives to be Daraghmah's limited agency before her suicide mission—indicated by her decision to veil— and the broadened sense of agency that Victor interprets Daraghmah to have displayed during the suicide mission during which she did not veil: "[w]hen she [Daraghmah] set off to blow herself up, she chose to disguise herself as an Israeli woman, wearing jeans and a T-shirt, for her final trip to Paradise."[51] Victor's specific correlation between Daraghmah's choice of Western clothing and her desire to enter Paradise implies that it is through a suicide mission that Daraghmah was able to escape the oppressive earthly condition in which she had been forced to live. Moreover, Victor argues that Daraghmah's decision to wear Western clothing *only* at the time of her mission indicates Daraghmah's own recognition that a suicide mission would offer her the opportunity to escape her miserable life on earth—namely, the violence that she faced as a woman in a conservative Muslim society. Victor supports this logic by highlighting an additional parallel between the modern clothes that Daraghmah wore before she had been raped by her uncle and the Western clothing she wore at the time of her death. In that parallel, Victor links Daraghmah's choice in clothing to distinct mental states: the periods when Daraghmah covered herself signified that she was living a life of pain, oppression, ostracization, and mental anguish; the times that she wore modern Western clothing—before being raped and at the time of her suicide mission—reflect moments when she was free from violence (Islam).

Daraghmah's decision to veil may have resulted from the trauma of the sexual violence she experienced, *not* by a Muslim man but by a man as women and girl-children tend to experience in patriarchy all over the world. Daraghmah may have turned to Islam for solace, for protection against additional violence, and her veiling may have indicated perhaps her newfound faith in Islam. Whatever her decision may have been to veil, Victor chooses to read Daraghmah's veiling as indicative of her oppression by Islam and Daraghmah's suicide mission, which she conducted without a veil, as indicative of her freedom from Islam.

Case 3: Rebel/Terrorist Men's Projections of Women Suicide Bombers as Mothers of the Nation

The propaganda of male-dominated rebel/terrorist movements executing suicide attacks against non-Western sovereign states (and their Western allies) project the

women suicide bombers they deploy against those states through patriarchal ideologies even as these women bombers are motivated by their political convictions and dedication to the men rebel/terrorist groups that deploy them. Such patriarchal projections ironically mediate women bombers' agencies in ways that are comparable to Western narrative projections of the very same women bombers. This resonance highlights the comparable ideologies that guide cultures globally.

At first glance, men-generated rebel/terrorist propaganda tends to stress the women suicide bombers they deploy as highly agentive—that is, in positive ways. This can be seen in how men-led rebel/terrorist movements and the communities that support their activities represent women rebels/terrorists as the ultimate martyrs and heroines of their movements—in some circumstances, as even more valuable than men martyrs. Yet a closer investigation of those projections reveals that lofty regard to be a carefully crafted narrative that seeks to mediate what is otherwise women bombers' assertion of agencies and subjectivities that are transgressive to patriarchy in general. Because these agencies threaten heterosexual men, men rebel/terrorist organizations craft narratives of the women bombers they deploy to project their agencies in terms of more familiar, less threatening, traditional female gender norms espoused by the men-led rebel/terror groups and the broader societies supporting them. One such strategy emerges in propaganda that stresses women suicide bombers as sacrificial mothers.

Some rebel/terrorist movements in the Global South utilize an exemplary, mythical maternal figure to symbolize the strength of their resistance against the nations they battle in the tradition of other nationalist movements.[52] This is because the maternal trope is an imaginary that can be appropriated to cater entirely to the desires of the men-led movement. In such appropriations, the maternal figure may "biologically" symbolize the "mother" of the constituents of the movement, who, in turn, become her "children." The maternal can be projected to correctly devote her entire agency to pursue the immediate, collective desires of her children and hence the manifestation of the imagined nation they fight to establish. This maternal may assume a violent agency if that violence is executed to satisfy the interests of the men-led rebel/terrorist group.

Even as the maternal in its most violent form may appear agentive, its voice and visibility are framed entirely by the men leaders' desires; thus, maternal violence is valuable to a rebel/terrorist movement insofar as it caters to its patriarchal projections of the nation. Therefore, when men-dominated rebel/terrorist movements imagine the agency of the women suicide bombers they deploy through a maternal trope, they represent the violence of women bombers' missions—the statements they made, the visual testimonies they recorded, and certain aspects of their missions—in ways that cater to the men's agenda for the rebel/terrorist organization as a whole and, in doing so, dismiss, eclipse, or rewrite any voice or actions of the woman bomber herself that might challenge that agenda.[53]

One such example is seen in Palestinian rebel/terrorist and cultural projections of Wafa Idris, the first Palestinian woman bomber to emerge in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Idris executed her mission in Jerusalem with the support of the secular al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades on January 28, 2002. She killed one and wounded over 150.[54] Unlike subsequent Palestinian women bombers, Idris did not record a video testimonial

revealing her motivations for the mission. The lack of Idris's testimony is problematic, simply because its existence may have prohibited others from entirely speaking for Idris about her motivations for the attack. This alone would have demanded a more complex and therefore comprehensive exploration into her agency both as a woman and a political actor (however overdetermined). Instead, this lack has allowed Palestinians and supporters of Palestinian rebel/terrorist activities throughout the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and globally to co-opt Idris's mission to draw attention to their own political views of the conflict situation.

Most narratives of Idris present her as an exemplary maternal figure. Upon her death, Palestinian rebel/terrorist movements and associated media, as well as heads of state throughout MENA, immediately characterized Idris as the mother of the Palestinian nation. A February 2002 issue of the Egyptian newspaper *Hadith Al-Medina* drew parallels between Idris's mission and the birth of Jesus to highlight how both symbolized renewed hope in the societies they impacted.[55] The Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades formed a women's bombing squad named the "Wafa Idris Group" to promote Idris as an exemplary foremother to other Palestinian women.[56] In May 2009 a library and conference hall in the Mother and Child Hospital in Southern Yemen were named after Idris. This ceremonial naming implied that Idris's extraordinary maternal and the "hope" she produced through her suicide mission would symbolically protect the mothers and children within the hospital.[57]

Yet those seemingly positive projections starkly contrast with Idris's real-life experiences as a Palestinian woman. Idris did not have any children. Her attempts at pregnancy resulted in one stillbirth, and she was never able to conceive again. Her infertility led her husband to divorce her, remarry, and have children with a second wife. In an interview with Barbara Victor, Idris's mother noted that her daughter was socially ostracized because of the divorce.[58]

The discrepancy between the rebel/terrorist and cultural narratives about Idris and her real-life experiences as a divorced, childless Palestinian woman reveal the degree to which her agency has been (mis)appropriated since her death. The excessively positive portrayals of her martyrdom mask and even encourage a disregard for the very real forms of violence she experienced in her everyday life. Furthermore, Idris's deification prioritized entirely men Palestine rebels'/terrorists' agendas and cultural speculations about her mission over potential investigations into other motivations she may have had for joining the Al-Aksa Martyrs' Brigades, including those that may have challenged the movement's men rebel/terrorist rhetoric.

Concluding Reflections

The narratives analyzed reveal how acts of political rebellion/terrorism carried out by women may be interpreted in ways to reinforce simplistic stereotypes of femininity to assuage men's anxieties about the potential agencies of women in general and, in these contexts, in the political arena. The stereotypes noted, among others, are developed and

projected to dismiss investigations into the complex ways in which women may express agency. For example, while women terrorists may experience violence owing to the conditions of conflict and as women in their broader cultures, they may also express agency as political actors who are responding to the violence pervading the space of their nation due to these factors. Contrary to what patriarchal representations imply, women rebels'/terrorists' violence are shaped and guided by numerous factors within the political dynamics in which they reside; their lives cannot be divorced from that reality and, thus, their decisions must be understood in that context. We see this in the diverse ways that women rebels/terrorists relate the violence they experience as women in conflict situations to the violence they experience as women engaged in men-dominated rebel/terrorist movements. A number of women rebels/terrorists, such as those of the LTTE, have drawn parallels between their struggle to pursue the nationalist agenda of their rebel/terrorist groups and their struggle to pursue women's rights in their communities generally. Women of the Italian RB have used their political activities to express their interest in feminist agendas. The Italian RB Susanna Ronconni recalls: "Some feminists formed vigilante squads, attacking doctors who spoke out against abortion, cinemas showing sex films, and shops that displayed live models of women in their windows."[59]

Alternatively, and disturbingly, some women rebels/terrorists have encouraged violence against other women. For example, the Italian Prima Linea specifically shot women guards who mistreated women political prisoners.[60] When she assumed a leadership role in the Peruvian Shining Path in 1993, Maria Jenny Rodriguez engaged in violent activities specifically against women. For example, it has been reported that the SL has punished women-led groups contesting its sovereignty by the rape of their members, no doubt with the approval of its leaders.[61]

Of additional interest is how women rebels/terrorists perceive their potential as members of rebel/terrorist organizations in relation to that of their men comrades. A number of women rebels/terrorists stress their own perspectives about and their roles in the conflict as being more conscious of, more focused on, and more capable of achieving the agenda of their nationalist movements than their men comrades. This is implied in Chechen women rebels'/terrorists' speeches that interrogate the value of Chechen men to the Chechen movement. In stating, "A large number of women are involved in jihad now, and I hope that men will go for jihad too," nineteen-year-old Khava Barayev, one of the first Chechen suicide bombers, suggested that Chechen women were more willing and exhibited more bravery in carrying out rebel/terrorist activities, such as suicide attacks, necessary to achieve Chechen freedom.[62]

In 2002 Leila Khaled, of the leftist Palestinian Popular Front for the Liberation Palestine (PFLP), stated:

> Today there is a big religious influence in our society, and that is the reason there are so many suicide bombers. When the religious leaders say that women who make these actions are finally equal to me, I have a problem. Everyone is equal in death—rich, poor, Arab, Jew, Christian, we are all equal. I would rather see women equal to men in life.[63]

Here Khaled acknowledges the tenuous nature of patriarchy and how it influences the ways in which she is able to express her agency as a woman in a conflict situation in general and as part of a rebel/terrorist group in particular. She understands that the men-led PFLP allows her a degree of agency that they would otherwise—that is, outside of a conflict situation—deny her as a woman, mainly because the PFLP recognizes the value of the global visibility that Khaled draws to the movement precisely *because* she is a woman rebel/terrorist. Khaled's statement may help us understand that while the men leaders of the PFLP and the men of Arab societies in general publicly support her rebel/terrorist activities, they do so only for the moment, insofar as she caters to their political agendas, and as long as they need her to advance their own agencies. Khaled recognizes that the agency she is allowed as a woman rebel/terrorist does not reflect a permanent gender equality for women in her society, but one that can be as easily taken away from as it was given to her.

In some cases, women rebels/terrorists see themselves as assuming masculine duties, such as protecting and defending women. For example, on December 30, 2008, a woman HAMAS operative testified: "There are thousands of martyrdom-seeking women like me, waiting for the occupier in order to avenge these massacres. I pledge to my people that I will continue on the path of my family, and avenge the widows and the orphans."[64] A twenty-year-old LTTE woman cadre named Malathy observes: "It is women and children who are affected most in the war. That is why women make better soldiers."[65] Twenty-five-year-old Layla, a PUK (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) operative in Iraq, stated: "It doesn't matter how long it takes, I will practise until I am the best shot in Iraq.…I know that we're still a male-dominated society, but women also make good peshmergas ["one who faces death," or martyr, here, for Kurdistan]. We are just as brave as the men."[66] That women rebels/terrorists all around the world have made such statements reveals that they regard themselves as integral to the broader rebel/terrorist movement and, ultimately, to their communities outside of the conflict regardless of how patriarchal gender norms attempt to establish norms regarding the roles, duties, and behavior of women in society.

Women express comparable sentiments even where their agencies are heavily limited by men-led domestic and international rebel/terrorist groups that are extremely conservative in their social rhetoric and practices, including HAMAS and Al-Qaeda (AQ).[67] In such contexts women find alternate ways to demonstrate their dedication to the rebel cause, even to the point of goading conservative men-led groups to step up and participate actively on behalf of the rebel/terrorist movement. This is seen in the case of Aisheh, noted earlier. Initially she had wanted to carry out a suicide mission under both HAMAS and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, but both movements rejected her because they were not deploying women at the time.[68] Eventually Aisheh turned to HAMAS' political rival, the secular Al-Aksa Martyrs' Brigades, an offshoot of Fatah to execute her mission. Nasser Shawish, the Fatah member who personally sent Aisheh on her suicide mission, recalls that he had at first been hesitant to deploy her: "I felt that she was a pretty and successful girl studying at the university, a future mother, who should marry and bear children, and help her people in other ways. But she wouldn't stop pressuring me." It was only after Aisheh threatened to kill Israeli soldiers at a roadblock with a knife that

Shawish agreed to assist Aisheh in completing her suicide mission.[69] Ironically, even though she carried out her suicide mission with the support of Al-Aksa, in her video testimonial Aisheh wears a headband displaying the insignia of the group's rival, Izzadine Kassam, an armed wing of HAMAS.[70] Aisheh's political ambitions superceded the political contentions of various Palestinian rebel groups whose infighting was restricting their ability to focus on fighting to establish a Palestine nation. Instead, Aisheh was going to find one way or another to execute a suicide mission for Palestine, rather than be sidelined by the specific agenda of any one men-led rebel group.

Women's social agencies should be contextualized and assessed within the particular circumstances guiding their life experiences and on a case-by-case basis, not through generic ideologies, against hegemonic patriarchal ideologies, or outside of the political contexts in which they reside. Without carefully and actively pursuing such a perspective, investigations into the motivations behind women rebels/terrorists will remain guided by the limiting patriarchal ideologies of femininity, and their potential contributions to the political contexts in which they reside and the security of those spaces will be underestimated.

Notes

1. The author acknowledges the complexities guiding interpretations into such movements. In accordance with international law, namely the Geneva Conventions and Associated Protocols, as well the draft of the UN Terrorism Convention, acts of violence executed by non-state actors/non-combatants against non-state actors/non-combatants are defined as terrorism. However, such definitions do not account for what may be construed as acts of terrorism affected by nation-states and justified as initiatives of 'national security' against non-state actors/non-combatants marginalized within those nations. Defense against such violence must be understood *in context* rather than through terms of black-and-white definitions of terrorism defined by international law, nation-states, and the privileged leading both. This article was written through this lens.
2. Kim R. Cragin and Sara A. Daly, *Women as Terrorists*: *Mothers, Recruiters, and Martyrs* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security International, 2009), 82.
3. Basharat Peer, "The Bride with a Bomb," *Guardian*, August 4, 2006, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2006/aug/05/pakistan.weekend7.
4. Paige Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2008), 191.
5. "On Female Palestinian Suicide Bombers," *Al Jadid/New TV* (*Lebanon*), courtesy of MEMRI, August 19, 2008; Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists*, 54–55, 63, 192; "Granny Oldest Palestinian Self-Bomber," IslamOneline.net.
6. Katherina Von Knapp notes that it is unclear whether Holmuradova had worked for the Islamic Jihad Group, derived from the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU). Holmuradova's suicide mission in March 2004 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, killed forty-seven. Von Knapp, "The Female Jihad: Al Qaeda's Women," *Conflict and Terrorism* 30 (2007): 402; Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists*, 31, 38.
7. Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists*, 27–38.
8. Christophe Reuter, *My Life as a Weapon*: *A Modern History of Suicide Bombing* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 26.

9. Miranda Alison, *Women and Political Violence: Female Combatants in Ethno-National Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 142–143.
10. Anuradha Chenoy, *Militarism and Women in South Asia* (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 2002), 111.
11. Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists*, 54–55.
12. Margaret Gonzalez-Perez, *Women and Terrorism: Female Activity in Domestic and International Terror Groups* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 37–38.
13. Cragin and Daly, *Women as Terrorists*, 5–6.
14. This is in contrast to women's potential mobility in international terrorist groups, such as Al Qaeda (AQ). AQ has been resistant to placing women in combat roles. For more, see Mia M. Bloom, "In Defense of Honor: Women and Terrorist Recruitment on the Internet," in "Women Suicide Bombers: Negotiations of Violence," ed. V. G. Julie Rajan, special issue, *Journal of Postcolonial Cultures and Societies* 4, no. 1 (2013), http://www.jpcs.in/upload/311356232BLOOM.pdf,http://writingbeyondthemargins.org/journal-of-postcolonial-culture-and-societies/2013-3/2013-2/; Margaret Gonzalez-Perez, "Palestine, Iraq, Pakistan, and Afghanistan: Internationalization and Localization," in "Women Suicide Bombers: Negotiations of Violence," 113–149.
15. Cragin and Daly, *Women as Terrorists*, 5–6; Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists*, 31.
16. Cragin and Daly, *Women as Terrorists*, 4, 80–82. The ETA has since disbanded.
17. Gonzalez-Perez, *Women and Terrorism*, 37–39.
18. Cragin and Daly, *Women as Terrorists*, 80; Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 16, 242; Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists*, 32–35.
19. Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fights to Terrorists* 176.
20. Gonzalez-Perez, *Women and Terrorism*, 63.
21. Reuter, *My Life as a Weapon*, 26.
22. Gonzalez-Perez, *Women and Terrorism*, 88; Sebnem Arsu, "Suicide Bomber Kills 2 Amid Turkish Crackdown on Kurds," October 29, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/30/world/europe/suicide-bomber-kills-2-in-kurdish-town-in-turkey.html.
23. Miranda Alison, "Cogs in the Wheel? Women of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam," *Civil Wars* 6, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 42–43.
24. Ibid.
25. Miranda Alison, "Armed Violence and Poverty in Sri Lanka: A Mini Case Study for the Armed Violence and Poverty Initiative," *Center for International Cooperation and Security* (November 2004): 16; also "Cogs in the Wheel," *Civil Wars*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Winter 2003), p.39-44.
26. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 59.
27. Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 44.
28. Ann McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 23.
29. Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 37–38; Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 193.
30. Loomba, Colonialism/Postcolonialism, 193.
31. Ibid.

32. Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, 44.
33. See V.G. Julie Rajan, *Women Suicide Bombers: Narratives of Violence* (Abington: Routledge, 2011).
34. Debra Zedalis, *Female Suicide Bombers* (Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 2004), 6.
35. Samuel Katz, "They're Beautiful, Highly Trained and Deadly: They Are the Female Suicide Bombers," *New Idea*, Summer 2003, http://www.usefulwork.com/shark/Dressed_to_Kill.jpg.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. I acknowledge my generic, broad use of the term "Western women" to refer mainly racially-white, Christian women residing in the Global North.
40. See: Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. (Bloomington: U Illinois, 1988), 271-316; Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (Cambridge: Harvard, 2015).
41. See Rajan 2011.
42. Joan Wallach Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 2.
43. Ibid., 3.; "France's MPs Report Backs Muslim Face Veil Ban." BBC News, January 26, 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/mobile/europe/8480161.stm
44. Deepa Babington, "Italy Moves towards Emulating France on Burqa Ban," *Reuters India,* January 29, 2010, http://in.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idINIndia-45812620100129?sp=true; Scott, *The Politics of the Veil*, 4.
45. Alan Cowell, "Blair Criticizes Full Islamic Veils as 'Mark of Separation'," *New York Times*, October 18, 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/18/world/europe/18britain.html.
46. Barbara Victor, *Army of Roses* (Emmaus, PA: Rodale, 2003), 195.
47. Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists*, 191.
48. Victor, *Army of Roses*, 290–291.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., 290.
52. This was a tactic used by anticolonial nationalist movements in the colonial era, such as the Indian nationalist movement; see Rajan, 2011.
53. See Rajan 2011.
54. "Suicide and Other Bombing Attacks in Israel since the Declaration of Principles (September 1993)," *Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs*; Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists*, 188.
55. Hadith Al-Medina, "Wafa Idris: The Celebration of the First Female Palestinian Suicide Bomber—Part II," February 5, 2002, *Al-Quds Al-Arabi,* June 2, 2002, courtesy of MEMRI, February 13, 2002, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/610.htm.
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58. Victor, *Army of Roses*, 42–43, 50.
59. Eileen MacDonald, *Shoot the Women First* (New York: Random House, 1991), 173, quoted in Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists*, 29; Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists*, 35.
60. MacDonald, *Shoot the Women First*, 173; Whaley Eager, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists*, 35.
61. Gonzalez-Perez, *Women and Terrorism*, 39. Rodriguez was sentenced to thirty years in prison and fined 1 million USD by the Peruvian government in 2015 ("Peru: Rebel Sentenced to Thirty Years in Prison," *AP Archive*, July 21, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cuRph9NPo2I)
62. Paul Murphy, *The Wolves of Islam*: *Russia and the Faces of Chechen Terrorism* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2004), 123.
63. Victor, *Army of Roses*, 63–64.
64. Al Aksa TV, "Hamas Women in Gaza" (Hamas/Gaza).
65. Kylie Grey, "Sri Lanka's female Tigers," *Al Jazeera*, August 3, 2007.
66. The term *peshmerga* means "one who faces death." It references any armed fighters for Kurdistan; Michael G. Lortz, "Willing to Face Death: A History of Kurdish Military Forces—the *Peshmerga*—from the Ottoman Empire to Present-Day Iraq" (Master's Thesis, Florida State University, 2005), http://diginole.lib.fsu.edu/islandora/object/fsu%3A175614/datastream/PDF/view; Michael Howard, "Revenge Spurs Women's Army," *Guardian*, November 26, 2002, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/nov/26/iraq.michaelhoward.
67. For more on how women are negotiating against Al Qaeda's gender-based limits on women, see Bloom, "In Defense of Honor."
68. Hasso, "Discursive and Political Deployments," 28.
69. Yoram Schweitzer, "Palestinian Female Suicide Bombers: Reality vs. Myth," in *Female Suicide Bombers: Dying for Equality?*, ed. Yoram Schweitzer (Tel Aviv: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, 2006), 28.
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CHAPTER 33

"DEEDS, NOT WORDS"

Right-Wing Terrorism in Twentieth-Century Europe

DANIEL SCHMIDT AND MICHAEL STURM

Right-wing terrorism is a fixture in the history of the twentieth century.[1] Already in the years immediately following World War I, fascist and proto-fascist movements and groups emerged whose political practices consisted of committing and glorifying violent acts, spreading fear and horror throughout most of Europe.[2] The spectrum of violent practices ranged from martial "demonstration politics" via violence in the streets and other public places to terrorist acts directed particularly at groups declared to be political and societal "enemies," but also at representatives and institutions of the state.[3] Any attempt to categorize these violent practices both at the time and from a historical perspective is difficult, if not sometimes impossible, because the forms of violence could evolve from one into another or could manifest themselves simultaneously during a single incident.

An international and caesura-spanning perspective of this subject poses a few fundamental difficulties regarding definition. The endeavor to define precisely what right-wing extremism is and what the term *right-wing terrorism* means in a universal sense is itself problematic. There are reasons to claim that the contexts of emergence, the fundamental ideological stances, the courses of action, and the objectives of extreme right-wing groups are too diverse to be subsumed under one overarching definition. For example, extreme right-wing movements in Northern and Western Europe constitute predominantly secular movements, whereas the self-images and ideological lines of argument (not only) of many potentially violent, extreme right-wing groups in the United States are shaped strongly by ideas derived from fundamentalist interpretations of Christianity.[4] At the same time, racist and anti-Semitic beliefs also operate in the United States as core elements of ethnocentric and conspiracy-driven views of the world.

One shared characteristic that—from the inter- and transnational perspective—permits apparently disparate, violent actors to be classified as "right-wing terrorists" is the opinion held by such actors that "the object of their intense opposition is a priori illegitimate. It does not belong to the same humanity as themselves, but should either be kept in an inferior legal status, expelled or even eliminated."[5] In this sense, right-wing terrorist groups are characterized by a fundamental ideological stance that assumes the "natural" superiority of their own "ethnicity," which needs to be defended against "outside" threats. Bellicose imagery is used to stylize the confrontation as an apocalyptic battle in which the use of violence appears inevitable.

Armin Pfahl-Traughber defines right-wing terrorism as a subdomain of terrorism in which "pertinent acts of violence from attacking facilities to murdering people are committed in the name of ethnic identity, purity, and superiority."[6] Like other manifestations of terrorism, the objective of right-wing terrorist activities is not primarily to bring about an immediate change in political and societal relations. Instead, right-wing terrorism is first and foremost the expression of a "communication strategy" directed, for one, against its declared enemy and, for another, at its own sympathizers and supporters.[7]

This finding may seem paradoxical at first, since right-wing terrorist groups often decline to legitimize their actions by claiming responsibility. Between 2000 and 2007, the members of the Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund (National Socialist Underground; NSU) murdered a total of nine small businessmen with immigrant backgrounds and a police officer in cities throughout Germany and committed two bomb attacks in Cologne. In a video claiming responsibility for the attacks, made public only after the perpetrators' apprehension, they used photos of their murdered victims to emphasize their programmatic slogan: "Deeds, not words" (*Taten statt Worte*). Although the broader society did not take notice of these deeds for quite a while, the violent acts of the group still had a "communicative" impact because they caused considerable insecurity within immigrant communities. The message of "unclaimed" right-wing terrorism is "extreme, irreconcilable animosity. There is nothing to discuss or to negotiate, only a mode of social interaction: violence and annihilation."[8] A characteristic "faith in deeds" (*Tatglaube*) is mirrored in right-wing terrorist action; together with the "gesture of male-bonding determination," it aims to "make myths reality through direct deeds."[9] In its concrete manifestations, right-wing terrorism has taken on widely disparate forms in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Typologies of Right-Wing Terrorism

Following Weberian tradition, Ehud Sprinzak has proposed an analytical categorization that differentiates between six ideal types of right-wing terrorism.[10] He labels one type as "revolutionary," the historical manifestation of which is found above all in the violent practices of Italian Fascism and German National Socialism (Nazism) during their movement phases, which eventually led in both countries to radical state terror. Sprinzak distinguishes this from a more "reactive" terrorism that is primarily supported

by societal groups who are fighting to prevent a loss of status in certain contexts, such as during processes of decolonization or the expansion of minority rights. One example of such terrorism was the Organisation Armée Secrete (Secret Army Organization; OAS), which used terrorist methods in 1961–62 in an attempt to prevent the impending independence of Algeria from France.[11]

Sprinzak calls another type "racist" terrorism and depicts it as a form directed not chiefly at governmental institutions but particularly against minorities whose advancements toward emancipation it seeks to reverse. In this sense, the NSU could be considered as belonging to this category, as could the Ku Klux Klan. Another category that has become increasingly significant since the 1980s is "millenarian" terrorism, a radical outgrowth of the Christian Identity movements in the United States.

The fifth category proposed by Sprinzak is what he labels "youth countercultural" terrorism. He identifies the actors here as usually being skinheads and hooligans who, as a rule, do not commit acts of "terrorism" in a narrow sense but do indeed demonstrate a great affinity for violence, usually expressed in spontaneous acts propelled by group dynamics. Examples of these are the pogrom-like attacks in Germany on refugee shelters and housing inhabited by foreigners in the early 1990s or the attacks on Roma settlements that have taken place since 2010, initiated by supporters of Hungary's extreme rightist Magyar Gárda (Hungarian Guard).[12]

A sixth type is described as "vigilante" terrorism, the protagonists of which are recruited primarily from citizen militias and paramilitary groups. When these groups resort to extralegal, occasionally terroristic use of violence, they claim to be defending the allegedly threatened safety and security of their own milieu. Examples of this type are found in the Free Corps movement in Germany in the years immediately following World War I, among the "death squads" in Latin American, and in the loyalist paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland.

From a historical perspective, the types of right-wing terrorism outlined here cannot always be clearly distinguished from one another. Instead, they have often exhibited (and still exhibit) overlapping traits with respect to their ideological stances and uses of violence. The case of Anders Bering Breivik illustrates this point. In July 2011 Breivik first set off a car bomb in the center of Oslo that killed eight people, then shot sixty-nine mostly teenage attendees at a summer camp on the island of Utoya run by the Workers Youth League (AUF) of Norway's social democratic political party. In a manifesto he wrote prior to the attacks, he stylized himself as a "crusader" in an "apocalyptic" war against the "Islamization" of Europe and justified his deeds using both millenarian and racist lines of argument.

Sprinzak's typology is thus qualified by the observation that extensive transfer processes took place among the various strands of right-wing terrorism in the postwar period and particularly starting in the 1990s. Although in retrospect it is hardly possible to detect the existence of a coherent international movement of right-wing terrorism, one that is tightly meshed both organizationally and ideologically, what has nevertheless often become evident among these strands are their mutual references and their adoption and adaption of certain common practices.

Right-Wing Terrorism between the Wars

Following World War I, all of Europe was subject to a wave of nationalistic terror. However, this kind of terror was especially strong in the countries for which the war had ended in defeat and collapse, such as the German Empire and the successor states of the Habsburg Empire.[13] A nationalist-paramilitary movement was even able to establish itself in Italy, a country that had ended the war on the side of the victors yet viewed the results as a *vittoria mutilate*, a mutilated victory.[14] Organizations belonging to this movement found support first and foremost among people who saw themselves as political soldiers.[15] According to Robert A. Paxton, their political convictions can be better read from their deeds than from their words, because the attitudes on which such actions were based often remained "unspoken and implicit."[16] The Italian squadrons were "geared toward action rather than discussion."[17] The same was true after World War I of the men who flocked to the German paramilitary groups, namely to the Free Corps and their successor organizations as well as to the Sturmabteilung (SA). Just as in Italy, widespread disappointment over the outcome of the war was the main reason to join the nationalist-paramilitary movement.

Another factor that gave rise to paramilitary movements was anti-Bolshevism. Bourgeois circles saw in the Russian Revolution "a nightmare that…appeared to have become a reality: the triumph of a faceless revolutionary crowd over the forces of law and order."[18] Consequently, Fascist acts of violence communicated "well calculated messages…that communist violence was on the rise, the democratic state reacted insufficiently, and that only the fascists were strong enough to protect the nation against antinational terrorists."[19] Even though the actual extent of the Bolshevik threat was far smaller than the degree to which it was feared by the middle class, a great deal of the power behind paramilitary mobilization was generated by anti-Bolshevism, often combined with anti-Semitism.

Initially, the characteristic activity of the paramilitary combat leagues in Italy and Germany was large-scale street violence; paramilitary units also committed targeted attacks, that is, classic acts of terrorism. In practice, this made the boundaries between paramilitary and terrorist violence "extremely blurred,"[20] because the perpetrators of paramilitary and terrorist violence belonged largely to the same group, as did their targets: young, militarily socialized men directed their violence against their archenemies, that is, against the groups and individuals they believed to be responsible for the national decline or whom they identified with the political system that they were fighting.

Both the collective street fighting and the individual terroristic attacks carried symbolic meaning. When the combat leagues committed collective acts of violence in public areas, they appeared in uniform and conspicuously demonstrated power so as to proclaim their symbolic control over the streets and depict themselves as an anti-Bolshevist protective force.[21] Yet another intention was to be communicated through individual

acts of terrorism. Such attacks usually took place in situations in which the extreme right found itself on the defensive; from this position of weakness it sought to demonstrate its deadly ability to act.[22] The act of terror itself was often conceived as a signal that needed no acknowledged source of origin in order for its message to be delivered.

For this reason, we find far fewer genuine terrorist attacks being carried out in Italy in the interwar period than in Germany. In Italy the Fascist squads usually acted from a position of strength based on their confidence of having the support of large sections of the military, whose attitude toward them ranged from "cautious benevolence" to "active sympathy and co-operation."[23] At first paramilitary violence consisted of collective action that was not based on any detailed planning.[24] Starting in the fall of 1920, however, the squads started a "systematic campaign of destruction against the political organizations and trade unions of the working class."[25] One of their chief modes of action was the infamous *spedizioni punitive*.[26] These punitive expeditions into enemy terrain, which sometimes ended in the occupation of cities for days at a time, gave the *squadristi* the chance to act out forms of random brutality, behavior steeped in a need for violence generated by the social and ideological milieu in which they lived.

Yet they also deployed violence instrumentally, meaning they attacked political opponents and destroyed their infrastructure. In the first half of 1921 alone, the *squadristi* committed 726 attacks on trade-union headquarters, cooperatives, editorial offices, or public libraries.[27] With the exception of a few bomb blasts or arson attacks,[28] the violent activity of the squads usually lacked a conspiratorial element. Arson attacks occurred in the public realm, as did targeted assaults on prominent and highly visible political opponents. Several socialist representatives in parliament were beaten to death by uniformed *squadristi* out on the street in broad daylight.[29] Not until the Fascists held positions of power in government did they undertake a series of conspiratorial attacks against political opponents that culminated in the abduction and murder of Giacomo Matteotti, a socialist representative in parliament, in 1924.[30]

During the phase of open confrontation between revolution and counterrevolution in Italy in 1922, which culminated in the Fascists' seizing power, the young German republic increasingly brought the proto-Fascist Free Corps under control. In the spring of 1920 at the latest, following the failed Kapp Putsch, strong measures enacted by the government of the Weimar Republic forced paramilitary groups to create conspiratorial structures and search for new types of activity. The decision to go underground was made by the Free Corps activists after their original plans to overthrow the government failed and their former organizational framework became obsolete. From that point on, they relied on highly publicized acts of terror to shake the foundations of the regime they were fighting. During and after World War I, these perpetrators of military activism had "become seasoned murderers of a brutality unfamiliar to civilized society long before they became active as assassins in Germany."[31]

From their ranks was formed the Organisation Consul (OC), a "terror network" responsible in 1921–22 for a veritable wave of terror aimed against the republic.[32] With the emergence of the OC, paramilitary violence in Germany gained a new, genuinely terroristic dimension. Numerous representatives of Germany's political Left fell victim

to nationalist assassins during the confrontations of the postwar period; in 1921 Emil Julius Gumbel listed more than three hundred people, including such prominent names as Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and Kurt Eisner, who were murdered in January and February 1919 by Free Corps activists.[33] However, the murder of the former Reich Finance Minister Matthias Erzberger on August 26, 1921 marked a turn in events because for the first time the violence was directed explicitly against the new state.[34] A small conspiratorial group had targeted those representing the young republic in order to generate the most media attention possible.[35]

The OC perceived itself as a secret society of antirepublican, anti-Marxist, anti-Semitic, anti-Western counterrevolutionaries that sought to overturn the existing political order.[36] It cultivated a broad base of sympathizers and thus cooperated closely with the expanding *völkisch* anti-Semitic scene.[37] The organization also found support within sections of the governmental apparatus; hence, it operated within the gray zone of "licensed illegality."[38] The German activists also organized international support, cultivating links to paramilitary groups in Austria and Hungary. In both successor states of the Habsburg Empire, especially in Hungary, nationalist activists committed numerous terrorist attacks against political and publicist opponents.[39]

The murder of Erzberger in the late summer of 1921 might well have been the only spectacular attack perpetrated by right-wing terrorists had events taken a different turn. The outright execution of this centrist politician, whose signature on the Armistice of Compiègne had made him, in the eyes of the political Right, the incarnation of the detested "November criminals," put great pressure on the prosecuting attorney's office to investigate the case diligently and speedily. Yet in the end, the justice system did not succeed in bringing the case to a satisfying conclusion. Most of the activists had to be released owing to a lack of evidence against them.[40] The OC itself profited from its decentralized structure, and the regional cells, particularly the very active Frankfurt group centered around Wilhelm Heinz,[41] went on to plan new attacks.

In the summer of 1922, the OC struck twice within three weeks. On June 4 the former Reich Chancellor Philipp Scheidemann barely survived an assassination attempt in Kassel.[42] On June 24 terrorists murdered the Reich Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau on the street in Berlin.[43] For the political Right, both victims were the embodiment of all they were fighting against. On one level, the attacks were hate crimes perpetrated against those of opposing political views, against Jews and Bolsheviks, to whom the Right attributed responsibility for the outcome of the war and the collapse of the old order.[44]

This hatred was also expressed in the manner in which the attacks were carried out. First, these attacks were carefully planned operations. The victims were not just gunned down on public streets, as had often been the case in post-World War I Germany. Instead, they were first carefully observed for weeks or months before they were attacked with extraordinary cold-bloodedness. Secondly, they were not eliminated with the calculated precision of a professional killer, but by means of calculated violence that carried a message beyond the simple intent to kill. Scheidemann was attacked with prussic acid, a chemical that was originally used in pest control; apparently he was supposed to be eliminated like vermin. Rathenau's murderers used a hand grenade and

machine gun, the typical weapons of trench warfare, thereby underscoring not only the fact that former frontline soldiers were at work but also that they sought the complete physical obliteration of their victim.

On another level, these attacks by the OC in the summer of 1922 were not only directed against specific individuals, but also against the Weimar Republic, for which the victims were substituted as targets. The acts were meant to signal opposition to the new German state; at the same time, they were part of a strategy of provocation.[45] The terror organization wanted its action "to broadcast the signal for reactionary counterrevolution."[46] The aim of the assassinations of high-profile representatives of the republic was "to provoke the masses on the Left into an uncontrollable confrontation with the state order."[47] In the ensuing military confrontations, the fascist paramilitary groups would then, so they hoped, form an alliance with the Reichswehr and subsequently establish an authoritarian state.

In fact, the wave of terrorism in the summer of 1922 did indeed plunge the republic into a serious crisis;[48] however it did not end in a revolutionary uprising, but in a mobilization of force against the Right. At least for a short period, the previously dominant discursive link between revolution, left-wing radicalism, and terror dissipated, a link that had shaped the early years of the Weimar Republic, at least as perceived by the middle class.[49] The "white" terror was not just directed against the revolutionary Left, as it had been in Munich in 1919 or in the Ruhr region in 1920; it was now aimed against the state, which accepted the challenge and reacted with determination. After the flight of Rathenau's murderers, Hermann Fischer and Erwin Kern, ended on July 17, 1922 with their deaths at Burg Saaleck, and the rest of the conspirators had been arrested, there was little chance left for the OC to act.

The demise of the OC did not mean the end of right-wing terror in the Weimar Republic by any means. During the Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr region in western Germany, paramilitary activists could disguise their terrorist know-how as a contribution to national resistance and gain the support of government authorities when they set off bomb blasts on railway tracks, engaged in nightly shoot-outs with occupation troops, and—fully in the tradition of mock trials and kangaroo courts—murdered alleged "traitors."[50] A few years after this began in western Germany, northern Germany, particularly the Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein, also witnessed a series of bomb attacks. The culprits were farmers, members of the radicalized *völkische* wing of the rural movement. Organized by men associated with the Free Corps who specialized in the use of violence, these farmers expressed their antirepublican protest through terrorist attacks against state institutions.[51]

When the SA, the paramilitary organization of the Nazi party, finally reached power and popularity in the late 1920s and early 1930s, it relied heavily on the massive use of violence and the spread of fear and terror in order to attract attention. Soon the terms *terror* and *SA*" became nearly synonymous. In 1932 the journalist Gabriele Tergit wrote in the famous left-wing journal *Weltbühne*: "One knows it is the Sturm 33 [the SA],…it is terror."[52] Just like the Italian squads, the SA relied primarily on collective violence in the streets.

Individual acts of terror and targeted attacks against representatives of the state, as used by their communist opponents, were not among the preferred methods of the Nazi combat leagues. Still, conspiratorial terror cells within the SA were created; these attacked political opponents but for the most part refrained from attacking representatives of the state.[53] Only in August 1932 did the SA deviate from this line, when the seizure of power seemed imminent following the victorious Reichstag elections on July 31. In the early weeks of August a wave of terror shook eastern Prussia in particular.[54] In Upper Silesia alone the SA carried out approximately thirty terrorist attacks from between August 1 and August 12; SA men planted bombs in newspaper offices, threw hand grenades into party headquarters and Jewish shops, and shot at their political enemies.[55] During this period they did not even refrain from using their guns against government authorities, primarily police officers. Although this phase of activist terrorism remained no more than an interlude in the history of the SA, it offered a taste of the violence that could be expected from it should the National Socialists indeed seize power.

Right-Wing Terrorism after the Second World War

The end of Fascist rule in Italy and the collapse of German National Socialism widely discredited openly right-wing extremist movements in the immediate postwar period. However, the "faith in deeds" and formalized language of rightist terrorism in the 1920s and 1930s were perpetuated by violence-prone extreme right-wing groups in post-Fascist Italy and Germany, as well as in other countries. Social and political contexts and the organizational and ideological currents within the respective spectra of the extreme right shaped the manner in which right-wing terrorism manifested itself. Fabian Virchow has argued that "extreme right-wing terrorism surfaces strongly in historical situations, in which 'people and nation' are existentially threatened according to an extreme-right worldview and interpretation."[56] This observation, while basically accurate, needs some qualification, because the "people and nation" are always subject to existential threats, according to the dichotomous views of society and history harbored by the extreme right. Still, for the period after 1945, the activity spheres of right-wing terrorist groups changed. It is possible, using ideal types, to distinguish between three overlapping historical phases.

The first phase is the period from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, a period characterized by a widely accepted anticommunist stance during the height of the Cold War. This anticommunism influenced the rhetoric and agenda of the newly established extreme right in the post-fascist countries after 1945. The right stylized itself as a bulwark against the "East" and attempted to update one of its main ideologemes.

In the second phase, starting in the late 1960s and ending roughly in the late 1980s, the forms of organization and spheres of activity changed—a change accompanied by

generational shifts within the extreme right wing of Western Europe. This period encompassed two decades of fundamental societal, cultural, and political change. Confronting such change became the primary focus of extreme right-wing politics, whose actors denounced it overwhelmingly as "decadent" and "subversive."[57] While extreme right-wing parties in Europe remained relatively unsuccessful between the end of the 1960s and the mid-1980s, neofascist and neo-Nazi groups were formed, particularly in West Germany and Italy. Borrowing from their historical predecessors, the Italian *squadristi* and the SA, these groups not only propagated fighting in the streets but also became the breeding grounds for right-wing terrorist activity directed specifically against political opponents and randomly against the general population.

The third phase started in 1989–90, during which right-wing extremism underwent further differentiation. Once the confrontation between the East and West blocs had come to an end, extremist and populist right-wing parties in numerous European countries achieved noteworthy electoral successes, especially those holding racist positions against immigration and Islam. In the course of growing fears and resentments with respect to the processes of globalization, certain ethnically based lines of argument proved compatible to the thinking of audiences even at the heart of European societies. Anticommunism, once the core paradigm of the extreme right, was replaced by that of an alleged "clash of cultures," often presented in apocalyptic terms. Agitation against immigration, alleged *Überfremdung* (foreign domination), and "Islamization" frequently ended in violence.

Right-Wing Terrorism under the Banner of the Cold War, 1945–68

After 1945, right-wing terrorism in Europe occurred on the greatest scale in Italy. In December 1946 former Fascist functionaries founded the Movimento Sociale Italiano (Italian Social Movement; MSI) in Rome as an organization where older and younger supporters of the crushed Fascist regime could first congregate. The MSI oscillated between taking a legalistic course and becoming a militant movement. In addition to organizations with large memberships that were affiliated with the party—such as the student association Fronte Universitario d'Azione Nazionale (University Front of National Action; FUAN), the Fronte della Gioventù (Youth Front), or the Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Nazionali dei Lavoratori (Italian Association of National Trade Unions; CISNAL)—splitter groups with an affinity to violence also formed at the edges of the party on the local and regional levels.[58]

Acts of right-wing terror were already occurring in this phase. One such event took place on October 28, 1950, the anniversary of Mussolini's March on Rome, when several bombs were detonated in the capital city.[59] The group responsible for numerous attacks on anti-Fascist actors in this period was the Fasci d'Azione Rivoluzionaria (Fascist

League of Revolutionary Action; FAR), which was banned in 1951. On the flip side, Resistenza activists carried out actions punishing or eliminating alleged or actual Fascist functionaries after the war ended.[60] The constellation of the Italian civil war of 1944–45 continued in the political violence of the postwar period.

In the course of the 1950s, the Movimento Sociale Italiano found it increasingly difficult to integrate the various activist-oriented currents. In 1954, under the leadership of Pino Rauti, the Ordine Nuovo (New Order; ON) was founded, a group that was meant to serve as a study center for the party but began to act independently of the MSI two years later. The ON activists were inspired by the fascist theoretician Julius Evola, who propagated an aristocratically influenced, heroic, and bellicose lifestyle, accompanied by a fundamental opposition to democracy. Five years later, in 1959, a group calling itself the Avanguardia Nazionale Giovanile (National Youth Vanguard; ANG) split off from ON. The ANG adopted a paramilitary strategy reminiscent of the *squadristi* and attacked the meeting places of Left-oriented youths and Jewish businesses in Rome.[61] Both the ON and the ANG were part of the core group of organizations that would be highly influential in shaping Italian right-wing terrorism in its second phase, starting in the mid-1960s.

Similar lines of continuity and development can be detected only to a limited extent in the Federal Republic of Germany. When the Sozialistische Reichspartei (Socialist Reich Party; SRP) was founded in October 1949, it did indeed represent a party attempting to continue the tradition of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party; NSDAP, or the Nazi Party),[62] but violence-prone or terrorist organizations did not become affiliated with it. On the whole, the party followed a legalistic course even though it left no doubt about its *völkisch* orientation and its opposition to democracy.[63] Due to its unequivocal reference to historical National Socialism, the SRP was banned in 1952 by the Federal Constitutional Court. This measure did not result in the creation of an underground organization; instead, debates on strategy within organized right-wing extremism in West Germany revolved around the idea of bundling the "national opposition" into a coalition party geared to the parliamentary system.

This role was taken on by the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschland (National Democratic Party of Germany; NPD) from its founding in 1964 until the end of the decade. The party strove to project a serious image and was able to win seats in the parliaments of seven of West Germany's *Länder* (states) between 1966 and 1969.[64] At the same time, however, this legalistic course did not exclude violent behaviors by NPD members and sympathizers. This was particularly apparent in the 1969 federal election campaign, when the party's own paramilitary-like security force, the Ordnungsdienst (OD), carried out several attacks on people demonstrating against the party.[65] Such violent practices were not genuinely "terroristic" ones, but they indicated that a process of radicalization had taken place especially among younger activists recruited from youth organizations such as the Junge Nationaldemokraten (Young National Democrats) or the Wiking-Jugend (Viking Youth; WJ), a group founded in 1952 and modeled after the Hitler Youth. This radicalization would eventually lead to the creation of right-wing terrorist groups.[66]

Right-Wing Terrorism after the 1968 Student Movements, 1968–89

The confrontation with leftist and emancipatory movements that emerged in Italy and West Germany around 1968 proved also to have a great influence on violent right-wing extremist activism. The year 1969 marked a turning point in the development of right-wing terrorism in both Germany and Italy, although the settings and occasions for violence differed greatly.

Contrary to the situation in the Federal Republic, the Italian universities became important settings in which neofascist groups radicalized. For one, these groups participated at least to some degree in the occupation of the universities, which often led not only to confrontation with government authorities but also to differences of opinion with the MSI, which rejected this kind of action. For another, the virulent lines of confrontation with leftist (university) groups that had existed already in the 1950s not only continued but escalated into bloody clashes. In particular, 1969 witnessed numerous militant actions and demonstrations by a broad-based, leftist, extraparliamentary opposition. On December 12, 1969, a bomb exploded in the Piazza Fontana in Milan that killed sixteen people and injured nearly a hundred more. In the prevailing protest environment, the investigating authorities at first believed the perpetrators would be found among leftist radical groups. The man alleged to be the main suspect in the case died four days later, on December 16, after falling from a fifth-story window at the Milan police headquarters under circumstances that are to this day not completely clear.[67]

The attack in Milan had actually been committed by ON activists, however—apparently with the approval at least of some section of Italy's military intelligence service, the Servizio Informazioni Difesa (SID). The massacre in the Piazza Fontana is considered to be one of the most spectacular examples of a *strategia della tensione* (strategy of tension), which used attacks to "intimidate the population, the leftist opposition, the trade unions, but also certain politicians of the ruling parties, undermine public order, and thereby (create) the atmosphere for…a situation in which the army would have to step in as an 'order factor.'"[68] Events never went that far, but the strategy of tension did play a role in blocking socialists and especially communists taking part in government at any level.[69]

Speculations claiming that right-wing terrorism in Italy was actually a form of state terrorism go too far. However, in light of the prevailing anticommunist sentiment, it is possible to say that fascist groups and certain actors in the governmental intelligence apparatus identified some of their enemies as being communists. The responsibility for a great majority of the right-wing terrorist attacks can be attributed to ON activists and the Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari (Armed Revolutionary Nuclei; NAR), which surfaced for the first time in 1977. Police estimated that by 1980 this group had carried out about twenty-five attacks against "leftist" institutions and representatives of the justice system.[70] The most successful act of right-wing terrorism to date has been attributed to

NAR. On August 2, 1980, a bomb exploded in the central railway station of Bologna, killing eighty-five people and wounding more than two hundred others.

The "Years of Lead" (1969–82) in Italy are associated primarily with the armed struggle of the Brigate Rosse (Red Brigades; BR) and other left-wing terrorist groups. Still, far more attacks are attributable to right-wing terrorism. Between 1969 and 1987 the Italian Ministry of the Interior registered 14,591 acts of violence that resulted in a total of 419 people killed and 1,181 injured. Authorities attributed 67.5 percent of these acts to right-wing extremist perpetrators and 26.5 percent to leftist extremists.[71]

In the German case, the public and political perception of terrorism in this period was and still is associated to a great degree with the attacks by the leftist Rote Armee Fraktion (Red Army Faction; RAF; also known as the Baader-Meinhof Group). The far-from-insignificant dimensions assumed by right-wing terrorism during the 1970s and 1980s in West Germany were often trivialized by political authorities and responsible officials. However, for the process of radicalization starting around 1969 within the extreme right, the physical confrontation with political opponents at the universities played less of a role than the defeat of the NPD in the Bundestag elections in that same year. Because of this defeat, the National Democrats lost their importance as a "national coalition party" and became less and less attractive to young advocates of action-oriented politics.[72]

Starting in the early 1970s, numerous groups emerged that openly declared their adherence to National Socialism.[73] These groups perceived themselves as a movement, and they were action oriented: their members visibly demonstrated a propensity for violence and created a neo-Nazi subculture from which the right-wing terrorism of the 1970s and 1980s emerged. One of the most influential groups was the Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten (Action Front of National Socialists; ANS), formed in 1977 under the leadership of Michael Kühnens (and banned in 1983). Back in 1975, Friedhelm Busse had founded the Volkssozialistische Bewegung Deutschlands/Partei der Arbeit (People's Socialist Movement of Germany/Labour Party; VSBD/PdA), which was banned in 1982. Both of these organizations as well as other militant small-to-tiny groupings styled themselves the reincarnation of National Socialism. Their supporters presented themselves as political soldiers in the tradition of the SA. From this spectrum emerged clandestine cell-like groups that planned terrorist acts. Similar to the situation in Italy, the violence was primarily directed against political opponents, occasionally against U.S. institutions, and, starting in the late 1970s, also against places and other forms of expression that represented an evolving critical culture of memory regarding National Socialism.

The right-wing terrorist acts having the gravest consequences during the 1970s and 1980s were committed by members of the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann (Hoffmann Military Sports Group), the Deutsche Aktionsgruppen (German Action Groups), and the so-called Hepp-Kexel Group. The Wehrsportgruppe was founded in 1973 by the Nuremberg graphic artist Karl-Heinz Hoffmann; it had up to four hundred members who regularly conducted paramilitary exercises with very little interference from the police or other security officials. Outwardly, the organization acted within the bounds of

legality, but internally it was structured strictly along the lines of the Führer principle. In January 1980 the Wehrsportgruppe was banned by the Federal Ministry of the Interior on the basis of their anticonstitutional orientation. In the months that followed, certain individual members committed capital crimes. For example, the geology student and former Wehrsportgruppe activist Gundolf Köhler was identified as the perpetrator of the disastrous bombing of the Munich Oktoberfest on September 26, 1980. Whether he acted alone or with accomplices or was ordered to carry out the attack is to this day a matter of controversy.

The Deutsche Aktionsgruppe, founded by Manfred Roeder, was classified in 1982 by the Stuttgart Higher Regional Court as a terrorist association. Between February and August 1980 its five members committed a total of seven arson and bomb attacks. The arson attack on a refugee shelter in Hamburg on August 22, 1980 took the lives of two Vietnamese refugees.

The Hepp-Kexel Group consisted of six activists recruited primarily from among former members of the VSBD/PdA and the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann. Its leaders were Odfried Hepp and Walter Kexel. In June 1982 they issued a manifesto that announced their "farewell to Hitlerism" and promoted an "anti-imperialistic struggle for liberation" against "Americanism."[74] In line with this, the group set off explosives under the vehicles of members of the U.S. armed forces in the Rhine-Main region between October and December of that year. Several people were injured, some seriously. Most of the group's members were arrested in February 1983. Odfried Hepp managed to escape to East Germany, where he was able at first to go underground with the help of the GDR Ministry for State Security.[75] The national-revolutionary orientation of the Hepp-Kexel group was controversial within the camp of the extreme right in West Germany because the group underscored in its tracts the "antibourgeois-capitalist striking power of Bolshevism" and emphasized the wish to live "in peace and friendship with Soviet Russia."[76]

Despite these different ideological nuances, various aspects reveal transnational links among groups during the second phase of right-wing terrorism in Europe after 1945. An important factor in the emergence of the first currents of right-wing terrorism in Germany proved to be the reception of the so-called South Tyrolean Struggle for Liberation. It was directed against the annexation of South Tyrol by Italy following World War I and in support of separatist aims. In the mid-1950s the underground organization Befreiungsausschuss Südtirol (South Tyrolean Liberation Committee; BAS) was founded; its members blew up targets particularly on the electrical and railway networks. In the 1960s South Tyrolean terrorism was increasingly influenced by right-wing extremists from West Germany and Austria, who were often recruited from the German national-*völkische* scene found in many student associations.[77]

Contacts between violence-prone and thus terrorism-engaged activists existed not only among German and Austrian actors on the extreme right. The Kommando Omega (Omega Command), which arose in the shadow of the VSBD/PdA, also had close contacts with members of militant right-wing extremist groups in France and Belgium, which in the early 1980s launched a series of primarily anti-Semitic and racially

motivated attacks.[78] The German group with the most extensive international contacts was the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann. This became particularly clear after the group was banned when Karl-Heinz Hoffmann, supported by several followers and the approval of Al Fatah, tried to bring the organization to Lebanon.[79] Furthermore, the neo-Nazi scene in West Germany could build on logistical support supplied by American right-wing extremists. It is for this reason that the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution stated in the fall of 1981: "At no time in past decades were relations between German neo-Nazis and their political friends abroad so intense as now. At this time we are quite justified in speaking of international neo-Nazism."[80]

Transnational Right-Wing Terrorism since 1990

During the third phase of right-wing terrorism, starting in 1989–90, these inter- and transnational aspects intensified and became further differentiated. With the end of the cold war and the struggle between the East and West blocs, the extreme right now made racism the core element of its agitation, without abandoning basic anticommunist views and stances. At the same time, among right-wing extremists there emerged new forms of social networking and group building. These exhibited sub- and countercultural influences that were characterized less by rigid organizational structures than by aspects of people's lifestyle, such as fashion and music.

Therefore, starting in the early 1990s, the question of whether right-wing extremism could be understood as a "social movement" was increasingly discussed in social science research—at least in several European countries.[81] Right-wing extremism as a social movement was argued to be characterized by "a very historically and symbolically laden, provocative mixture of Nazi symbols, elements of more recent youth cultures, and modern communication technologies."[82] These changes affected the types and intensity of the extreme right-wing use of violence.

In the years immediately following German reunification, a hitherto unprecedented escalation of violence took place in the context of national debates on restricting the right to political asylum. This violence was aimed especially against immigrants and refugees and resulted, for example, in pogrom-like attacks on refugee shelters in Hoyerswerda (1991) and Rostock-Lichtenhagen (1992). It is noteworthy that neo-Nazi groups originating from the "old" Federal Republic of Germany, who had begun immediately after the fall of the Iron Curtain to recruit supporters in the former German Democratic Republic,[83] as a rule played no more than a minor role in the riots. The dynamics of these events were fueled instead by an "increasingly nationalistic attitude in broad sectors of the population" that "in the new German states produced a neo-Nazi movement with a regionally acknowledged power of interpretation and an ability to assert itself through the use of violence."[84] The overwhelmingly very young perpetrators

acted in full awareness that "unchecked violence against immigrants and political opponents would not have any legal and societal consequences" for them.[85] As a result of innumerable attacks on immigrants as well as the homeless, punks, and alleged "leftists," sixty-nine people are estimated to have lost their lives between 1990 and 1995.[86] The public took little notice of most of these incidents. However, the arson attack in November 1992 on a building in Mölln where a Turkish family lived, which killed three people, did attract international attention. In May 1993 five people died in an arson attack on a building in Solingen inhabited by Turkish immigrants.

These arson attacks can be considered characteristic of the violence committed by the extreme right in Germany at the beginning of the 1990s. In most cases, no long-term preparation preceded these violent attacks, so it is debatable whether these acts can actually be classified as "right-wing terrorism" in a narrowly defined sense. The "naked terror on the streets" thus pushed "terrorism from the right out of view" in the first decade after reunification.[87] That said, the radical milieus of the extreme right, which were shaped predominantly by subcultural influences, served as resonance chambers for the dissemination of terrorist concepts.

Inter- and transnational influences became increasingly important. Groups with a strong affinity for violence formed networks in order to exchange ideological positions and strategic approaches. In an organizational sense, a key role was played by the transnationally operating "Blood & Honour" network and the "Hammerskin Nation," an internationally based group that openly advocated "armed struggle," as is proven, for example, by the appearance at the turn of the millennium of the *Blood & Honour Field Manual*. This manual urged the creation of small, independently operating armed cells that were to act according to the "leaderless resistance" principle.

This concept of leaderless resistance has become extremely important to modern right-wing terrorism. It originated in violence-prone extreme-right circles in the United States, whose types of acts were widely adopted by the militant neo-Nazis in Europe. The mastermind of leaderless resistance is considered to be Louis Beam, a former Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nations activist who, in an essay published in the fall of 1992, postulated the founding of autonomous, covert "phantom cells." These cells were not to be subject to a hierarchal order of command, but they were to commit themselves exclusively to a common ideology.[88] Such ideas were not completely new. As early as the 1950s and 1960s, extreme-right tracts, such as the novel *The John Franklin Letters*, had argued for the creation of "phantom cells" should the Soviet Union invade the United States.[89] Beam considered leaderless resistance to be a promising approach to fighting what he called the "Zionist occupied government" (ZOG). The appeal of leaderless resistance was enhanced by the growing awareness among the extreme right in the United States that it was becoming impossible for an exclusively "white" political party to win a majority in national elections owing to the country's demographic development.[90]

Propaganda tracts, disseminated particularly via the Internet starting in the mid-1990s, spread the concept of leaderless resistance around the world, as did slogans and other symbolic expressions found on lifestyle accessories popular among people on

the extreme right. Influential was also literary work that propagated "armed" resistance against the ZOG by small covert cells and "lone wolves" and conjured up the fiction of a "race war."[91] The most widely known work of this genre was the novel *The Turner Diaries*, published in 1978 under the pseudonym Andrew MacDonald by William Pierce, the leader of the American National Alliance (NA). In the novel an underground organization wages a war of annihilation against all of nonwhite humanity and against the "Jewish"-dominated "system."

Such fiction and the ideas on which it was based appealed to neo-Nazis across the United States and Europe, not only because of the verbal radicalism expressed, but especially because the terrorist practices described were an obvious reference to the propaganda tracts already in circulation and thus reinforced and validated the "faith in deeds." As it was, *The Turner Diaries* appears to have been the blueprint used by Timothy McVeigh for his car-bomb attack on the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, which killed 168 people. In his rationale, McVeigh was performing leaderless resistance; he acted not under orders from an organization but in accordance with an idea. The principle of leaderless resistance became a benchmark for right-wing terrorist groups that evolved in Great Britain, Sweden, and Germany within the milieu of the Blood & Honour network.

In Europe, a particularly notable development was the founding in England of the organization Combat 18 in 1992. This organization first provided security at events put on by the right-wing extremist British National Party (BNP) but then also attracted attention by its physically violent attacks on and letter bombs sent to its political opponents. In April 1999 David Copeland set off three nail bombs in busy London streets, which were directed particularly against immigrants and homosexuals. Three people died and nearly 140 were wounded. Copeland, who was known to move in Combat 18 circles, justified his action by referring to *The Turner Diaries* and depicting himself as a warrior in the "race war."[92] Because it is not clear even today whether Copeland received any help with his attack from other activists, he is still labeled a lone-wolf terrorist. This term has been widely used by U.S. security authorities, but it actually originated with militant white racists in North America, who urged individuals to carry out attacks on their own without any organizational mooring.

Since the 1990s a number of racially motivated and right-wing extremist individuals have indeed committed violent acts as lone wolves. We need only mention Anders Breivik in Norway, the Austrian letter bomber Franz Fuchs, or the sniper John Ausonius, who shot people in Stockholm and Uppsala whom he identified as having immigrant backgrounds. Of his eleven known victims, one died. In January 1994 Ausonius was sentenced to life imprisonment. Whether these people were actually familiar with and hence inspired by the concepts of leaderless resistance and lone-wolf terrorism is difficult to judge. Conversely, it is very clear that their deeds attracted a good deal of attention in violence-prone circles of right-wing extremists. The acts of Ausonius, who not only shot alleged immigrants but also robbed eighteen banks, was described, for example, in the *Field Manual* and apparently also influenced the actions taken by the NSU in Germany.

The NSU exhibited the characteristics typical of right-wing terrorism since the 1990s. The core group, consisting of Uwe Böhnhardt, Uwe Mundlos, and Beate Zschäpe, went underground in January 1998 and by November 2011 had committed ten murders, three bombings, and at least fourteen bank robberies throughout the country. In doing so, they could count on a network of supporters, the size of which is still not known. However, the actions of the NSU were not dictated by any hierarchical structure. The group continued to act according to the principle of leaderless resistance until their accidental self-exposure. Those involved in the NSU and its network were recruited from circles that had emerged since the 1990s within the movement-oriented neo-Nazi milieu. Intelligence officials considered Böhnhardt, Mundlos, and Zschäpe to be hardcore members of the Blood & Honour network in Jena, a university city in Thuringia. They had come from a local radical milieu permeated by transnational influences. There is much that supports the assumption that they were familiar with *The Turner Diaries* and especially the *Field Manual*.

An Outlook on Future Research

The emergence and activity of the NSU illustrates vividly the lines of development, self-image, and practices of transnationally influenced right-wing terrorism since the 1990s. At the same time, the NSU case also presents a series of unanswered questions and desiderata that have to be addressed in historical and social science research on right-wing terrorism in the twentieth century as a whole.

One aspect especially of the postwar era that has been insufficiently researched is the question of involvement between state authorities and right-wing terrorist groups. It has been posed repeatedly with regard to the developments in Italy. However, historical research on this topic has been made difficult by restricted access to government documents. In Germany, speculation and conspiracy theories thrive in view of such incidents as the peculiar haste with which the federal prosecutor's office had evidence and documents on the bomb explosion at the Munich Oktoberfest destroyed and the fact that files that could have revealed connections of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution to the NSU were shredded once the existence of the group became public.[93] Questions should also be raised concerning the internal structures of radical milieus from which right-wing terrorist groups recruit their members. The research on right-wing terrorism to date has shed little light on its sub- and counter-cultural roots. It is still not known under what conditions and according to what patterns processes of radicalization ending in terrorism occur. No less important is to inquire further into the ideological, cultural, and organizational connections that have existed transnationally between the various extreme-right milieus and groups since the 1920s.

For the most part, historical research on right-wing terrorism has so far disregarded comparative perspectives and relationships. Still, the "faith in deeds" can be argued to be

a characteristic trait of right-wing terrorism in the twentieth century. In each historical phase noted here, it has influenced the self-image, practices, and behavior of its protagonists. Violence evolved, as it were, into a lifestyle. It is also remarkable that ideological and strategic debates on the legitimacy of violence in political confrontation rarely ensued on the extreme right. Whereas lines of division and conflict within the New Left in (Western) Europe during the 1960s ran not least along the issue of armed struggle, similar controversies, past and present, are almost completely unknown on the extreme right. Therefore, the use of violence, even terrorism, still constitutes a political and strategic option existing in the self-image of many activists.

Translated from the German by Dona Geyer.

Notes

1. This article is based on research literature published until 2014.
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3. Marie-Luise Ehls, *Protest und Propaganda: Demonstrationen in Berlin zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1997).
4. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (London: Indigo, 1999), 105–120.
5. Tore Bjorgo, "Introduction," in *Terror from the Extreme Right*, ed. Tore Bjorgo (London: Frank Cass, 1995), 1–16.
6. Armin Pfahl-Traughber, "Die neue Dimension des Rechtsterrorismus: Die Mordserie des 'Nationalsozialistischen Untergrunds' aus dem Verborgenen," in *Jahrbuch für Extremismus- und Terrorismusforschung 2011/2012*, ed. Armin Pfahl-Traughber, vol. 2 (Brühl: Hochschule des Bundes für öffentliche Verwaltung, 2012), 58–101.
7. Peter Waldmann, *Terrorismus: Provokation der Macht* (Munich: Gerling Akademie Verlag, 1998).
8. Peter Waldmann, "Thesen: Terrorismus und Kommunikation," in *Gewalt ohne Ausweg? Terrorismus als Kommunikationsprozess in Europa seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Klaus Weinhauer and Jörg Requate (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 2012), 49–61, at 52.
9. Kurt Lenk, "Rechtsextreme 'Argumentationsmuster,'" *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 42 (2005): 17–22, at 20.
10. Ehud Sprinzak, "Right-Wing Terrorism in a Comparative Perspective: The Case of Split Delegitimization," in *Terror from the Extreme Right*, ed. Tore Bjorgo (London: Frank Cass, 1995), 17–43.
11. Bernhard Schmid, *Die Rechten in Frankreich: Von der Französischen Revolution zum Front National* (Berlin: Edition Elefanten Press, 1998), 116–117.
12. Andreas Koob, "Ensemble der Abwertung: Die Konjunktur von Feindbildern im Inneren der ungarischen Gesellschaft," in *Mit Pfeil, Kreuz und Krone: Nationalismus und autoritäre Krisenbewältigung in Ungarn*, eds. Andreas Koob, Holger Marcks, and Magdalena Marsovszky (Münster: Unrast Verlag, 2013), 63–106, at 65.

13. Robert Gerwarth, "The Central European Counter-Revolution: Paramilitary Violence in Germany, Austria and Hungary after the Great War," *Past and Present* 200 (2008): 175–209.
14. Adrian Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy, 1919–1929* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973), 30; James H. Burgwyn, *The Legend of the Mutilated Victory: Italy, the Great War, and the Paris Peace Conference, 1915–1919* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993).
15. On the term *paramilitarism*, see Mann, *Fascists*, 16–17; Sven Reichardt, "Paramilitarism," in *World Fascism: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Cyprian P. Blamires, vol. 2 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 2006), 506–507.
16. Robert O. Paxton, *Anatomie des Faschismus* (Munich: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 2006), 320.
17. Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power*, 45; Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbünde*, 18–19.
18. Robert Gerwarth, "Fighting the Red Beast: Counter-Revolutionary Violence in the Defeated States of Central Europe," in *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*, eds. Robert Gerwarth and John Horne (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 52–71, at 56; David Southern, "Anti-demokratischer Terror in der Weimarer Republik: 'Fememorde' und 'Schwarze Reichswehr,'" in *Sozialprotest, Gewalt, Terror: Gewaltanwendung durch politische und gesellschaftliche Randgruppen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Gerhard Hirschfeld (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 381–393, at 382.
19. Paxton, *Anatomie des Faschismus*, 126.
20. Robert Gerwarth, "'Krieg im Frieden': Der 'Weiße Terror' in den Nachfolgestaaten des Habsburgerreiches," in *Gewalt ohne Ausweg? Terrorismus als Kommunikationsprozess in Europa seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Klaus Weinhauer and Jörg Requate (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 2012), 123–136, at 125.
21. Paxton, *Anatomie des Faschismus*, 141.
22. Gerwarth, "'Krieg im Frieden,'" 125–126.
23. Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power*, 39; Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbünde*, 204ff.
24. On the use of violence by the squads, see Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power*, 54–71.
25. Emilio Gentile, "Paramilitary Violence in Italy: The Rationale of Fascism and the Origins of Totalitarianism," in *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*, ed. Robert Gerwarth and John Horne (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 85–103, at 90.
26. Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power*, 54–55; Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbünde*, 101–102.
27. Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbünde*, 84ff.; Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power*, 52.
28. Roger Engelmann, *Provinzfaschismus in Italien: Politische Gewalt und Herrschaftsbildung in der Marmorregion Carrara, 1921–1924* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), 143.
29. Engelmann, *Provinzfaschismus*, 128; Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbünde*, 127.
30. Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power*, 239.
31. Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, "Der politische Mord als Anschlag auf die Demokratie: Das Attentat auf Walther Rathenau," in *Politische Morde in der Geschichte: Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, eds. Georg Schild and Anton Schilding (Munich: Schöningh, 2012), 113–128, at 113.
32. Doering-Manteuffel, "Der politische Mord," 114.
33. Emil Julius Gumbel, *Vier Jahre politischer Mord* (Berlin: Verlag der neuen Gesellschaft, 1922), 10–13 (Luxemburg and Liebknecht), 27 (Eisner).
34. Christine Hikel, "(Un)Sicherheit: Terror, Angst und Männlichkeit in den Anfangsjahren der Weimarer Republik," in *Terrorismus und Geschlecht: Politische Gewalt in Europa seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Christine Hikel and Sylvia Schraut (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 2012), 169–190, at 169–170. On the murder of Erzberger, see

Martin Sabrow, *Der Rathenaumord: Rekonstruktion einer Verschwörung gegen die Republik von Weimar* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), 17–27.

35. Klaus Weinhauer and Jörg Requate, eds., *Gewalt ohne Ausweg? Terrorismus als Kommunikationsprozess in Europa seit dem 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 2012), 15; Waldmann, "Thesen: Terrorismus und Kommunikation," 60.
36. Gotthard Jasper, "Aus den Akten der Prozesse gegen die Erzberger-Mörder," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 10 (1962): 430–453, at 439–440. On the OC, see esp. Sabrow, *Rathenaumord*, 27–44.
37. Sabrow, *Rathenaumord*, 46–47.
38. Jasper, "Aus den Akten," 433–434; Howard Stern, "The Organization Consul," *Journal of Modern History* 35 (1963): 20–32, at 23ff.; Southern, "Anti-demokratischer Terror," 385–386.
39. Gerhard Botz, *Gewalt in der Politik: Attentate, Zusammenstöße, Putschversuche, Unruhen in Österreich, 1918–1934* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1976), 113–141; Gerwarth, "Fighting the Red Beast," 62.
40. Sabrow, *Rathenaumord*, 26–27.
41. Susanne Meinl and Dieter Krüger, "Der politische Weg von Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz: Vom Freikorpskämpfer zum Leiter des Nachrichtendienstes im Bundeskanzleramt," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 42 (1994): 39–69.
42. Sabrow, *Rathenaumord*, 56–68.
43. Ibid., 86–103.
44. Ibid., 17; Hikel, "(Un)Sicherheit," 177–178; on the assassins' motives, see also Jasper, "Aus den Akten," 435–438; Doering-Manteuffel, "Der politische Mord," 117–123.
45. Jasper, "Aus den Akten," 435.
46. Ibid., 430.
47. Sabrow, *Rathenaumord*, 165.
48. Jasper, "Aus den Akten," 435.
49. Hikel, "(Un)Sicherheit," 173–174.
50. Conan Fischer, *The Ruhr Crisis, 1923–1924* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 165ff.
51. On the rural movement, see Gerhard Stoltenberg, *Politische Strömungen im schleswig-holsteinischen Landvolk, 1918–1933: Ein Beitrag zur politischen Meinungsbildung in der Weimarer Republik* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1962); Alexander Otto-Morris, *Rebellion in the Province: The Landvolkbewegung and the Rise of National Socialism in Schleswig-Holstein* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag, 2013).
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53. Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbünde*, 129; Daniel Schmidt, "Die Straße beherrschen, die Stadt beherrschen: Sozialraumstrategien und politische Gewalt im Ruhrgebiet, 1925–1933," in *Polizei, Gewalt und Staat im 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Alf Lüdtke, Herbert Reinke and Michael Sturm (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011), 225–248.
54. Richard Bessel, *Political Violence and the Rise of Nazism: The Storm Troopers in Eastern Germany, 1925–1934* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 89ff.
55. See the composite list of the dynamite and hand grenade attacks carried out beginning August 1, 1932, in the province of Upper Silesia (sent to the Ministry of the Interior on September 2, 1932), GSTA PK I. HA Rep. 77 Tit. 4043 no. 152.

56. Fabian Virchow, "Rechter Terror(ismus) in Deutschland: Der NSU als Prisma," in *NSU-Terror: Ermittlungen am rechten Abrund. Ereignis, Kontexte, Diskurse*, eds. Imke Schmincke and Jasmin Siri (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2013), 71–78, at 75.
57. Daniel Schmidt and Michael Sturm, "'Wir sind die, vor denen Euch die Linken immer schon gewarnt haben': Eine Einleitung," in *Die 1970er Jahre als schwarzes Jahrzehnt. Politisierung und Mobilisierung zwischen christlicher Demokratie und extremer Rechter*, eds. Massimiliano Livi, Daniel Schmidt, and Michael Sturm (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 2010), 7–29, at 10–11.
58. Gerhard Feldbauer, *Von Mussolini bis Fini: Die extreme Rechte in Italien* (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1996), 31.
59. Leonard Weinberg, "Italian Neo-Fascist Terrorism: A Comparative Perspective," in *Terror from the Extreme Right*, ed. Tore Bjorgo (London: Frank Cass, 1995), 221–238, at 223; Paola Bernasconi, "Zwischen Aktivismus und Gewalt: Die Wurzeln des italienischen Neofaschismus," in *Die 1970er Jahre als schwarzes Jahrzehnt: Politisierung und Mobilisierung zwischen christlicher Demokratie und extremer Rechter*, eds. Massimiliano Livi, Daniel Schmidt, and Michael Sturm (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 2010), 171–189, at 180ff.
60. Weinberg, "Italian Neo-Fascist Terrorism," 227.
61. Bernasconi, "Zwischen Aktivismus und Gewalt," 177.
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63. Horst W. Schmollinger, "Die Sozialistische Reichspartei," in *Parteienhandbuch: Die Parteien der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1945–1980*, ed. Richard Stöss, vol. 4 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1983), 2274–2336, at 2323–2324.
64. Botsch, *Die extreme Rechte in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 46–51.
65. Ibid., 57.
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70. Bruce Hoffman, *Right-Wing Terrorism in Europe since 1980* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1984), 2.
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72. Kopke, "Die Aktion Widerstand 1970/1971"; Chapter by Terhoeven.
73. Botsch, *Die extreme Rechte in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 68.
74. Quoted from Yury Winterberg, *Der Rebell: Odfried Hepp—Neonazi, Terrorist, Aussteiger* (Bergisch-Gladbach: Gustav Lübbe Verlag, 2004), 180.
75. Winterberg, *Der Rebell*.
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78. Hoffman, *Right-Wing Terrorism in Europe*, 8; Speit, "Der Terror von rechts," 53.
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CHAPTER 34

CYBERTERRORISM

Understandings, Debates, and Representations

ANDREW WHITING, STUART MACDONALD, AND LEE JARVIS

The history of terrorism—if a singular, coherent history indeed exists—might be characterized according to two discontinuous trends. First is an empirical discontinuity which relates to the quite significant transformations that have taken place in the diverse groups conducting terrorist violence, their motivations, the modus operandi employed, the justifications offered, and the communicative impact of such violence. Potentially distinct from this, however, is a second, conceptual discontinuity, the changes in how "terrorism" is understood and evaluated since the concept's emergence. It is often noted, for instance, that the term originally referred to the state as the wielder—rather than the victim—of violence. Less common, yet no less important, is the observation that the contemporary characterization of terrorism as immoral, or even "evil," fits awkwardly with this term's earlier normative connotations. Although very few violent actors today would refer to themselves by this moniker—as Louise Richardson put it, terrorism is something "the bad guys do"[1]—this was not always the case. As the Russian revolutionary Nikolai Morozov put it in 1880, "contemporary terroristic struggle" is "the struggle of force against force, of equal against equal; the struggle of heroism against opposition, of knowledge and education against bayonets and gallows."[2]

Cyberterrorism—perhaps the most significant contemporary addition to the terrorism family—speaks to each of these discontinuities. This chapter explores whether the types of activity described as "cyberterrorist" differ from other types of "traditional," "offline," or "non-cyber" terrorism and alongside this asks whether thinking about online activities from countersurveillance to cyberattacks as forms of terrorism has implications for existent understandings of this concept.

Defining Cyberterrorism

Although the term "cyberterrorism" is widely attributed to Barry Collin, who is claimed to have coined it in the 1980s, its meaning remains hotly contested within the relevant academic literature. One major obstacle to defining the term lies in a broader inability to define terrorism itself.[3] Emerald Archer, for example, comments that, "there is no universally agreed upon definition of terrorism broadly, or cyber terrorism specifically."[4] Ayn Embar-Seddon similarly argues that prior uncertainty around terrorism's true meaning poses "a significant barrier to constructing a definition of cyberterrorism."[5] It is certainly true that, whilst it is often (although not always) viewed as a distinct concept,[6] cyberterrorism inherits definitional issues from its parent concept.

Perhaps the most widely known definition of cyberterrorism surfaced in the testimony of Dorothy Denning on May 23, 2000, to the U.S. House of Representatives' Special Oversight Panel on Terrorism,[7] which has since been used in "numerous articles and interviews."[8] In Denning's understanding, cyberterrorism refers to:

> the convergence of cyberspace and terrorism. It refers to unlawful attacks and threats of attacks against computers, networks and the information stored therein when done to intimidate or coerce a government or its people in furtherance of political or social objectives. Further, to qualify as cyberterrorism, an attack should result in violence against persons or property, or at least cause enough harm to generate fear.[9]

Denning then goes on to add that "attacks that lead to death or bodily injury, explosions, or severe economic loss would be examples [of cyberterrorism]," and that "serious attacks against critical infrastructures could be acts of cyberterrorism, depending on their impact," but that "attacks that disrupt nonessential services or that are mainly a costly nuisance would not."[10] However, Gabriel Weimann, another prominent scholar in this field, offers a different definition: "Cyberterrorism is the use of computer network tools to harm or shut down critical national infrastructures (such as energy, transportation, government operations)."[11] There are four differences between his definition and Denning's. First, whilst Denning's definition does not specify that cyberterrorism has to be conducted via a computer—merely that it must involve an attack "against computers, networks, and the information stored therein"[12]—Weimann's definition focuses on computers as the means, as well as the target, of the attack. Second, Weimann's definition offers no details as to the motivation of the attackers, while Denning highlights the importance of political and social objectives. Third, for Weimann, cyberterrorism only refers to the use of computers as a weapon against the specific networks upon which critical national infrastructures (CNI) rely. And, fourth, Weimann's definition does not specify that physical violence to people or property or severe economic harm must have ensued in order for an attack to qualify as cyberterrorism.

In spite of their differences, the definitions offered by both Denning and Weimann are similar in that they are both based on effects. Neither Denning's nor Weimann's definition says anything about the actors involved. This is in contrast to others, such as Roland Heickerö, who argue that "cyber terrorism is not limited to organisations and individuals; states are sometimes also involved."[13] By contrast, Denning's and Weimann's definitions both specify particular results that must have occurred in an attack in order for it to constitute cyberterrorism.

Denning's and Weimann's definitions form part of a broader discussion in which many authors express concern that the term "cyberterrorism" is used to cover too many different phenomena. Thus, Denning wrote that "cyberterrorism has been used to characterise everything from minor hacks to devastating attacks."[14] Embar-Seddon also takes exception to the inclusion of so diverse a range of activities under the heading of cyberterrorism.[15] For her, acts such as "hacking" constitute "unauthorised access to or use of a computer system" and so should not be categorized as cyberterrorism, which she defines—in a manner similar to Weimann—as "acts of terrorism carried out through the use of a computer."[16] Moreover, for Embar-Seddon the presence of offline violence is crucial for an act to constitute cyberterrorism.[17] This is echoed by Heickerö and also by Maura Conway, who states that to qualify as cyberterrorism an attack must "result in death and/or large scale destruction."[18] Whilst effects-based definitions such as these concentrate on the aftermath of cyberattacks, others focus instead upon the objectives of an attack's perpetrator. These intent-based definitions tend to view cyberterrorism as "politically motivated computer attacks [that] are done to intimidate or coerce a government or people to further a political objective, or to cause grave harm or severe economic damage."[19] Cyberterrorism here may be separated from other forms of online activity precisely because of a protagonist's underlying intentions. Jerrold Post, Keven Ruby, and Eric Shaw, for example, offer such an understanding, arguing that cyberterrorism is distinguishable by "the degree to which the attack was designed to produce fear and intimidation in the target audience in order to accomplish an ideological goal."[20] These elements of fear and intimidation in the pursuit of broader political or ideological purposes are prominent in many definitions of terrorism more generally.

Other attempts to help identify acts as, or differentiate them from, cyberterrorism are observable within the literature. They speak to the criticism that apparently separate phenomena have overlapped to a problematic degree.[21] For example, Denning produces a threefold distinction between activism, hacktivism, and cyberterrorism, with activism being the use of the Internet for propaganda purposes; hacktivism, which is the merger of activism with hacking techniques to disrupt a target's intended operations (for example, a distributed denial of service [DDoS] attack on a website); and finally, cyberterrorism, which is distinguished from the two in line with Denning's definition, referred to above: the inclusion of damage on a par with "physical acts of terrorism."[22]

Just as there are those who look to impose tighter boundaries on the definition of cyberterrorism, other authors are willing to include a far longer list of actions under this heading. For example, Angela Clem, Sagar Galwankar, and George Buck state that

cyberterrorism can be used to "(1) help plan other terrorist activities; (2) soften a target prior to a physical attack; or (3) generate more fear and confusion concurrent with other terrorist acts."[23] Such a definition is far more expansive than those outlined above. Indeed, some of the activities that might be classed as cyberterrorism in this approach would rarely be regarded as terrorism if perpetrated in the purely "physical" world; the authors give the example of altering or destroying health-insurance records.

Clem, Galwankar, and Buck are not alone in offering a very broad definition of cyberterrorism. There are others who do similarly, whilst carving cyberterrorism up into distinct subcategories. For these authors, the key distinctions are not between cyberterrorism and other entities. Rather, they are *within* the concept of cyberterrorism itself. This is illustrated by a statement from the former United States deputy assistant attorney general John G. Malcolm:

> Cyberterrorism involves the use of computer systems to carry out terrorist acts, which are, in turn, defined by reference to specific criminal statutes. *True* cyberterrorism is characterized by large-scale destruction (or the threat of such destruction) coupled with an intent to harm or coerce a civilian population or government.[24]

Malcolm thus offers a broad understanding of cyberterrorism as the use of computer systems to conduct terrorism but then adds another level by arguing that "true" cyberterrorism must have a violent or destructive element—or at least the threat of one—thereby offering an effects-oriented definition of "true" cyberterrorism. A similar example may be found in Kevin Desouza and Tobin Hensgen, who view cyberterrorism "under two lights": conventional (attacks that disrupt information infrastructure) and unique (for example, simple online communication between terrorists).[25] George Kostopoulos, meanwhile, distinguishes between *three* "basic types of cyberterrorists": the professionals, the amateurs, and the thieves. The professionals "aim at inflicting physical or cyber damage onto victim's resources," the amateurs "find pleasure in applying cyber graffiti," and the thieves "have immediate personal illicit economic benefit from their actions."[26] Kostopoulos defines cyberterrorism so broadly that practically any misuse of computers, including much of which would commonly be understood as cybercrime, can be categorized within his threefold classification.

Perhaps the most significant attempt to draw a distinction within the concept of cyberterrorism is the argument that we should talk in terms of "cyberterrorism" and "pure cyberterrorism." While there are those for whom such a distinction is becoming more difficult to discern,[27] Sarah Gordon and Richard Ford argue that cyberterrorism involves "the use of computers in terrorist acts," which include countless everyday functions.[28] Commenting on Denning's definition outlined above, Gordon and Ford state that Denning

> points out that this definition is usually limited to issues where the attack is against "computers, networks, and the information stored therein," which we would argue is "pure cyberterrorism."…We believe that the true impact of her opening statement ("the convergence of terrorism and cyberspace") is realized not only when the attack

> is launched against computers, but when many of the other factors and abilities of the virtual world are leveraged by the terrorist in order to complete his mission, whatever that may be.[29]

Gordon and Ford go on to explain that whilst "pure cyberterrorism" involves attacks using computers to disrupt and damage computer networks, "cyberterrorism" refers to the use of "other factors and abilities of the virtual world…by the terrorist in order to complete his mission." The result of this is that cyberterrorism incorporates a whole host of actions including, for example, the use of computers by the September 11, 2001 attackers to purchase airplane tickets.[30]

Similarly to Gordon and Ford, Matthew Devost, Brian Houghton, and Neal Pollard distinguish between "information terrorism" and "pure information terrorism."[31] In Table 34.1 the authors distinguish between physical and digital terrorist attacks in the information age.

In their analysis they conclude that "cell (a) addresses 'traditional terrorism…the authors consider cells (b), (c) and (d) to be information terrorism…the authors believe cell (d) to be 'pure' information terrorism."[32] Using this definition, "information terrorism" can therefore refer to a physical act that aims at a high-tech target. In addition, Devost, Houghton, and Pollard acknowledge, in accordance with Gordon and Ford, that cyberterrorism does not necessarily have to refer to destructive actions:

> There are more subtle forms of information terrorism (e.g. electronic fund theft to support terrorist operations, rerouting of arms shipments, etc.) which would still be political crimes, but perhaps more dangerous because they are less dramatic than a "'cyber-Chernobyl," and thus more difficult to detect, and can even appear as "common" crimes.[33]

Distinguishing between a specific "computer-on-computer" attack and activities that are facilitative or preparatory, but simultaneously including both under the broad heading "cyberterrorism," has important ramifications not only for how the term is understood but also for the assessment of, and response to, the threat it is deemed to pose.[34]

Table 34.1 General Methods of Terrorist Attacks in the Information Age

		Target	
		Physical	Digital
Tool	Physical	Conventional terrorism (Oklahoma City bombing)	IRA attack on London Square Mile, October 4, 1992
	Digital	Hacker spoofing an air traffic control system to bring down a plane	Trojan horse in public switched network

Adapted from Matthew G. Devost, Brian K. Houghton, and Neal Allen Pollard, "Information Terrorism: Political Violence in the Information Age," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9, no. 1 (1997), 72–83, online publication 21 December 2007.

Assessing the Cyberterrorism Threat

In a study of academic opinion around cyberterrorism, Jarvis, Macdonald, and Nouri identified "considerable disagreement" regarding the "extent to which this phenomenon poses a security threat."[35] Simplifying, they characterize this disagreement as a debate between "the concerned" and "the skeptics"—for whom cyberterrorism remains little more than a hyperbolic media construction. Heickerö dichotomizes this debate similarly between those who view the cyberterrorist threat as "real and considerable" and others for whom there is "no threat at all or only a very limited one."[36] Concerned assessments of cyberterrorism tend to view cyberterrorists as "computer savvy individuals who look for vulnerabilities that can be easily exploited."[37] Owing to "the number of potential targets and the lack of proper and adequate safeguards," preventing cyberterrorism is here seen as a "daunting" task for the security services.[38] According to Thomas Homer-Dixon,

> We've realized, belatedly, that our societies are wide-open targets for terrorists. We're easy prey because of two key trends: First, the growing technological capacity of small groups and individuals to destroy things and people; and, second, the increasing vulnerability of our economic and technological systems to carefully aimed attacks.[39]

These kinds of assessments are frequently accompanied by such oft-quoted lines as "tomorrow's terrorist may be able to do more damage with a keyboard than with a bomb,"[40] as well as the lists of hypothetical nightmare scenarios first expounded by Barry Collin.[41] Moreover, these assessments often point to the possibility of terrorist organizations "recruiting their own internal force or network of highly capable programmers" to exploit the systemic vulnerabilities that exists within computer systems and across networks.[42]

The attractiveness of cyberoperations to would-be terrorists is also a product, for many authors, of factors relating to ease, anonymity, and remoteness. In the first instance, cyberattacks are often seen as so "easy and cheap to carry out" (requiring nothing more than a laptop and an Internet connection) that anyone "with a modicum of technological sophistication can carry out some form of attack."[43] Here, terrorists have acquired cyberweapons that offer "new, low-cost, easily hidden tools to support their cause,"[44] as well as "inexpensive, yet robust communications intelligence collection capability."[45] Second, the anonymity offered by cyberspace means both that terrorists can be more confident in their communication and planning knowing they are doing so covertly,[46] and that they can operate more brazenly (for example, intercepting sensitive information and engaging in countersurveillance), safe in the knowledge that "much of this work can be done anonymously, diminishing the risk of reprisal and increasing the likelihood of success."[47] This, alongside the ability to conduct operations remotely across different legal jurisdictions using "proxy servers and IP-change methods to hide their real addresses,"[48] poses "tremendous challenges to thwart cyber-terrorist attacks."[49]

The distinction between terrorist use of cyberweapons and online communication pointed to above in efforts to differentiate "cyberterrorism" from "pure cyberterrorism" is further reason for the contestability that surrounds cyberterrorism's threat. That is, while some of the relevant literature concentrates on communication, intelligence, disruption, and the use of cyberspace to further physical endeavors, other contributions concentrate on the possibility of terrorists' using cyberspace as a launching pad for attacks that may or may not have physical ramifications. Seymour Goodman, Jessica Kirk, and Megan Kirk, for instance, outline the following terrorist uses of the Internet: support, communication, recruitment, fundraising, research, explicit cyberattack (of cybertargets), and as a means to attack other (physical) targets.[50] While cyberattack is included in this typology, the majority of the focus is on actions that facilitate "physical terrorism." Thomas Holt, indeed, goes so far as to say that for terrorists "the most significant benefit of the Internet" is their ability to convey their extremist propaganda effectively and "directly control the way that their message is delivered to the general public."[51] Communication here is regarded as a vital means for training new recruits in weapons and tactics as well as for planning and funding future attacks.[52] For James Lewis, for example, "the primary use of the [I]nternet by terrorist[s] involves information: obtaining it, disseminating it, and using it to advance their goals."[53] He offers a summary of terrorists' use of the Internet:

> It is an organizational tool, and provides a basis for planning, command, control, communication among diffuse groups with little hierarchy or infrastructure. It is a tool for intelligence gathering, providing access to a broad range of material on potential targets, from simple maps to aerial photographs. One of its most valuable uses is for propaganda, to relay the messages, images and ideas that motivate the terrorist groups. Terrorist groups can use websites, email and chatrooms for fund-raising by soliciting donations from supporters and by engaging in cybercrime (chiefly fraud or the theft of financial data, such as credit card numbers).[54]

Whereas Lewis focuses on uses of the Internet for organizational purposes, other authors writing on cyberterrorism concentrate on the potential it provides for various forms of cyberattack. Audrey Cronin, for example, notes the increasing tendency of terrorists online to turn to hacktivism, "attacks on internet sites, including web defacements, hijackings of websites, web sit-ins, denial-of-service attacks, and automated email 'bombings'…that may not kill anyone but do attract media attention, provide a means of operating anonymously, and are easy to coordinate internationally."[55] In so doing, she points to the wide range of offensive activities opened by terrorist uses of the Internet.

One problem confronting this literature, however, is that there remains considerable disagreement as to whether an event of "pure cyberterrorism" has ever occurred.[56] As a result, much of the debate is couched in hypothetical terms, often drawing upon historical analogies of questionable perspicacity. Warnings of a "Digital Pearl Harbor," for example, which posit "a debilitating, full-scale digital assault—in which multiple attacks are launched against telecommunications networks, city power grids, and/or air

traffic control systems, causing widespread destruction and possible loss of life," are representative of this tendency.[57] Even more striking are scenarios such as that offered by Homer-Dixon:

> It's 4 a.m. on a sweltering summer night in July 2003. Across much of the United States, power plants are working full tilt to generate electricity for millions of air conditioners.… The electricity grid in California has repeatedly buckled under the strain.… In different parts of the state, half a dozen small groups of men and women gather. Each travels in a rented minivan to its prearranged destination—for some, a location outside one of the hundreds of electrical substations dotting the state; for others, a spot upwind from key, high-voltage transmission lines.… Those outside the substations put together simple mortars made from materials bought at local hardware stores, while those near the transmission lines use helium to inflate weather balloons with long silvery tails. At a precisely coordinated moment, the homemade mortars are fired, sending showers of aluminum chaff over the substations. The balloons are released and drift into the transmission lines.[58]

The level of detail in this scenario leads one to assume that the author is recounting an actual event, yet it is, in fact, entirely fictional. Homer-Dixon notes that his scenario may have at one point "sound[ed] far-fetched" but argues that in a post–September 11 world it should not.[59] Cyberthreats such as cyberterrorism are seen as dangerous "not because of what they have (or have not) done to date, but precisely, because they threaten to generate serious impacts in the future."[60] As Chad Parks put it in 2003:

> It is true that America has never suffered consequences of a true cyber terrorist attack, yet. On September 10, 2001, it was also true that no organized terrorist group had ever hijacked four airplanes, crashed two into the World Trade Center, one into the Pentagon, and one in a field in Pennsylvania, killing over three thousand Americans.[61]

Nevertheless, there is a competing perspective. Evan Kohlman, for example, argues that the U.S. government's focus on the "doom-and-gloom predictions that cyberterrorists would wreak havoc on the Internet" is misguided and overlooks "the fact that terrorists currently use the Internet as a cheap and efficient way of communicating and organizing."[62] Lewis argues that "the Internet is not a weapon that appeals to terrorists,"[63] something reinforced by Giampiero Giacomello's cost-benefit analysis of a hypothetical cyberterrorist attack and by Turki Al-Garni and Thomas Chen's subsequent study of Stuxnet, an attack directed against an Iranian nuclear power station via computer worm that was first discovered in 2010.[64]

All of these authors are of the belief that traditional physical attacks remain the most attractive option to terrorists.[65] Thus, for Denning, "terrorist groups are using the Internet, but they still prefer bombs to bytes as a means of inciting terror."[66] For Michael Stohl, similarly, the lack of clear empirical examples of pure cyberterrorism is a damning indictment of the actual threat posed and concludes that if it is not explainable due to a

lack of terrorist motivation, it must be the case that they remain incapable of mounting a sufficiently destructive attack.[67] Either way, many of these authors believe that the potential dangers of cyberterrorism have been "overblown and misdirected."[68]

Characterizing the Cyberterrorism Debate

Clearly there is a broad range of understandings of cyberterrorism and the risk that it poses. Despite this diversity, however, academic literature on this phenomenon is overwhelmingly oriented toward a conception of cyberterrorism as an extradiscursive phenomenon. Regardless of whether cyberterrorism is defined narrowly or broadly, assessed as a significant threat or an overblown one, and whether or not it is even deemed to have occurred, there is a general consensus that such a thing as cyberterrorism exists as an ontological reality.

This approach to cyberterrorism—as something that, at least in principle, can be captured in our labels and risk assessments—tends to neglect the constitutivity of competing knowledge claims thereof.[69] That is, definitions and understandings of cyberterrorism within different discursive sites—academic, governmental, media, and so on—create that which they purport to describe. Consequently, security issues, such as cyberterrorism, are "made" through social and discursive practice, not "given."[70]

Despite the widespread understanding of cyberterrorism as an ontological reality, a small number of important studies may be identified that have embraced a more skeptical metatheoretical stance toward cyberterrorism. Myriam Dunn Cavelty, for instance, employs framing theory to explore how cyberterrorism has been "securitized"—or positioned as a "security threat"—within U.S. political discourse.[71] In similar fashion, Maura Conway attempts to "excavate" the development of "cyberterrorism" through an examination of popular, media, and scholarly engagements with this term.[72] In so doing, she draws on a similarly constructivist approach to this phenomenon as something that is produced discursively. A related approach, albeit from a different disciplinary background, is evident in the work of Lorraine Bowman-Grieve, who utilizes social-psychology literature to read news representations of "cyberterrorism" through the category of "moral panics."[73]

Alongside these studies there are also a scattering of constructivist explorations of cybersecurity discourse more broadly, wherein cyberterrorism is approached as one of a multitude of (discursively) connected threats. David Barnard-Wills and Debi Ashenden, for example, draw on Foucauldian theories of governmentality in order "to identify a relatively consistent discourse of cyber security that involves trends of uncertainty, risk perception, securitization, and potential militarization" within "current cyber security policy developments in both the United Kingdom and United States."[74] Lene Hansen and Helen Nissenbaum, similarly, apply securitization theory to the 2007 cyberwar

against Estonia to identify "three 'security grammars' which they perceive to be distinct to the cyber security sector: hypersecuritizations, everyday security practices, and technifications."[75]

Within this literature a recurring theme is the role played by the media in constructing, and securitizing, the threat of cyberterrorism. For Gabriel Weimann, for instance, "much of the discussion of cyberterrorism has been conducted in the popular media, where journalists typically strive for drama and sensation."[76] For Conway, likewise, "with the aid of the mass media, cyberterrorism came to be viewed as the 'new' security threat *par excellence*."[77]

In order to evaluate claims such as these, we undertook a recent study of over five hundred news items published by a total of thirty-one different outlets between 2008 and 2013 in order to offer the first detailed exploration of media representations of cyberterrorism.[78] First, the study demonstrates that the volume of news-media coverage of cyberterrorism has increased in recent years.[79] Prior to October 2010, the thirty-one outlets published an average of 4.8 items mentioning cyberterrorism per month. In stark contrast, a total of thirty-five items mentioning cyberterrorism were published in October 2010 alone. These increased levels of interest were sustained in the thirty-two months that followed, with an average of 10.6 items published per month. The study identifies two events that contributed to this upsurge: first, the release of the U.K.'s National Security Strategy on October 18, 2010—which identified international terrorism and cyberattack as two of the top-tier threats facing the U.K.[80]—and the associated decision to invest an additional 650 million pounds in cybersecurity at a time when other cuts where being made to the defense budget; and, second, the revelations concerning Stuxnet, one of the first known malwares to cause physical damage to critical infrastructure.[81]

Second, media coverage of cyberterrorism is predominantly apprehensive in tone.[82] In total, two-thirds of news items identified in our research evidenced a marked concern with the threat posed by cyberterrorism, whereas just 2 percent of the items explored in this study took an explicitly skeptical stance toward this threat. The concerned items included a number that contained quite stark warnings of the cyberterrorism threat. Examples included a *Washington Post* article in which Shawn Henry ("who just retired as the FBI's top cyber sleuth") was quoted as saying, "Other than a weapon of mass destruction going off in one of our major cities, this is the most significant threat to our economy and national security,"[83] and a CNN piece entitled "There's Nothing Virtual about Cyber Attacks" that quoted U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein's warning that a cyberterrorist could open the floodgates of a dam, disrupt air-traffic control, or shut down the New York Stock Exchange.[84] Perhaps the most striking use of hyperbole, however, was an article published in the U.K.'s *Daily Mail* under the headline "Why Britain Is Desperately Vulnerable to Cyber Terror." It presented a detailed description of a digital Pearl Harbor in which

> power cuts scythed through Britain, plunging cities into darkness.…The nationwide panic meant supermarket shelves emptied and petrol stations ran out of

> fuel.…There was no TV, no radio and no mobile networks. After a fortnight, there were riots, and the military, which was itself crippled by mysterious communications glitches, was called in.[85]

This description was followed by the foreboding statement that "this terrifying scenario may seem like a science fiction movie. But it is exactly the sort of possibility currently being considered at the highest levels in government as part of the National Security Strategy."

Third, the study found that just as there are various understandings of cyberterrorism in the academic literature outlined above, so too are there different constructions of cyberterrorism in news-media discourse.[86] The most common depiction of cyberterrorists was as professionals (that is, as individuals with sufficient levels of knowledge of the most complex computer techniques to be able to target the most critical systems), followed by hackers (that is, as individuals who employ nefarious computer techniques to cause disruption and interference, but who lack the skill or motivation to cause serious levels of damage to the most critical systems). Moreover, different depictions were associated with different levels of concern. Depictions of cyberterrorists as hackers or as hacktivists are associated in the news media with below-average levels of concern. By contrast, concern levels were highest when cyberterrorists were represented as professionals. Indeed, none of the items containing this latter construction of cyberterrorists exhibited skepticism of the threat that they pose.

As well as different constructions of this threat's protagonists, the study found a range of quite varied representations of the referent threatened by cyberterrorism. The most common referents were nation-states and critical infrastructures. Others included the private sector, citizens, and personal data. Again, different constructions were associated with different levels of concern. Geographically larger referents—especially "the West" or the entire globe—were associated with heightened levels of concern. Items containing this construction of the cyberterrorism threat contained numerous bold assertions, such as that "power and water and other vital services in the West could be crippled,"[87] and that "the western world has, almost overnight, found itself incredibly vulnerable."[88] A further example is an article from *Russia Today*, published in 2012 following the discovery of the Flame malware, which quoted Eugene Kaspersky (head of the global IT security company Kaspersky Lab) as saying, "I'm afraid it will be the end of the world as we know it.…I'm scared, believe me."[89]

Fourth, as the quote from Kaspersky illustrates, the study found that news-media discourse frequently employs specific authoritative voices in support of warnings of the threat posed by cyberterrorism. This reliance on "expert" opinion is particularly significant given the disagreement over whether a cyberterrorism attack has ever taken place. There is frequent recourse to the views of industry experts such as Kapersky as well as to those of intelligence professionals and political elites. Examples include a 2010 *Washington Post* article that quoted the former FBI

director Robert S. Mueller III's warning that the cyberterrorism threat is "real and…rapidly expanding" and that terrorists have shown a "clear interest" in pursuing "hacking skills" for inflicting further damage upon "our economy and our psyche,"[90] and a 2009 BBC report that reported the former Home Secretary David Blunkett's warning that jihadists "could be planning to attack national infrastructure—power grids, telecommunications and the like—via the internet, in order to hit a big and symbolic target: the 2012 London Olympics."[91] The study also found widespread use of analogy and other forms of comparison with offline or historical events to concretize the potential consequences of a cyberterrorism attack.[92] One of the most common examples is, again, warnings of an electronic or cyber Pearl Harbor. Indeed, remarks by Leon Panetta on this possibility were widely reported in 2012.[93] Panetta has also been widely cited as drawing an analogy with 9/11. A *Washington Post* article, for example, quoted Panetta as warning that a digital attack "could be as destructive as the terrorist attack on 9/11," virtually paralyzing the country.[94] And in a report in *The Guardian* in 2009, it was 9/11's unpredictability rather than its destructiveness that was put to analogous effect: "just as the 9/11 attacks were an unprecedented attack with unconventional weapons, so too could a major cyber attack [occur]."[95] The same newspaper also later reported on U.S. efforts to bolster resilience to cyberterrorism through legislation "aimed at avoiding a cyber 'Hurricane Katrina' situation in which a disaster is aggravated by a bungled government response."[96] References to specific historical events such as Pearl Harbor, 9/11, and Hurricane Katrina underscore the seriousness of technologies and actors that are poorly understood by readers, while at the same time reminding us that unexpected events do occur.

Conclusion

By introducing some of the key questions raised by the emergence of "cyberterrorism" this chapter has sought to draw attention to this increasingly prominent category of scholarly, political, and media discourse. The chapter began by arguing that—despite its comparatively recent emergence—the term is already surrounded by considerable definitional contestability. Although part of this is a product of broader debates that have long bedeviled its parent concept, also important is the diversity of ways in which those designated "terrorists" engage with cybertechnologies. The second section explored a number of issues around the threat posed by this form of terrorism, differentiating between "concerned" and "skeptical" voices, and concluded by exploring how this phenomenon is represented in the international news media. In the final section it was noted that coverage of cyberterrorism has increased markedly over time and that it is predominantly apprehensive in tone, despite the existence of quite different understandings of this threat, its referents, and its likely protagonists.

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EPILOGUE

Shock and Awe, Terrorism and Theory

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Terrorism is dumb as well as brilliant: dumb, because terrorism is a type of violence, and violence cannot speak; and brilliant, because terrorism is aesthetic by nature, spectacular first of all. To encounter this form of violence is therefore to experience shock and awe, a sudden jolt and reverential dread that, most obviously, immobilizes both body and mind, leaving the spectator momentarily open-mouthed, speechless as the act itself, and riveted by its theater. The response of the Western world to the staged and excessive violence of ISIS—rarely without reference to its "barbaric" or "medieval" quality—encapsulated but the most recent example of this experience, including the audience's fascination and, thus, troublesome complicity with terrorism. As Walter Benjamin already wrote about his well-intentioned contemporaries' reaction to fascism, "The amazement (*Staunen*) that the things we are experiencing are 'still' possible in the twentieth century is *not* philosophical."[1] But by implication, this famous sentence from the *Theses on the Philosophy of History* also raises a critical question, namely, whether terrorism's shock and awe can ever cause amazement that *is* philosophical, the kind of wonder that gets us thinking, produces knowledge, and moves us toward theory, something that is said still to be missing in the history of terrorism.

The question of whether the experience of terrorism can be stupefying as well as stimulating is not the same as whether one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. Certainly it is true that terrorism is a Janus concept in this second sense, which it shares with its counterpart, state terror. Deflecting a critique of the Terror, Robespierre already said as much about the latter in 1794:

> It has been said that terror was the spring of despotic government [by Montesquieu in his 1748 *The Spirit of the Laws*, on which more below]. So does yours resemble despotism? Yes, as the sword shining in the hands of the heroes of liberty resembles the one wielded by tyranny's satellite. Let the despot govern his stupefied subjects through terror; he is right to do so as a despot: intimidate by terror the enemies of liberty; and you will be right, as founders of the Republic.[2]

Not many state politicians since have drawn so comfortable a link between terror and the constitutive violence of their own regimes; but contemporary scholars do echo Robespierre when they insist that nonstate terrorism too has a dual logic, that terrorists intend their violence to provoke not only fear but also sympathy and support.[3] For the wider public it is apparently not so difficult to understand that this is true, given that the cliché of the "terrorist/freedom fighter" is, indeed, a cliché. What seems less obvious, however, is how to explain something that this handbook on the history of terrorism brings into clear focus, namely, how the phenomenon that sits at the root of this political violence, terror, can function as a "spring" of not only the stupefaction of subjects or the intimidation of enemies, but also the inspiration of friends. What is needed, in other words, is a conceptual apparatus able to account for the fact that terrorism not only immobilizes, but also mobilizes. Terrorists, after all, believe that their violent interventions can change the course of history because these can cause a target audience to "wake up" and suddenly see the world anew.[4] In other words, they believe that the "trembling" of the encounter with terrorism can provoke—to borrow an appropriately ambivalent expression from Kierkegaard's *Fear and Trembling* (1843)—"the shudder of thought."[5]

To explicate the logic of shock and awe and draw out its implications, this epilogue looks at some of the ways terrorism has been framed historically, politically, and philosophically. In doing so, it sometimes stops to examine language, including the etymology of terms. The point of this is to estrange certain arguments, assumptions, and word clusters that are commonly and at times unselfconsciously used when discussing terrorism. The text also explicitly engages with Hannah Arendt and Edmund Burke, whose writing on both terror and thought give them a privileged place in the history of terrorism, as well as Jacques Rancière, because of his work on the relation between politics and aesthetics. So, in part through language and in part through intellectual history, this text means to discover the source of some of our ideas about terrorism as well as to rethink these ideas, ultimately with the goal of moving us towards a theory of terrorism. In so far as it focuses on Western language and philosophy though this anthology is global in scope, it may also be seen as a heuristic contribution to a comprehensive future conceptual history of terrorism.[6]

Terrorism and War

"Shock and awe" is a phrase that is not primarily associated with terrorism, but rather with the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. George W. Bush administration officials adopted it from the post–cold war military doctrine of rapid dominance presented in Harlan Ullman, James Wade Jr., et al.'s *Shock and Awe* (1996). This doctrine dreamed of destroying the enemy's "will to resist" and harked back to classical military strategists such as Carl von Clausewitz and Sun Tzu.[7] Sun Tzu for example, according to the authors, exemplified "selective, instant decapitation of military and societal targets to

achieve Shock and Awe" when he cut the heads off the emperor's favorite concubines in order to force all the other women to fall in line.[8]

The wider public first heard of "shock and awe" in January of 2003, when U.S. media outlets such as CBS reported that the opening gambit for Operation Iraqi Freedom might involve a cruise missile campaign so vast that, according to one official, "The sheer size of this has never been seen before, never been contemplated before."[9] The CBS report went on to explain:

> It's called "Shock and Awe" and it focuses on the psychological destruction of the enemy's will to fight rather than the physical destruction of his military forces. "We want them to quit. We want them not to fight," says Harlan Ullman, one of the authors of the Shock and Awe concept, which relies on large numbers of precision-guided weapons. "So that you have this simultaneous effect, rather like the nuclear weapons at Hiroshima, not taking days or weeks but in minutes."[10]

Terrorism scholars may be surprised to recognize in this explanation of a doctrine that was promoted as "a real revolution in military affairs" a number of characteristics typical of their own subject, for example the emphasis on excessive and unprecedented violence; an impact that is psychological rather than military; precision targeting; and temporal short-circuiting.[11] Given this overlap, one should wonder whether the very concepts of "shock" and "awe" might also reveal something about terrorism.

In the CBS report as well as in the original policy proposal, however, the exact meaning of "shock and awe" remains rather opaque.[12] It appears that, for the *Shock and Awe* authors, the terms reverberate with a range of meanings they have had over time. The original context of the term *shock*, for example, is in fact military. It derives from the French *choc*, a noun of action derived from the verb *choquer*, and in the early 1600s it meant an armed encounter with the enemy. The more general understanding of *shock* as something that could wound, offend, scandalize, or horrify someone, as well as the idea of "a sudden and violent blow, impact, or collision" that disturbs the balance of a person's body, mind, emotions or ideas, dates to the seventeenth and especially eighteenth centuries. Our contemporary medical understanding of shock goes back to the nineteenth century, when it came to mean "a sudden debilitating effect produced by over-stimulation of nerves, intense pain, violent emotion, or the like; the condition of nervous exhaustion resulting from this."[13] Electric shock, finally, is a specific case of a more general sense of shock as a "momentary stimulation of a nerve" that dates to the mid-eighteenth century.[14] The meaning of *awe*, meanwhile, has been no less protean. During the medieval period, *awe*, which derives from the Proto-Indo-European $*h_2eg^h-$ (to be depressed or afraid) via the Old English *ege*, meant "immediate and active fear; terror, dread."[15] This original fear became more reverential as awe came to be tied to the divine and, by the eighteenth century, had become a feeling of "reverential wonder, tinged with latent fear" and inspired by the sublime, a definition in support of which the *Oxford English Dictionary* offers a citation from Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757): "Astonishment; the subordinate degrees are awe, reverence, and respect."[16] None of this, though, is referenced in *Shock and Awe*.

The closest *Shock and Awe* comes to defining its key terms is when it provides historical illustrations. "Images and expressions of shock," for example, are conjured as follows: "One recalls from old photographs and movie or television screens, the comatose and glazed expressions of survivors of the great bombardments of World War I and the attendant horrors and death of trench warfare."[17] As for awe, this is evidenced in the effects of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki: "The Japanese simply could not comprehend the destructive power carried by a single airplane. This incomprehension produced a state of awe."[18] Thus, as the "comatose" condition of the Europeans and the "incomprehension" of the Japanese indicate, the authors' understanding of "shock and awe" is that it immobilizes both body and mind: "In crude terms," they write, "Rapid Dominance would seize control of the environment and paralyze or so overload an adversary's *perceptions and understanding* of events so that the enemy would be incapable of resistance at tactical and strategic levels."[19] As noted, there is indeed a tradition, running through a number of contexts (military, medical, etc.), of understanding shock and awe as a negative disabling of the aesthetic and intellectual functions. This is the tradition that also informs terrorism studies, whose most prominent scholars regularly include "shock" or "shocking" in their definitions of this violence and generally interpret shock as antithetical to insight.[20] But it is not the only tradition.

Importantly, there is a strand in the history of philosophy in which shock and awe in fact lead to thought. To give but the most famous example and preview an argument that will be developed below: Socrates—a "model" thinker, according to Arendt—acknowledged that because of his questioning ways he could be compared to a stingray, so long as it was admitted that when he "paralyzed" others with his questions, what he was really doing was passing on his own "perplexity" (*aporia*).[21] Recalling that perplexity—or wonder (*thaumazein*), on which more below, or amazement, as in Benjamin's *Staunen*—elsewhere in Plato's *Dialogues* is identified as the beginning of philosophy, it becomes clear that the Socratic tradition imagined a strong link between the shock and paralysis of the stingray and any subsequent thought.

This tradition has important implications for our understanding of terrorism, a phenomenon that is predominantly understood as violence that promotes a fear so extreme that it immobilizes its targets as well as its audience, but that was also once evocatively defined by David Rapoport as "the use of violence to provoke consciousness."[22] Because the understanding—Rapoport's, but of course not his alone—is that terrorism means to achieve its goals by preying on the passions and perceptions of its target audience through shocking acts of violence, and because the passions and perceptions have historically belonged to the realm of aesthetics, this epilogue next considers how the violence of terrorism is perceived when it first appears.

Terrorism and Aesthetics

In terms of understanding the appearance of terrorism, the concurrent focus on the verbal and the visual ("dumb as well as brilliant") that this epilogue proposes is

connected to the argument that terrorism is violence that communicates. It is an attempt to develop the way such communication is understood and, relatedly, to rethink how terrorism's politics are seen.

When making the argument about terrorism and communication, the academic literature usually refers back to Thornton's 1964 essay, "Terror as a Weapon of Political Agitation," which defined the terrorist act as "symbolic," stressed the importance of its "propagandizing" function, and listed "*advertising* the movement" to a "mass audience" as terrorism's "most characteristic" objective.[23] Since then, many prominent scholars—Crenshaw, Jenkins, and Waldmann among them, as well as numerous authors in this volume—have built on Thornton's ideas to argue that terrorism is a communicative violence, and the notion recently received further currency through a textbook, *Terrorism and Communication: A Critical Introduction*.[24] Importantly, moreover, one of the earliest names for the violence now known as terrorism was "propaganda by the deed," introduced as an idea by Italian revolutionary Carlo Pisacane in the 1850s but popularized as an expression by the anarchist Paul Brousse during the 1870s and thereafter by Peter Kropotkin, whose arguments Thornton in fact cited to explain terrorism's "advertising function."[25] Thus, the idea that terrorism is a communicative violence is an old one that originates close to the phenomenon's source in nineteenth-century radical circles, which gives it historical weight—but also reveals something difficult about the argument.

This difficulty has to do with the fact that, in the history of terrorism, violence erupts when dialogue fails, often when power refuses to listen to—or even hear—people's pleas. When this happened in nineteenth-century Europe, the message got a different medium: ostensibly it was the same "propaganda," just now "by the deed." Thus, for example, commenting on the emergence of Russian terrorism in his classic *Roots of Revolution*, Franco Venturi writes, "[T]he pistol shot becomes *an exact substitute* for [Nikolai] Serno-Solovevich's appeal to the Tsar."[26] Everything centers on whether this assumption about the medium's neutrality is in fact feasible—whether violence can ever be speech's "exact substitute" or, as Kropotkin put it, "does more propagandizing in a few days than do thousands of pamphlets," that is, whether violence can have the same or amplified communicative function as speech.[27]

As a form of political communication, the argument goes, terrorism sends "a message."[28] But arguably terrorism has a message—an intelligible one, at least—only if it is literally accompanied by one because, as Arendt notes, violence is in fact "incapable of speech."[29] Just one example to illustrate the point: Germany's Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund (National Socialist Underground), characterized like other right-wing terrorists groups by their *Tatglaube* (faith in deeds) and thus not very discursively inclined, still felt compelled to leave behind a message explaining why they would not be leaving behind any messages: "Deeds, not words" (*Taten statt Worten*). This is also why, for Arendt, violence and power are mutually exclusive: man's political nature, following Aristotle, is rooted in his possession of the *logos*, or reasoned speech; animals, by contrast, only have *phônê* (sound or voice).[30]

Of course, however, as Rancière explicates in his reading of Aristotle, the *logos/phônê* binary is itself political, so that when power deems someone's speech to be unreasonable,

the speaker's status automatically drops to that of an animal, and as soon as it is but an animal that appears before power, there is nothing to see at all, and nothing that is said will sound like anything anymore.[31] Thus, to return to Venturi's observation, if the pistol shot is indeed "an exact substitute" for the appeal, then, to power, neither the appeal nor the pistol shot sounds like *logos*, for the source of the sound—the revolutionary subject—is illegitimate in the eyes of the autocrat. Thus, as long as the logic of the source is literally imperceptible, the message, whether verbal or violent, is lost. And so no terrorist act can in fact mean much more than what Crenlinsten once said it did: "'*look at me!' or 'listen to me!*'."[32]

Further, as symbolic violence, terrorism may be able to communicate, but it is not always clear what it is saying. This might simply have something to do with the nature of symbols, the fact that the way they represent and are received is never unambiguous. Even in the case of September 11, 2001, with symbols of U.S. financial and military might as seemingly obvious as the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the message was still illegible to many Americans, as evidenced by that moment's most arresting question: "Why do they hate us?" With violence long ago and far away, the matter of meaning is clearly even more complicated, so that, for example, getting at the intention of the ancient Zealots (Sicarii), medieval Assassins, or early modern Thugs—the three groups Rapoport featured as examples of premodern religious terrorists in his classic article, "Fear and Trembling"—means having to scrape away layer after layer of a highly politicized palimpsest consisting of sources that are extremely limited and exogenous to these groups themselves. Several authors in this volume in fact suggest that these premodern groups cannot even be properly characterized as terrorists. Terrorists, for their part, have always known that meaning is a difficult matter, and that theirs is easily manipulated, especially given their dependency on mass media that, for the most part, they do not themselves own. Hence their tendency to try to manage the meaning of their acts with words, to chaperone and civilize their violence with letters, literature, and manifestoes (sometimes very lengthy ones, as in the case of the Unabomber Ted Kaczynski's 35,000-word "Industrial Society and Its Future" or Anders Behring Breivik's Islamophobic "2083–A European Declaration of Independence," whose word count comes in at 750,000). In sum, unaccompanied by discourse, terrorism is dumb, ergo it cannot substitute for speech, excepting speech that already sounds like nonsense.

But in fact terrorism's violence does not so much substitute for speech as it seeks a place where its perpetrators can first appear as people with whom it is possible to communicate, negotiate, and "do" politics (however auto- or democratically). Violently giving *acte de présence* is symbolic, but it is not reasoned speech. Rather than that terrorism is political violence, therefore, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that terrorism is violence that aims *toward* politics, that it is a kind of politics-in-becoming. In seeking to render its source perceptible (both to power and to other people), terrorism's initial "communication" is less discourse than a disruption of what Rancière has called "the distribution of the sensible," that is, a shock to the system of spatiotemporal divisions that "determines what presents itself to sense perception," that is, what can be seen and heard, based on who properly does what where and when.[33] What is at

stake, therefore, is a making visible of the historicity—or the absolute groundlessness—of this distribution, which is to say: producing a vision of power's void. This is also why terrorism is by definition spectacular (from the Latin verb *spectare*, to look) and indeed, as Jenkins famously suggested, "theater" (from the Greek root *thea*, sight or view).[34] Terrorism, we may say in sum, is first and foremost *aesthetic*, that term here meaning both what it did originally, *aisthitikos*, "perceptive by feeling," a form of cognition via the body, and what it has meant in modernity, a field of philosophy focused on the arts.[35]

This has a few implications for the field of terrorism studies. First, it might be kept in mind when considering what can sometimes seem like callous and therefore inconsequential commentary about the relationship between terrorism and the visual arts. For example: Baudrillard and Žižek's comparisons of the September 11 attacks to disaster movies or, more infamously, Stockhausen's comment that the attacks were "the greatest work of art that has ever existed."[36] Beyond the fact that grasping this event as entertainment or art suggests that it was fun or beautiful and therefore some kind of good, the offense also consists in the sense that aesthetics is too light to capture the gravity of terrorism—that the arts are not real enough for its reality. It may be, however, that only aesthetics can hope to get at the disorder that terrorism brings to the order of things; after all, it has long been the task of artists and poets to give form to that which it is impossible simply to say. Secondly, therefore, the idea that terrorism is first of all aesthetic should serve as a reminder to the field to continue to investigate both the spectacular nature of the violence itself (as do several authors in this volume who concur with Jenkins's assessment of terrorism as theater) as well as the media by means of which it is disseminated. Thirdly and finally, a question: how might the idea that terrorism is first of all aesthetic affect our understanding of a theory of terrorism?

Terrorism and Theory

Schmid and Jongman are often cited as the authors who researched over a hundred definitions of terrorism for their massive *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature*—and still came up with nothing definitive. Less often noted is that the book's chapter on theories of terrorism repeatedly and unequivocally states that in this area, too, terrorism studies are still lacking. Most scholars may well disagree with Walter Laqueur's assessment that "the study of terrorism can manage with a minimum of theory," but so far, Schmid and Jongman write, terrorism is nonetheless "still in search of a theory."[37]

Presumably, because Schmid and Jongman speak from a socioscientific perspective, such a theory should offer a comprehensive explanation or set of principles accounting for the origin, development, and—what is most difficult, given the phenomenon's inherent unpredictability—future of terrorism. This would be in accordance with the dominant definition of *theory*, which today means what it has since the early modern period: a statement of a subject's principles, laws, or methods.[38] Of course, however, the

problems of theory and definition are related: to theorize a subject, it must first be defined, and this, again, is notoriously difficult with terrorism, not to mention highly political and historical. Therefore, it would be productive to concurrently keep in mind the older meaning of the term *theory* and its tie to the spectacle, because this would both maintain a focus on the aesthetics of terrorism and also allow terrorism scholars to enjoy, for once, the strange fact that the nature of their subject seems to remain forever so discreet.

Originally, *theoria*, which derives from *theoros* (spectator) and—like theater, as noted—*thea* (sight or view), meant "witnessing a spectacle."[39] In ancient Greece, it referred to a pilgrimage or journey abroad to witness, or see, events and spectacles, often of a "sacred" nature; *theoria*, consequently, has been characterized as an "encounter with otherness" that transformed the *theoros*.[40] In the fifth century BCE, as philosophy sought to establish itself as a discipline, *theoria*, which represented the ideal type of spectatorship, became the model for "the philosophic notion of 'seeing' divine truths."[41] Eventually, *theory* acquired the Aristotelian meaning of understanding ("seeing") the cause of things that were a source of wonder, that is, of philosophical resolution; originally, however, *theoria* was a long moment of intellectual liminality and openness towards events.[42]

Thus, a theory of terrorism might mean not only an explanation of the phenomenon, but also an intellectual journey to encounter the truth about terrorism, as well as openness to the possibility that this journey might transform the way the scholar sees the subject. Arguably, one could say this about any subject, but it does also seem that, given its "spectacular," "theatrical," or aesthetic nature, terrorism is especially designed to demand *theoria* as well as the transformation of the *theoros*. But—and here is a return to the beginning of this epilogue—can terrorism trigger thought and, eventually, theory (in the modern sense of the word)?

What in fact is the relation between terror and thought? One assumption is that the two are mutually exclusive. Terror, it is generally held, is an intense form of fear that immobilizes body and mind and thus interrupts and disables action and thought.[43] For example, Burke, who was cited above to explain the early modern meaning of *awe* and to whose thoughts on terror the text will turn in a moment, insisted that "no passion so effectually robs the mind of all its powers of acting and reasoning as fear."[44] This idea can be brought directly into the political realm via Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951), where she insists that terror—not terrorism, for she is discussing state violence—is the "essence" of totalitarian government precisely because it is the nature of terror to immobilize people and thereby preclude the possibility of freedom.[45] Terror, she writes, "substitutes for the boundaries and channels of communication between individual men a band of iron which holds them so tightly together that it…destroys the one essential prerequisite of all freedom, which is simply the capacity of motion, which cannot exist without space."[46] This immobility also has a devastating effect on thinking because terror, in its partnership with ideology, likewise puts a straitjacket on the freedom "inherent in man's capacity to think."[47] Still, in intellectual history, the relationship between terror and thought is in fact not as unambiguous as all that—not

even for Burke and Arendt. Demonstrating this should provide some theoretical support for historical research that argues that terrorism not only paralyzes but also animates, a double operation that might be summed up as follows: terror im/mobilizes.[48]

Terror and the Sublime

Burke is normally cited in histories of terrorism as the first authoritative person to use the term *terrorist* pejoratively: in the fourth of his *Letters on a Regicide Peace* (1795), he referred to irregular troops of the French revolutionary state as "Thousands of those Hellhounds called Terrorists."[49] Wherever else in *Letters* the word *terror* appears, its connotation is just as negative, except perhaps in one instance, where its meaning is more ambiguous because of a coupling with the term "amazement": "Never were the views and politics of any Government pursued with half the regularity, system and method," Burke writes about the French revolutionary state, "that a diligent observer must have contemplated with amazement and terror in theirs."[50] *Amazement*, at the time of Burke's writing, generally meant being stupefied or perplexed, experiencing an "overwhelming" sense of fear or wonder.[51] In this particular case, its meaning leans more toward fear than wonder, but the appearance of "amazement"—again, as also in Benjamin's *Staunen*, or wonder—next to "terror" is nevertheless an important clue for understanding the history of the meaning of *terror*, as a look at Burke's earlier text on aesthetics will reveal.

Terror features prominently in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* because Burke insists that it resides at the core of the sublime.[52] It may well be bad, but terror is not without its attractions or advantages. In fact, one way to understand the relationship between terror and the sublime is to see the sublime as a distancing mechanism for the purpose of the enjoyment of terror and, thereby, "elevated emotions" such as "awe" or "reverence."[53] For example, experiencing a storm in a tiny, rudderless ship at sea triggers terror, but seeing this same storm from a safe distance—think canvases by Turner or Aivazovsky—is sublime. The same goes for science and technology. Take, for example, the awesome power of dynamite: it was—and remains—terrifying, but seems sublime when witnessed as a spectacle. For this reason, the second meaning of *terror* in the *OED* includes "the excitation of pleasurable feelings of fear by the depiction of violence, the supernatural, etc., as a literary genre."[54] In other words, the literary genre, say, gothic horror, functions as a kind of mediation and Trojan horse for the sublime, which is terror at a distance. Hence Burke insists that "terror is a passion which always produces delight when it does not press too close," also writing that the sublime produces "a sort of delightful horror, a sort of tranquility tinged with terror," a passion that in its highest degree is called "astonishment."[55]

To be explicit: what Burke provides for the field of terrorism studies is a model for understanding the fascination terror exudes: why, though terrorized, we keep looking. Following Burke, terrorism can be sublime—not for the immediate victims, of course,

but for the target audience, which by definition experiences this violence at a remove. Perhaps this is especially so in a world as mediated as the contemporary one, but it is also true that "oriental" terrorism was always already both repellent and fascinating.

Now for "astonishment": as per Burke's own definition that this is a state of mind in which it is impossible "to reason on that object which employs it," the sublime would seem to be problematic for thought.[56] As it turns out, however, terror at a distance not only produces delight but is also necessary for the preservation of "the finer organs" responsible for the passions and understanding: just as the "coarse muscular parts of the constitution" need exercise, so too, according to Burke, the finer organs "must be shaken and worked to a proper degree."[57] This exercise of the finer organs is "a mode of terror," a shaking and working (or trembling), "so modified as not to be actually noxious."[58] In other words, so long as it does not come too close, a little terror does a lot of good.

Far from being peculiar to Burke, this idea circulated widely in the eighteenth century, including in France, where it directly informed evaluations of the Terror. Vitalist physicians believed that terror could function as a kind of shock therapy and thus cure the paralyzed and melancholic. This also influenced physicians' sometimes positive estimations of the effects of the Terror on the public health of the body politic.[59] Such political thinking about shock was likewise present at the birth of terrorism in the Russian Empire during the 1860s, when Alexander II's would-be tsaricide, Dmitry Karakozov, who himself had undergone shock therapy for his ailing "nerves," applied this medical model as a cure for the Empire's political woes.[60] Essentially, what reverberated in politico-pathological thinking that emerged during this period—and thereafter among all terrorists who believed they could mobilize the people via violence—is an understanding of terror as something related to what Arendt once called "the initial shock that sends the philosopher on his way."[61] Which finally brings us back to Socrates the stingray, Arendt's "model thinker."[62]

Terror and *Thaumazein*

As noted, it has been said, first of all by Plato, that philosophy begins in wonder (again, *thaumazein*, a term that is derived from a Greek verb for seeing, *theasthai*, likewise the root for spectator).[63] When Theaetetus tells Socrates that his puzzles set him "wondering," Socrates replies: "This sense of wonder is the mark of the philosopher. Philosophy indeed has no other origin."[64] This truth thereafter migrated into the work of Aristotle, Descartes, Bacon, Hegel, Kierkegaard, and Heidegger, as well as Benjamin and Arendt, on whose reading of Socratic wonder in *The Life of the Mind* (1971) this epilogue especially draws.[65]

On the face of it, wonder seems innocuous enough, but Theaetetus also tells Socrates that it makes him "quite dizzy."[66] Relatedly, in the "stingray" passage, Meno complains that the encounter with Socratic perplexity has left him "literally numb":

> You are exactly like the flat stingray that one meets in the sea. Whenever anyone comes into contact with it, it numbs him, and that is the sort of thing that you seem to be doing to me now. My mind and my lips are literally numb, and I have nothing to reply to you. Yet I have spoken about virtue hundreds of times.…If you behaved like this as a foreigner in another country, you would most likely be arrested as a wizard.[67]

Socrates thus stupefies both mind and mouth, leaving his interlocutor stunned, at a remove from all he thought he knew; that this is deeply disorienting and therefore dangerous is clear from Meno's final line, which foretells Socrates' arrest.

We already know that Socrates accepts the characterization of himself as a stingray. To Meno's words, he replies that "if the stingray paralyzes others only through being paralyzed himself, then the comparison is just, but not otherwise. It isn't that, knowing the answers myself, I perplex other people. The truth is rather that I infect them also with the perplexity I feel myself."[68] Socrates literally incarnated this paralyzing perplexity, Arendt points out, each time he entered one of his famous states of immobility, such as when, as Alcibiades relates in the *Symposium*, "wrestling with some problem or other," Socrates "stood there lost in thought" for a full day.[69] But crucially, what "cannot but look like paralysis from the outside and the ordinary course of human affairs," writes Arendt, "is *felt* as the highest state of being alive," a sensation she also called "the only adequate metaphor" for the activity of thinking.[70] Paradoxically, therefore, what the Socratic "shock" delivers is intellectual vitality, or rather: mobility ("sends the philosopher on his way").

As for the dizziness that accompanies this movement: it is because thinking melts all that is solid into air. Arendt follows Socrates himself when she turns to the weather to capture the experience: the "wind" of thinking "unfreeze[s], as it were, what language, the medium of thinking, had frozen into thought—words (concepts, sentences, definitions, doctrines)."[71] Thinking thus returns thought to its source, perplexity, the experience of which Arendt called "the necessary insecurity of philosophical thought."[72] In sum, precisely because it dizzies and dumbs, the shock of wonder mobilizes thought—so that shock is technically a wonderful thing.

It might seem that this wonderful thing has little to do with terror, that characterizing the experience of wonder as "shock" is but a metaphor, and that we cannot very well link terror and *thaumazein* on the basis of wordplay. But aside from the fact that wonder is very much a physical experience and its shock no mere metaphor at all, language itself testifies to the historical link between terror and *thaumazein*. This, indeed, is also what allowed Burke to draw terror and the sublime into the same orbit:

> θάμβος [*thambos*, astonishment or amazement, a term linked to *thaumazein*][73] is in Greek, either fear or wonder…the Romans used the verb *stupeo*…to express the effect either of simple fear, or of astonishment; the word *attonitus* (thunderstruck) is equally expressive of the alliance of these ideas; and do not the French *étonnement*, and the English *astonishment* and *amazement*, point out as clearly the kindred emotions which attend fear and wonder?[74]

And so, in sum, if fear is tied to wonder and wonder to shock and shock sometimes to sending philosophy on its way, perhaps terrorism can indeed cause an amazement that is philosophical.

Terror and Ideology

However, as terrorism scholars know from the final chapter of *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, for Arendt—whose characterization of wonder as shock is after all the source of the idea that terror could be tied to *thaumazein*—terror is connected precisely *not* to philosophy but rather to its pretender, ideology; relatedly, any mobility that terror's shock may cause is the very opposite of freeing for the human mind.[75] Under totalitarianism, that novel form of government whose very essence is terror, humans are unthinking, thinglike, and entirely immobilized, except to the extent that they are relentlessly propelled into the future by the twin engine of terror and ideology.[76] Just as ideology is antiphilosophical (enlisted, in fact, "lest anybody ever start thinking"), so terror is antipolitical—because it perverts the very nature, essence, and principle of government.[77] Very briefly, to be able to evaluate Arendt's argument with respect to the relation between terrorism and thought, let us see the logic behind this parting of terror and ideology from politics and philosophy.

Any lawful government needs, first of all, law. Arendt understands positive laws as a conduit between the eternity of abstract authority and the ephemerality of concrete men; only through positive laws can God's commandments or *ius naturale* achieve political reality, and it is law that guarantees continuity and commonality across space and time.[78] But, Arendt explains, because it must inspire actions as well as limit them, government also needs "what Montesquieu called a 'principle of action.'"[79] Two other expressions Montesquieu used for this principle are "the human passions that set it in motion," or also simply "spring," which is the term Robespierre used when fitting his government into Montesquieu's scheme.[80] The reader will recall that in *The Spirit of the Laws*, Montesquieu matched three regularly recurring forms of government with three such principles, passions, or springs: monarchy and honor, republic and virtue, and despotic government and terror (*terreur*, though he also uses the terms *crainte* and *peur*, both of which mean "fear").[81]

According to Arendt, totalitarianism, although closely associated with terror, is different from despotism. We have seen something similar before: Robespierre likewise disputed that his government, despite its terror, was despotic. Arendt's argument, however, differs from Robespierre's, which essentially held that his government was a temporary hybrid: "If the spring of popular government in time of peace is virtue, the springs of popular government in revolution are at once virtue and terror."[82] By contrast, totalitarianism's terror is not temporary; nor in fact is terror any longer any kind of spring. Indeed, the spring or passion that sets totalitarianism in motion is no longer a passion at all, but rather "logicality": not the *logoi*, which is associated

with philosophy, but rather the logic of an idea, that is, Arendt's definition of ideology. Terror, meanwhile, replaces law, thereby perverting its nature as the "boundaries and channels of communication" into the "band of iron." The consequences for the body politic are devastating: plurality and space are destroyed, and therewith the possibility for the appearance of freedom. "Fear and the impotence from which fear springs," Arendt observes, "are anti-political principles and throw men into situations contrary to political action": there can be no politics in a government whose essence is terror.[83]

Terror and Politics

It is not just Arendt who parts terror and politics. Like her and for related reasons, though he is more democratic and less liberal than she, Rancière too insists that violence cannot engender freedom; and while his writing on disruptions to the distribution of the sensible seems very suggestive for thinking about the politics of terrorism, in fact Rancière would deny that terrorism—not to mention state terror—is political in the pure sense of the word, which he reserves for the "little" and "rare" historical moments when freedom appears.[84] But though there are good reasons for their respective efforts to root freedom in something other than violence (not least the unwillingness to repeat the mistakes of the twentieth century's difficult revolutionary experiences), it is also true that on the basis of the historical examples they summon as evidence for their alternative narratives, neither Rancière nor Arendt can succeed in excluding terror from politics.

For Rancière, politics is ruled by what he calls the "distribution of the sensible." "There is…an 'aesthetics' at the core of politics," he writes, and any political change first registers as aesthetic alteration.[85] To make this concrete, here is one of his examples: the 494 BCE Secession of the Plebs, for which Rancière's source is an interpretation of Livy's *History of Rome* by the nineteenth-century French thinker Pierre-Simon Ballanche. Because the aesthetics at the core of fifth-century BCE Roman politics determined that plebs did not possess reasoned speech, that is, because—again following Aristotle's definition of the human animal—plebs were not fully human, patricians literally cannot hear the words of the plebs as anything but noise. To be heard, the plebs must first be seen behaving as political animals, such as happens when, during the Secession, they "execute a series of speech acts that mimic those of the patricians."[86] This is what allows the plebs to be recognized as equal partners in dialogue, negotiations to start, representatives of the commons to be appointed, and so on. That is, the redistribution of the sensible forces a recount of the parts that have a share in Roman society; an aesthetic alteration precedes political change—or rather, moments of aesthetic alteration are politics.

Beyond such a redistribution of the sensible, according to Rancière, "there is no politics. There is only the order of domination or the disorder of revolt."[87] Sheer confrontation, force, or violence, therefore, is not enough for politics to begin. To illustrate,

Rancière presents another example taken from antiquity, this time drawing on Herodotus: the revolt of the Scythian slaves. Although the slaves initially made themselves the equals of their masters "by force of arms," they ultimately failed, Rancière argues, because unlike the Roman plebs, the Scythian slaves do not set up a counterorder by means of reasoned speech, and so they do not "transform equality in war into political freedom."[88] When the masters return for a rematch and indicate that they still see the slaves as slaves, the revolt crumbles. Presumably, terrorism is similarly powerless to occasion politics, and this is indeed what Rancière seems to suggest in "September 11 and After: A Rupture in the Symbolic Order?"[89]

Problematically, however, it is not clear that there ever were any true historical examples of the appearance of political freedom that were free of violence, or at least a fear thereof. The Secession, for one, was in fact underwritten by the threat of violence: Livy explains that the reason the patricians enter into dialogue with the plebs is that they were afraid ("A great panic seized the City…'How long,' it was asked, 'would the multitude who had seceded remain quiet?'")[90] Rancière neglects to note a similarly dangerous dynamic in the case of the *Ur*-example: the stirring of democracy in Greece. Here, "the appearance of freedom" is simply said to have been rooted in "the impossibility of the *oligoi*'s reducing their debtors to slavery," when in fact this impossibility was linked to the threat of a violent revolt such as had already disturbed Athens's surrounding *poleis* in the early sixth century BCE.[91] Not to mention that these same Greeks saw a very close link between tyrannicide and freedom.[92] The point is, the desire to keep politics pure or "rare" is understandable as well as absolutely laudable, but the feasibility thereof is less certain because it is not so easy to write (the threat of) violence out of historical examples without thereby doing violence to history.

Arendt in fact faces the same problem. For her, again, power and violence are mutually exclusive. Assumptions to the contrary, however, have such "self-evident plausibility" and are so prevalent—she notes the influence of our common histories of beginnings: "Cain slew Abel, and Romulus slew Remus"—that she is at pains throughout *On Revolution* (1963) to clear a space for an alternative narrative.[93] Ultimately, it is the American Revolution that offers this alternative, especially as opposed to the French: "This beginning opposes the notion of beginnings that are necessarily violent."[94] Arendt understands power as Burke did, as coming from men "acting in concert," which was also, she argues, the early American understanding: "To them, power came into being when and where people would get together and bind themselves through promises, covenants, and mutual pledges."[95] However, even these settlers—whose violence against Native and African Americans Arendt but barely acknowledges—even these settlers, she admits in passing, only made their new beginning "under the pressure of circumstances," which she describes as having been marked primarily by fear: "in fear of the new continent's uncharted wilderness and frightened by the chartless darkness of the human heart."[96] Therefore, even for Arendt's Americans, even if not actual violence, it is still the fear of boundless violence—terror—that, far from acting as an "antipolitical" principle, sits at the source of the New World.

Terrorism and History

Whether one classifies terrorism as either (proto-) political or criminal depends on one's understanding of the nature of politics and its link to violence, and thus also on how one settles the question of legality and legitimacy. On the one hand—we persist in hoping along with Arendt and Rancière—there must be more to politics than, "in the beginning was a crime," and so on (and therefore terrorism is anathema to politics).[97] On the other, when, in fact, did (what was perceived as) political freedom ever appear without (the threat of) violence (and therefore terrorism is on occasion unavoidable)?

This question of legitimacy is unresolvable, of course, except sometimes temporarily, through "word events" that manage to ward off violence, neutralize it, or, by contrast, justify it. Dostoevsky, for example, excelled at staging such events, swaying his readers' views on violence every which way, including against their own convictions; in political philosophy, Machiavelli's perfect perspective in *The Prince* comes to mind, or the seductive simplicity of Schmitt's definition of sovereignty. This is why it is necessary to take seriously the rhetoric of terrorism—in terms of not only content, but also form—because rhetoric is what its violence requires in order to make any kind of sense at all. This also implies the necessity of taking a historical approach to the study of terrorism, because whether or not it is true that terror can produce thought (and thus change), it is certainly true that some people sometimes believe that it can, and the reasons they do so are in large measure historically determined or inflected, for both states who perpetrate terror and nonstate terrorists very self-consciously draw on the past for inspiration and justification.

But there is a more eternal reason for the persistence of the belief in terror's power, and this is that it hitches along with an understanding of human history that roots the origin of thought in the shock of wonder. Perhaps the problem is, again, that wonder is an unstable thing, dizzying and dumbing, disorienting, and very close to fear. And perhaps given human history, especially a long religious past that offers powerful models of the pedagogical use of fear, it is an understandable misunderstanding to keep confusing terror for teaching, and then choose to effect "shock and awe" instead of the "necessary insecurity of philosophical thought." Understandable—but nevertheless no less perplexing, because wonder is a phenomenon that in truth is not the purview of philosophers alone at all, but rather a natural talent belonging to all the world's children and, as such, an experience that is universally owned. What explains this displacement and misrecognition of our ownmost capacity? Becoming older, perhaps, understanding more, and therefore less—it seems this moved the old man in Kierkegaard's *Fear and Trembling*, one reason he desired the "shudder of thought"—and most people really cannot recover childhood at will. But still nature longs to be amazed. That is when we settle for the sublime, and this leaves the door open for terror.

Terror—would that it were not so, but it is—can compel our eyes to see the world anew. Some may go so far as to characterize the experience as "the highest state of

being alive"; after all, trench warfare—to take one of the examples given by the authors of *Shock and Awe*—was not only suffered, but also venerated, for example by ex–shock trooper Ernst Jünger in *Storm of Steel* (1920). Prescribing this experience as a principle, however, transforms it into ideology, which means emptying terror in advance of any philosophical potential it may have in those rare events when it can be characterized as a real rupture. As such, it is doubtful that, as a rule, terrorism can trigger the kind of wonder that can mobilize thinking, produce knowledge, and result in theory, which, following Aristotle, is after all its *telos*.[98] Except perhaps a theory that would result when we finally know this: terrorism will not begin to end until we stop being the wrong kind of amazed at the wrong kinds of things. As Benjamin argued, however, such knowing would require viewing all of history in a whole new way: "This amazement [that the things we are experiencing are still possible] is not the beginning of knowledge—unless it is the knowledge that the view of history which gives rise to it is untenable."[99] May this anthology therefore contribute to such a rethinking of history, or at least to encountering terrorism's history anew, and thereby move us closer to of a theory of terrorism.

Notes

1. Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 257.
2. Maximilien Robespierre, "On the Principles of Political Morality That Should Guide the National Convention and the Domestic Administration of the Republic," in *Terror and Virtue*, trans. John Howe (London and New York: Verso, 2007), 115. For the sake of consistency, I have changed the translation of *ressort* from "mainspring" to "spring" because this is how it is translated in Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, ed. Anne M. Kohler, Basia C. Miller, and Harold S. Stone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
3. See Alex P. Schmid and A. J. Jongman, *Political Terrorism. A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2005), 34–38, 28.
4. Terror as a way of "waking" an audience is a standard trope in the history of terrorism that goes back to the French Revolution; see, e.g., Abbé Royer's "Qu'on place la terreur à l'ordre due jour! C'est le seul moyen de donner l'éveil au people…." Rudolph Walther, "Terror/Terrorismus," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur Politisch-Sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1972–1997), 6:343.
5. *Terror* and related terms derive from the Latin verb *terrere* (to frighten), which is rooted in the Proto-Indo-European *tres* and the Sanskrit *tras* (both: to tremble), as well as the ancient Greek τρεῖν (to flee from fear). S.v. "Terror, n.," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 25, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/199606; "Terrible, adj., adv., and n.," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 25, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/199563. For the PIE root *tres*, see http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/ielex/U/P2042.html, accessed January 25, 2015; Søren Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling: Dialectical Lyric by Johannes de Silentio*, trans. Alastair Hannay (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 44. No doubt "the shudder of thought" (*Tankens Gysen*) can mean many different—including opposite—things: for example, it

can be the sign of the "fear and trembling" one should experience in the face of greatness, i.e., related to faith rather than reason; or it can be a sign of the sublime, perhaps even of an unwillingness to think, i.e., shudder to think; or it could also be the physical experience that accompanies thought's arrival.

6. For the most comprehensive conceptual history of terror and terrorism in the European context to date, see Walther, "Terror/Terrorismus," *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, 6:323–344.
7. Harlan Ullman and James Wade, Jr., with L. A. "Bud" Edney, Fred M. Franks, Charles A. Horner, Jonathan T. Howe, and Keith Brendley, *Shock and Awe: Achieving Rapid Dominance* (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 1996), xi, 19, 27–28, 92.
8. Ullman and Wade, *Shock and Awe*, 27.
9. Sue Chan, "Iraq Faces Massive U.S. Missile Barrage," *CBS Evening News*, January 24, 2003. http://www.cbsnews.com/news/iraq-faces-massive-us-missile-barrage/.
10. Chan, "Iraq Faces Massive U.S. Missile Barrage."
11. One of the editions of *Shock and Awe* bears this phrase as its subtitle: Harlan K. Ullman and James P. Wade, Jr., *Rapid Dominance, a Force for All Seasons: Technologies and Systems for Achieving Shock and Awe; A Real Revolution in Military Affairs* (London: Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies, 1998).
12. See, e.g., Ullman and Wade, *Shock and Awe* (1996), xxiv.
13. S.v. "Shock, n.3," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 18, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/178402?rskey=nZm6eN&result=3&isAdvanced=false; "Shock, v.2," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 18, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/178407.
14. S.v. "Shock, n.3," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, June 2015), accessed August 10 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/178402?rskey=KQORVY&result=3&isAdvanced=false; "Electric shock, n.", in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, June 2015), accessed August 10, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/269977.
15. S.v. "Awe, n.1," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 18, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/13911?rskey=qWFtpK&result=1&isAdvanced=false.
16. See "Awe, n.1," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 18, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/13911?rskey=qWFtpK&result=1&isAdvanced=false.
17. Ullman and Wade, *Shock and Awe* (1996), 20.
18. Ibid., xxvi.
19. Ibid.; emphasis mine.
20. See, e.g., Martha Crenshaw, *Explaining Terrorism. Causes, Processes, and Consequences* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 18; B. M. Jenkins, "International Terrorism: A New Kind of Warfare" (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1974), 4; David C. Rapoport, *The Morality of Terrorism: Religious and Secular Justifications*, ed. David C. Rapoport and Yonah Alexander, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), xvi; Peter Waldmann, *Terrorismus: Provokation der Macht* (Hamburg: Murmann, 2011), 14, 16.
21. Hannah Arendt, *The Life of the Mind* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), 167; Plato, "Meno," in *The Collected Dialogues Including the Letters*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), 80a–b, 363. My reading here as well as below in the section "Terror and *Thaumazein*" partially follows Hannah Arendt's in Part I, "Thinking," Section III, "What Makes Us Think," *The Life of the Mind*, 129–179.
22. David C. Rapoport, cited in Schmid and Jongman, *Political Terrorism*, 23. Originally cited in an interview with R. P. Hoffman, "Terrorism: A Universal Definition" (Ph.D. diss.,

Claremont Graduate School, 1984), 171. See also David Rapoport, "Why Does Religious Messianism Produce Terror?" in *Contemporary Research on Terrorism*, ed. Paul Wilkinson and A. M. Stewart (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 73–74.

23. Thomas P. Thornton, "Terror as a Weapon of Political Agitation," in *Internal War: Problems and Approaches*, ed. Harry Eckstein (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980; originally published Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 73, 75, 82–83.
24. See Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism," in *Explaining Terrorism* ("Causes" was originally published in *Comparative Politics* in 1981), 2, 9, 34; Jenkins, "International Terrorism," 4; Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 15–17; Jonathan Matusitz, *Terrorism and Communication: A Critical Introduction* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2013). See also Charles Tilly, "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists," in "Theories of Terrorism: A Symposium," special issue, *Sociological Theory* 22, no. 1 (March 2004): 9. My own earlier work also included a communicative function in its definition of terrorism. See Claudia Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakozov: Imperial Russia, Modernity, and the Birth of Terrorism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), 7.
25. Thornton, "Terror as a Weapon," 83. For the Kropotkin citation, see Thornton, "Terror as a Weapon," 82–83; cited from Pierre Kropotkin, *Paroles d'un révolté* (Paris: C. Marpon & E. Flammarion, n.d.), 286.
26. Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia*, trans. Francis Haskell (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), 335; emphasis mine.
27. Kropotkin, *Paroles d'un révolté*, 286.
28. See R. D. Crenlinsten, "Power and Meaning: Terrorism as Terrorism as a Struggle over Access to the Communication Structure," in *Contemporary Research on Terrorism*, ed. Paul Wilkinson and A. M. Stewart (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 419; Crenshaw, *Explaining Terrorism*, 34; Waldmann, *Terrorismus*, 17; Peter R. Neumann, *Old and New Terrorism: Late Modernity, Globalization and the Transformation of Political Violence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 8; Matusitz, *Terrorism and Communication*, xvii.
29. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (London: Penguin, 2006; originally published 1963), 9.
30. Ibid., 9. See Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Carnes Lord, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), I, 1253a10–12.
31. Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, trans. Julie Rose (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 23–30.
32. Crenlinsten, "Power and Meaning," 419.
33. Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*, ed. and trans. Gabriel Rockhill (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004), 8.
34. S.v. "Spectacle, n.1," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 15, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/186057?rskey=bdu7Vd&result=1&isAdvanced=false; "Theatre | theater, n.," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 15, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/200227?rskey=VRnVvR&result=1&isAdvanced=false; Jenkins, "International Terrorism," 4.
35. See Susan Buck-Morss, "Aesthetics and Anaesthetics: Walter Benjamin's Artwork Essay Reconsidered," *October* 62 (Autumn 1992): 3–41, esp. 5–10.
36. Jean Baudrillard, *The Spirit of Terrorism and Other Essays* (London and New York: Verso, 2003), 7; Slavoj Žižek, "Welcome to the Desert of the Real," Reflections on WTC, 3rd version (October 7, 2001), accessed June 29, 2015, http://www.egs.edu/faculty/slavoj-zizek/articles/welcome-to-the-desert-of-the-real/; Christian Hänggi, "Stockhausen at Ground

Zero," *Fillip* 15 (Fall 2011), accessed June 29, 2015, http://distilledmagazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/stockhausen-at-ground-zero.

37. Laqueur, cited in Schmid and Jongman, *Political Terrorism*, 3; Schmid and Jongman, *Political Terrorism*, 133.
38. S.v. "Theory, n.1," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 8, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/200431?rskey=U9CVsc&result=1&isAdvanced=false.
39. Andrea Wilson Nightingale, *Spectacles of Truth in Classical Greek Philosophy: "Theoria" in Its Cultural Context* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 4 (n.3).
40. Nightingale, *Spectacles of Truth*, 3, 5, 69.
41. Ibid., 4.
42. Ibid., 13, 254. See also n. 100.
43. "Intense form of fear" follows the *OED*'s primary definition of "terror" as "a state of being terrified or greatly frightened; intense fear, fright, or dread." S.v. "Terror, n.," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 15, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/199606?rskey=km81zE&result=1&isAdvanced=false.
44. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008; originally published 1757), 53.
45. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Schocken Books, 2004; originally published 1951), 612.
46. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 600.
47. Ibid., 605.
48. Cf. definitions that include both terms: Thornton, "Terror as a Weapon," 73; Schmid and Jongman, *Political Terrorism*, 2.
49. See, e.g., Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 4. The original appears in Edmund Burke, *Select Works of Edmund Burke*, vol. 3, *Letters on a Regicide Peace* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999), 359.
50. Burke, *Select Works*, 356.
51. S.v. "Amazement, n.," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 18, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6071?redirectedFrom=amazement.
52. Burke calls terror "the ruling principle of the sublime"; *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 54. Other formulations include "terror, the common stock of everything that is sublime," "the sublime is built on terror," "whatever is qualified to cause terror, is a foundation capable of the sublime," and "a mode of terror, or of pain, is always the cause of the sublime." Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 59, 122, 119, 124.
53. The term *sublime*, which derives from the classical Latin *sublīmis* via the French *sublime*, referred to persons or things "high" or "elevated." Only in the eighteenth century did it come to designate the quality of art or nature that was capable of inspiring especially elevated emotions, also defined as "awe" or "reverence." S.v. "Sublime, adj. and n.," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 18, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/192766?rskey=DMf9Z8&result=1&isAdvanced=false.
54. S.v. "Terror, n.," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, December 2014), accessed January 16, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/199606?rskey=km81zE&result=1&isAdvanced=false.
55. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 42, 123.
56. Ibid., 53. Burke follows Descartes's definition. See René Descartes, *The Passions of the Soul*, trans. Stephen Voss (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1989), 58.

57. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 123.
58. Ibid., 123.
59. See Ronen Steinberg, *The Afterlives of Terror. Facing the Legacies of Violence in Postrevolutionary France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 138-142.
60. See Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakozov*, 128–149.
61. Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, 145.
62. Ibid., 167.
63. On the term's derivation, see Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, 142.
64. Plato, "Theaetetus," *CD*, 155c–d, p. 860.
65. See Nightingale, "Epilogue: 'Broken Knowledge'? *Theoria* and Wonder," in *Spectacles of Truth*, 255–256; David Bollert, "Plato and Wonder," in *Extraordinary Times*, IWM Junior Visiting Fellows Conferences 11 (Vienna, 2001). See p. 2 and note 2 at http://www.iwm.at/wp-content/uploads/jc-11-131.pdf; Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 257; Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, esp. 167–179.
66. Plato, "Theaetetus," *CD*, 155c–d, p. 860.
67. Plato, "Meno," *CD*, 80a, p. 363.
68. Ibid.
69. See Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, 197; Plato, "Symposium," *CD*, 220c, p. 571.
70. Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, 173, 197.
71. Ibid., 174.
72. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 605.
73. For *thambos*, see *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 783. For the link between the terms, see Raymond Adolph Prier, *Thauma Ideistai: The Phenomenology of Sight and Appearance in Archaic Greek* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1989), 87–97.
74. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 54.
75. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 604, 610.
76. Ibid., 610.
77. Ibid., 610.
78. Ibid., 598–600.
79. Ibid., 602.
80. Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, 21; and for "spring," for example, xli.
81. See http://www.ecole-alsacienne.org/CDI/pdf/1400/14055_MONT.pdf for Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des Lois*, 68: "La sévérité des peines convient mieux au gouvernement despotique, dont le principe est la terreur, qu'à la monarchie et à la république, qui ont pour ressort l'honneur et la vertu."
82. Robespierre, "On the Principles of Political Morality," *Terror and Virtue*, 115.
83. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 616.
84. Rancière, *Disagreement*, 17.
85. Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, 8.
86. Rancière, *Disagreement*, 24. For the full discussion, see 23–27.
87. Ibid., 12.
88. Ibid., 13.
89. Jacques Rancière, *Moments Politiques: Interventions, 1977–2009*, trans. Mary Foster (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2014), 91–100.
90. Titus Livius, *History of Rome*, vol. 1, trans. Rev. Canon Roberts (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1905), 2: 32, accessed January 16, 2016, http://mcadams.posc.mu.edu/txt/ah/livy/livy02.html.
91. Rancière, *Disagreement*, 7.

92. See David Teegarden, *Death to Tyrants! Ancient Greek Democracy and the Struggle against Tyranny* (Princeton University Press, 2014).
93. Arendt, *On Revolution*, 10.
94. Ibid., 206.
95. Burke, cited in Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 611; Arendt, *On Revolution*, 173.
96. Arendt, *On Revolution*, 186.
97. Ibid., 10.
98. Aristotle argued that wonder came to an end when the philosopher "theorizes the cause" (*τεθεωρηκόσι τὴν αἰτίαν*). Aristotle, *The Metaphysics*, trans. Hugh Lawson-Tancred (London and New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 983a14–15. This translation of the phrase can be found Nightingale, *Spectacles*, 13.
99. Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 257.

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